India's Contribution
to World Thought and Culture

A VIVEKANANDA COMMEMORATION VOLUME

VIVEKANANDA COMMEMORATION VOLUME

on theme

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD THOUGHT AND CULTURE

Published on the occasion of the inauguration of the Vivekananda Rock Memorial, Kanyakumari, the construction of which was undertaken during the Swamiji's birth centenary year, 1963–64.

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PREFACE

The present volume is a result of the resolve of the Swami Vivekananda Centenary Celebration and Vivekananda Rock Memorial Committee to publish a monumental Vivekananda Commemoration Volume on the occasion of the inauguration of the Vivekananda Rock Memorial at Kanyakumari. For carrying out the collection of articles, to edit them and finally to see them through the press a Vivekananda Commemoration Volume Publication Committee was formed under the auspices of the parent body. An Advisory Board was set up under the chairmanship of Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri of Madras, with Dr. C. Sivaramamurti as the Vice-Chairman. Eminent scholars from all over India were represented in the Board. Similarly a committee of twenty Patrons of the Publication was formed under the Chairmanship of Shri S.K. Patil. The response to the Volume was world-wide, and we are fortunate in obtaining cooperation of luminaries of the scholarly world of Europe, America, Soviet Union and Asia as well as of eminent scholars from all over India to present a panorama of India's cultural pageant beyond her frontiers. His Holiness the Dalai Lama also honoured us by his contribution.

Swami Vivekananda being one among the many who carried India's thought beyond its frontiers, the Committee decided to remember, in this volume, India's projection in the outside world in various fields, temporal as well as spiritual, since the dawn of history. The Volume has, therefore, been titled "India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture".

The diffusion of India's cultural immensity over the vast expanses of Asia and other continents is a glorious epic of human achievement in the domain of thought and its expression in space and time.

Beyond the shimmering blue waters of Lake Baikal in the heart of Eastern Siberia lie monasteries studded with Indian images and silken scrolls of Tantric deities.

A little below lies the Mongolian People's Republic which has one of the richest treasures of translations of thousands of Sanskrit works, and rare icons of India's divinities like Mahākāla, Kālī, Ayushi, Tārā-devī, and so on.

From the Central Asian sands have been exhumed Sanskrit manuscripts, rare works of art, unique administrative documents in Prakrit, exquisite murals and objects of a high material culture—all imbued with the spirit and form of India.

In the Far East, the sprawling mainland of China has preserved a rich heritage of the art, literature and philosophy of India. Stories of the Mahābhārata in the classical Japanese theatre, the art traditions of Ajantā at Horyūji Temples, or Sanskrit mantras, all are ageless symbols of India's contribution to Japan's evolution.

The Tibetan books on medicine, astronomy, grammar, rhetorics and poetics are inspired by Indian works of similar description.

The skyline of temples in Bangkok, Sanskrit words in the Thai language, Rāmāyaṇa as the supreme expression of Thai theatre, Shaiva ceremonies at the Royal Court—are parts of the stream that flows in the heart of Thailand from the deep of India's being. The enthralling stūpa of Borobudur, the Shiva temple of Prambanan, the living presence of Hinduism in Bali, are some of the facets of the dynamics of our cultural spectrum in the isles of Indonesia.

The Volume also relates India's impact on European thought, Indian themes in European folklore, and the message of Sanātana Dharma (Universal Religion) to the modern man of Europe and America.

This Volume is a result of the collaboration of several scholars from all parts of the world. But the moving spirit, invisible but ever active, ever inspiring has been Shri Eknath Ranade, the Organising Secretary of the Vivekananda Rock Memorial Committee, and Publication Committee, whose constant readiness to fly from any distance of India to help with his wide experience and advice were always at the disposal of the editors. No detail has been trivial for him to solve the multiplicity of problems arising over the years.

The Volume details the dynamics of our cultural relations with Afghanistan, Central Asia, China, Korea, Japan, Nepal, Tibet, Mongolia, Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines, Middle East, Africa, Europe and America. A section devoted to the tale of the construction of the Rock Memorial has been inserted after page 384. We considered it but meet to include the section as it was the completion of this memorial that provided an occasion and an opportunity to bring out the present publication with this particular theme. Finally, a special section has been dedicated to Swami Vivekananda after page 648. The entire spectrum of the cultural epos of India from the earliest period to its culmination in Swami Vivekananda is represented in this Volume.

In fine it may be mentioned that the volume aims at giving an overall idea of India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture both to the common intelligent reader and to the erudite scholar. A task like this is, indeed, difficult to perform. We, therefore, decided to include a number of introductory and survey articles for the common reader and also to keep a few specialised articles for the well informed scholars.

Editors' grateful acknowledgements are due to many individuals and institutions without whose active help and support this volume would not have assumed this form.

We wish to express our sense of gratitude to the authors and publishers of the large number of books and articles from which our writers as well as the publishers have taken their illustrations. To our young promising scholars Sarvashri B. Datta, B.M. Pande, M.L. Sharma and Km. Chhaya Bhattacharya also we owe our thanks for giving us much help in the publication of this Volume.

Our indebtedness is also due to Shri S.B. Deshaprabhu for preparing the layout of the Volume, Shri M.S. Mani for preparing line drawing illustrations, Prof. H. Härtel of the Museum für Völkerkunde, West Berlin, for arranging colour photographs of wall paintings from Kizil, Dr. M.S. Agrawal for colour photographs of Cambodian temples, Shri Darshan Lal and others for other colour photographs and Shri B.B. Datta for typing the manuscript. We also express our thanks to the Management, Times of India Press, Bombay, for giving us on loan the colour blocks of Plates IX and X and black-and-white blocks of Plates 88 to 91.

We shall be failing in our duty if we do not acknowledge the overnight work that Sarvashri B.L. Ganju, R. Srivastava, M.N. Kamath, P.N. Khanna, K. Singha, K.N. Jaychandran, J. Marathe and R.S. Wadhwa of Thomson Press had put in to print this Volume. We are equally grateful to the managers and workers of the Thomson Press, Faridabad and the Rational Art and Press Pvt. Ltd. Bombay, for the immense pains that they took in producing the Volume in a comparatively short time.

September 17, 1970

EDITORS

FOREWORD

The idea of publishing the Vivekananda Commemoration Volume originated in connection with the construction of a Memorial Temple on the famous rock, off the coast of Kanya Kumari, sanctified by its association with Swami Vivekananda in one of the most crucial phases in his life, which proved to be a turning-point in his whole career.

It is impossible to comprehend fully the character and personality of a great soul like Vivekananda, but the great mission of spreading all over the world the essence of Hindu religion and culture must be regarded as one of the most important aspects of his life. For a long time it was believed, even by educated Indians, that unlike the missionaries of Buddhist, Christian and Islamic faiths no band of religious men ever went out of India to preach Hinduism in far off foreign lands. Even Swami Vivekananda is reported to have observed in his reply to the Welcome Address at Pamban that "since the dawn of history, no missionary went out of India to propagate the Hindu doctrine and dogmas". But modern researches have proved beyond doubt that such a view is quite wrong. Attempt has been made to show in an article in this volume by Dr. S.P. Gupta that "the dispersal of Indian culture, at least in Soviet Central Asia, can be traced from the Early Stone Age which takes us back to about half a million years". But such studies of cultural contact between primitive peoples, being based almost solely on stone tools or other artefacts, can only give us very meagre and vague ideas on the subject of what we properly recognise as human culture. Our definite knowledge of the spread of Indian culture in all its aspects, beyond India, begins from the third century B.C., and we are in a position to say that in the course of ages that culture was spread almost all over Asia, from Armenia to Japan, and from Eastern Siberia to Ceylon and the islands of Indonesia; even further beyond, it left its impress upon other cultures.

The story of the spread of Buddhism since the time of Aśoka, about the middle of the third century B.C., is well known. Far less known is the fact that Hinduism i.e. the Purānic form of Brahmanical religion, was also spread in all parts of Asia, and abundant traces of Hinduism and other aspects of Indian culture associated with it still remain in various regions of the continent. It would, perhaps, be a news to many that there was an Indian colony in the region of the Upper Euphrates river, to the west of Lake Van, as early as the second century B.C., and the temples of Hindu gods, like Kṛṣṇa, erected there were destroyed by the Christian monk St. Gregory early in the fourth century A.D., after defeating the Indians who stoutly resisted the iconoclastic fury of the Christians. It is hardly necessary to refer to the numerous magnificent remains of Hindu temples in Indo-China and Indonesia to prove the nature and extent of the missionary zeal of the Hindus in remote parts of Asia.

This great truth about Hinduism was hitherto ignored or obscured by the fact that there is no evidence of such missionary spirit of the Hindus during the last one thousand years or more. It was Swami Vivekananda who revived the old missionary spirit of Hinduism towards the close of the Nineteenth Century A.D.

This Commemoration Volume is primarily intended to bring home to the minds of all this long-forgotten, but very important, chapter in the history of Indian culture in general, and of Hinduism in particular, which has been rescued from oblivion by modern researches.

Even a cursory glance at the Table of Contents of this volume would show that this episode—an epoch-making discovery from the point of view of Indian culture—is the main thread which binds together the different articles it contains. In order to emphasize this aspect the articles have been classified under different countries outside India where either the religion and other elements of Indian culture were generally adopted by the people at large or the existing culture was greatly influenced and modified by that of India. Tibet, Central Asia, China, Japan, Burma, Indo-China and Indonesia formed very powerful strongholds of Indian culture, and several articles have been devoted to them. Nearer home, Afghanistan, Ceylon and Nepal have formed subjects of discussion, though the intimate relations between India and these countries are fairly well-known. Attention has also been drawn to India's cultural contact with such remote countries as Siberia, Korea and the Philippines. A few articles also deal with cultural relations of India with Middle East, Africa, Europe and America.

These detailed accounts are preceded by a number of articles which give a broad survey, and may be regarded as a general review. Most of these describe India's cultural contact, not with specific countries but with wider stretches of regions, and discuss specific items of culture such as medical science, art and architecture, geographical nomenclature borrowed from India by other countries, etc. They also include subjects basically connected with the cultural contact between India and the outside world, such as shipping and maritime adventure, trading activities in or with foreign countries. Attention may be drawn once again to the fact that these articles conclusively prove that contrary to popular notion, not only religion and philosophy but various other aspects of Indian culture, specially art, literature and even technical sciences were spread to many foreign lands.

While this summary gives some idea of the comprehensive nature of this volume and the general plan underlying it, the names of contributors would indicate the wide range of talents, not only from India, but also from other countries in Asia, Europe and America, whose knowledge has been laid under contribution for making this Memorial Volume worthy of the great name associated with it.

In a co-operative literary work of this kind some amount of repetition is almost inevitable, and we must also be prepared to come across discrepancies of views on the same topic in different articles, where the data are too meagre or insufficient to enable us to arrive at a definite conclusion or reasonable hypothesis.

In spite of these and probably a few other shortcomings that may be noticed in this big volume, it will, I hope, be generally conceded that it is a remarkable attempt to throw light from various points of view, on a very important aspect of Indian culture. As, in the case of individuals, their real greatness is to be judged, not so much by the wealth, knowledge or experience which they themselves possess, but by the extent to which these are applied towards the welfare and improvement of their fellow-countrymen, the greatness of nations may not unnaturally be measured by their contribution to the upliftment of other, particularly less developed or less fortunate, peoples. Judged by this standard of greatness the Indians may justly rank with Greece, Rome, and China. This is no mean tribute and this volume may be regarded as a testimony to such greatness.

Calcutta
14.4.70

R.C. MAJUMDAR

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SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

Vowels :

a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ
अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ऋ
e	ai	o	au	ṃ	ḥ	
ए	ऐ	ओ	औ			
				aṅusvāra	*visarga*	

Consonants :

k	kh	g	gh	ṅ
क्	ख्	ग्	घ्	ङ्
c	ch	j	jh	ñ
च्	छ्	ज्	झ्	ञ्
ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ
ट्	ठ्	ड्	ढ्	ण्
t	th	d	dh	n
त्	थ्	द्	ध्	न्
p	ph	b	bh	m
प्	फ्	ब्	भ्	म्
y	r	l	v	
य्	र्	ल्	व्	
ś	ṣ	s	h	
श्	ष्	स्	ह्	

Conjuncts :

	kṣ	tr	jñ
	क्ष्	त्र्	ज्ञ्

microns over *e* and *o* have not been used.

Most of our learned authors have followed the above mentioned system. However, a few of them have followed slightly different patterns, particularly while transliterating proper names. Thus कुषाण has been transliterated variously as Kuṣāṇa, Kushana, Kushan, Kusana; चोळ as Coḷa, Chola and Choḷa; चम्पा as Campā, Champa, Champā. We tried to bring a uniformity in the system, but some of our honoured writers insisted on retaining their own systems on the ground that in their other writings they have been constantly following them. We, therefore, decided to respect their wishes.

ARNOLD TOYNBEE ON SRI RAMAKRISHNA

Sri Ramakrishna's message was unique in being expressed in action. The message itself was the perennial message of Hinduism. As Swami Ghanananda points out, Hinduism is unique among the historic higher religions in holding that neither Hinduism nor any other religion is a unique representation of the truth or a unique way of salvation. In the Hindu view, each of the higher religions is a true vision and a right way, and all of them alike are indispensable to mankind, because each gives a different glimpse of the same truth, and each leads by a different route to the same goal of human endeavours. Each, therefore, has a special value of its own which is not to be found in any of the others.

To know this is good, but it is not enough. Religion is not just a matter for study; it is something that has to be experienced and to be lived, and this is the field in which Sri Ramakrishna manifested his uniqueness. He practised successively almost every form of Indian religion and philosophy, and he went on to practise Islam and Christianity as well. His religious activity and experience were, in fact, comprehensive to a degree that had perhaps never before been attained by any other religious genius, in India or elsewhere. His devotion to God in the personal form of Great Mother did not prevent him from attaining the state of 'contentless consciousness'—an absolute union with absolute spiritual Reality.

Sri Ramakrishna made his appearance and delivered his message at the time and the place at which he and his message were needed. This message could hardly have been delivered by anyone who had not been brought up in the Hindu religious tradition. Sri Ramakrishna was born in Bengal in 1836. He was born into a world that, in his lifetime, was, for the first time, being united on a literally world-wide scale. Today we are still living in this transitional chapter of the world's history, but it is already becoming clear that a chapter which had a Western beginning will have to have an Indian ending if it is not to end in the self-destruction of the human race. In the present age, the world has been united on the material plane by Western Technology. But this Western skill has not only 'annihilated distance', it has armed the peoples of the world with weapons of devastating power at a time when they have been brought to point-blank range of each other without yet having learnt to know and love each other. At this supremely dangerous moment in human history, the only way of salvation for mankind is an Indian way. The Emperor Ashoka's and the Mahatma Gandhi's principle of non-violence and Sri Ramakrishna's testimony to the harmony of religions : here we have the attitude and the spirit that can make it possible for the human race to grow together into a single family—and, in the Atomic Age, this is the only alternative to destroying ourselves.

In the Atomic Age the whole human race has a utilitarian motive for following this Indian way. No utilitarian motive could be stronger or more respectable in itself. The survival of the human race is at stake. Yet even the strongest and most respectable utilitarian motive is only a secondary reason for taking Ramakrishna's and Gandhi's and Ashoka's teaching to heart and acting on it. The primary reason is that this teaching is right—and is right because it flows from a true vision of spiritual reality.

30th August, 1969 ARNOLD TOYNBEE

श्रीगणेशाय नमः

Gaṇeśa Beyond the Indian Frontiers

M. K. DHAVALIKAR

OF ALL THE gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, Gaṇeśa is the most interesting not only on account of his importance, but also because of his iconographical peculiarities. He is depicted with an elephant's head, a bulging belly and in a variety of poses. In point of time the god appears to be a late addition to the hierarchy of Hindu deities but, at the same time, it is noteworthy that he achieves a very exalted position in the hierarchy of gods and goddesses within a very short space of time. The general opinion seems to favour the view that his worship began sometime in 6th century A.D. and during the following two or three centuries we witness his rapid rise to prominence, so much so, that by tenth century an independent sect—of course within the folds of Hinduism—commonly known as the Gāṇapatya comes into being. Gaṇeśa was also borrowed by other religious systems such as Budhism and Jainism, and his worship spread almost all over Asia (except the western regions) where Buddhism and other sects of Hinduism became living faiths. Gaṇeśa is still accorded a very high position by the Hindus and it is one of the most important deities worshipped in India today.

The worship of Gaṇeśa, the elephant-headed deity, in the late Gupta and the post-Gupta periods can be said to be an established fact. This has been conclusively proved by the evidence furnished by an inscription on an ancient column at Ghatiala near Jodhpur (Rajasthan). The inscription is dated 862 A.D. and has been taken to be the earliest of its kind in the praise of this deity. The column is crowned by four images of Gaṇeśa, seated back to back and facing the four cardinal points. This shows that by 862 Gaṇeśa, in the form of the elephant-headed god, had risen to that exalted position where he was worshipped independently and invocated for success. However, earlier images of the god are met with in the rock-cut temples at Elephanta, Ellora and Badami in western India. The images of Gaṇeśa ascribable to 6th century A.D. are far and few between. Noteworthy among them are those in the Gupta temple at Bhurma (District Panna, Madhya Pradesh) and Udaygiri hills near Vidiśā (Madhya Pradesh). They have been adequately noticed by scholars who agree that the worship of Gaṇeśa was in vogue in the Gupta period. In this connection it is interesting to note that Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* prescribed the details regarding the fashioning of the Gaṇeśa images.[1] The work is dated to the beginning of the 6th century and it can therefore be surmised that the images of Gaṇeśa must have existed in the still earlier period.

It appears that the worship of Gaṇeśa began in the Gupta period around 4th–5th cent. A.D. and spread to other lands quite early. The Buddhist lost no time in borrowing the deity in their own pantheon and Gaṇeśa travelled to distant lands along with Buddhism. Thus in South-east Asia he was worshipped as a Hindu deity whereas in the Far East, he was adored as a Buddhist deity. The following account amply shows that the elephant-headed god was worshipped almost all over Asia (except West Asia), and as such he is perhaps the only Hindu divinity whose worship was so widely distributed in terms of space and time.

Afghanistan

There are quite a few images of Gaṇeśa which can be ascribed to the Gupta period but they are supposed to be rather doubtful specimens. There are, however, some images in Afghanistan which have recently come to light. Of these, one was found some years ago at Gardez and was subsequently removed to Kabul where it is now worshipped by the Hindu residents of Kabul in Dargah Pir Rattan Nath near the Pamir Cinema. The sculpture (Fig. 1) is a typical product of the Indo-Afghan school. "... It is made of inferior marble and is about 60 cms. high and 35 cms. broad bearing on its pedestal an inscription in two lines" which records that "This great and beautiful Mahā-Vināyaka was consecreted by the renowned Shāhī King, the illustrious Shāhī Khingala, who was *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahā-rājadhirāja* in the eighth year (of his reign), in the *mahā-Jyeṣṭha māsa, śukla-paksha, trayodaśī, Viśākha nakshtra and Siṁha lagna.*" On the basis of the palaeography of their record, it can be assigned to the early 6th century.[2] However, we do not know anything about this king Khingala. But it is interesting to note in this connection that Kalhaṇa in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* records that a very ancient king named Narendraditya also bore the name of Khinkhila.[3] But Narendrāditya of Kashmir who bore this peculiar title was a late king and cannot be identified with Khingala, who, as the record explicitly states was a Shāhī king. He was an early king as attested by Aurel Stein and in that case may be identified as the issuer of those coins bearing the legend Khinga or Khingi on them.

On stylistic grounds also the image can be dated to the end of 5th and the beginning of 6th century. It depicts the god standing in the *āliḍha* pose, his hands, legs and the chest are muscular suggesting a strong Hellenistic influence. The trunk, which is broken, was turned to the left while the broken tusk is clearly indicated on the left. A close-fitting coronet on the head, a *necklet* (kanṭhī) fitting close in the neck are all noteworthy as in the Gupta sculptures of Sarnath. The ears have been camouflaged into foliage and this has mislead earlier visitors into thinking that they were wings. The god had originally four hands, all of which are unfortunately broken. His *yajñopavīta* is a snake with which he is said to have secured his belly full of *modakas* when, according to the story, the moon laughed at him from the sky. His undergarment is a short *dhotī* (ardhoruka) on which designs like lion's head (kīrti-mukha), lotus buds and tasselled fringe of swallow's tail occur while the torso the belly, the *nāga-yajñopavīta*, the *ūrdhvameḍhra* and various designs on his undergarment, all suggest that the inspiration is from Magadha. However, the anatomy of the figure, with an emphasis on muscular hands and legs, is clearly suggestive of the lingering Hellenistic influence.

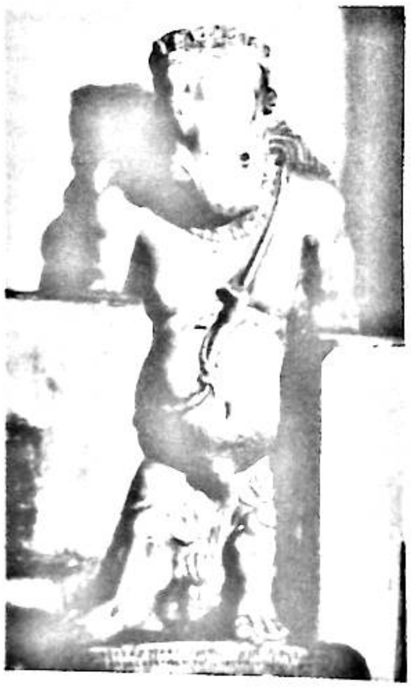

FIG. 1. *Gaṇeśa from Gardez (Afghanistan).*

Another interesting marble image of Gaṇeśa (Fig. 2) is reported from Afghanistan. It was found at Sakar Dhar (Shankar Dhar), ten miles north of Kabul, from where are

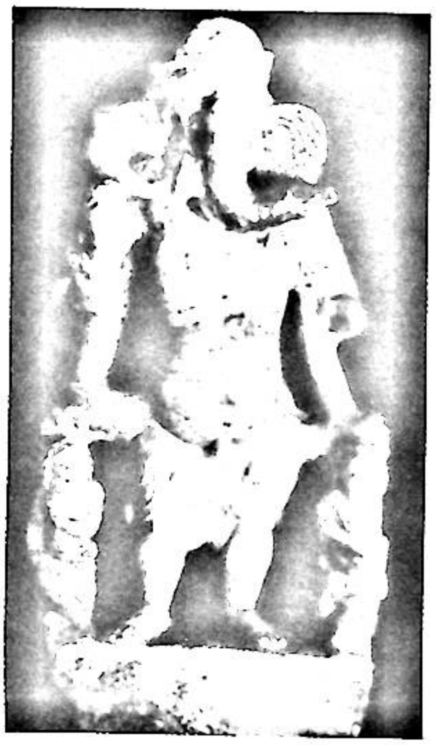

FIG. 2. *Gaṇeśa from Sakar Dhar (Afghanistan).*

reported very interesting images of Sūrya and Śiva.[4] It represents a standing Gaṇeśa wearing an undergarment (antarīya) which is characterised by the acanthus motif. What is remarkable is that the stem of the acanthus is intended to show Gaṇeśa as *ūrdhvameḍhra,* for the acanthus design appearing to hang on it. The bulging belly is not, however, of huge proportions that Gaṇeśa is usually associated with. He wears a nāga-yajñopavīta with the knot simulating the snake's head. The chest is muscular as is common in Gandharan sculptures. The trunk rests sufficiently high above the left shoulder, a trait of early date. The right tusk is intact but the left is broken, suggesting that the image is a product of the recognised form of Gaṇeśa as *Ekadanta.* The ears are symmetrically spread fan-wise which, superficially studied, may give the impression of wings. He has four arms; the upper left arm is broken and missing. The two lower arms are seen resting on the heads of the attendant *gaṇas* who are looking up at Gaṇeśa with devotion. The *gaṇas* superficially suggest similarity with Greek dolphins and actually show the curly locks of hair, the *kuṇḍalas* in the ears and the necklet which we meet in Gupta sculptures. The statue resembles the early Gupta sculptures and can therefore reasonably be dated to the 4th century. Stylistically it may fall in the transitional period of the art between the Kushāṇa and the Gupta times. This can therefore be taken to be the earliest statue of Gaṇeśa. It is indeed interesting that the Hindus of Kabul still worship this image in the Shore Bazar locality (Narsingdwara) of Kabul.

It is indeed curious and interesting, but equally significant, that the images of Gaṇeśa of such an early date should be found not in the country where Hinduism flourished and still does but in a region where it did not survive. But it should be noted that even though Afghanistan is an independent sovereign country patronizing Islam today, it was, at least, culturally a part of India—Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, Buddhism each by turn held its sway in this land of 'Ariana'. As a matter of fact parts of eastern Afghanistan formed a part of the Indian empire of the Kushāṇas when Huviṣka conquered that region. Besides, the images of a number of Hindu gods and goddesses found in Afghanistan also amply testify to the patronage of the Hindu kings of Afghanistan. It is, therefore, not surprising that some of the early representations of Gaṇeśa should have been found in Afghanistan.

Nepal

It is difficult to state with precision anything regarding the exact date of the introduction of Gaṇeśa in Nepal. According to one legend, Cārumatī, a daughter of Ashoka, built a temple of Gaṇeśa in Nepal. This, however, is the legendary origin and there is no evidence to show that the worship of Gaṇeśa was in vogue in Nepal at such an early date. The sculptural evidence demonstrates that his worship began sometime in the 8th century and became considerably popular by the 10th century. In Nepal he was worshipped by the Hindus, including the Buddhists. His adoration was taken over by Buddhism because he was the *Siddhidātā* the 'Bestower of success'. According to a Nepalese tradition, a mystic *mantra* in praise of Gaṇeśa, called the *Gaṇapati-hṛdaya,* was disclosed to Ananda by Buddha at Rājagṛha.

A large number of Gaṇeśa images have been found in Nepal. Among these, mention should be made of two images at Kathmandu. They are rather unusual and are of considerable inconographical interest. They both show a rat under each foot of the god. Both have one head, but one has four hands while the other has sixteen and both embrace the Śakti. An interesting bronze (Fig. 3) depicts an eight armed Gaṇeśa standing with a rat under each foot. Over his head is a five-hooded *nāga* which reminds one of the Gaṇeśa statues in the 64 Yoginī temple at Bheraghat (M.P.). This appears to have been borrowed from one of the dancing forms of Śiva as Naṭarāja and shows Gaṇeśa's connection with Śiva. It may be mentioned that beyond the frontiers of India we find that Gaṇeśa is very often shown carrying the symbols of Śiva. Thus he has a *nāga* in Nepal while in Tibet and Mongolia he sometimes carried a trident (triśūla) whereas in Java (Indonesia) he is shown with skull ornaments (kapāla-mālā) of Śiva as destroyer. From this Getty has rightly observed that, "In fact, in all countries where he has been worshipped, images of Gaṇeśa have been found in which he is identified with his father Śiva".[5]

Heramba was the most popular form of Gaṇeśa in Nepal. In this form he is usually shown with his *vāhana* lion, has five heads, ten hands and on his lap is his Śakti. However, an unusual image of Heramba Gaṇeśa was found at Bhatgaon which is dated 1695. It has a rat instead of lion as *vāhana.* Yet one more interesting statue of bronze in the Museum für Volkerkunde in Munich shows a rat under one foot and a lion under the other (Fig. 4).

As Buddhist Vināyaka, Gaṇeśa was represented in a dancing attitude and was known as Nṛtta-Gaṇapati. But this form is rarely to be met with except in paintings. The Nṛtta-Gaṇapati was popular in north India; it was adopted in Nepal and also found its way into Tibet. In this form he is usually shown red in colour and standing on rat. The rat holds the jewel Cintāmṇi in his mouth. Gaṇeśa has a third eye, just as Śiva has in India. He has twelve hands which are shown carrying the Tantric symbols. The Nepalese form seldom carries the broken tusk (bhagna-danta) but in its place we usually find a radish (mūla-kanda) which has been prescribed by Varāhamihira in his Bṛhatsaṁhitā.[6]

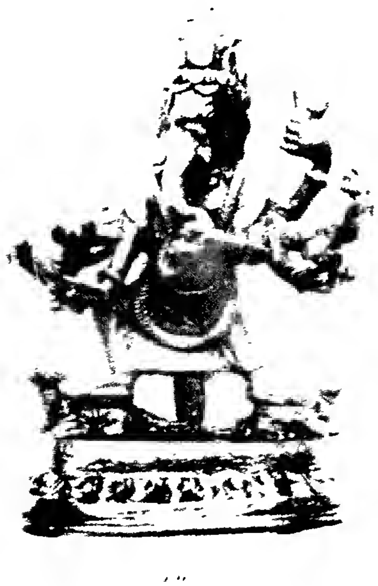

FIG. 3. *Bronze statue of Gaṇeśa (Nepal).*

There are some temples of Gaṇeśa in Nepal. Among these, one near Zimpi-Tandu can be dated, on the basis of epigraphical evidence, to 8th–10th cent. A.D. Another temple of Siddha-Vināyaka is at Shanku. To the north of Thankot is a temple of Gaṇeśa which has, in addition, the representations of *Sapta-mātṛkās.* It may incidentally be stated that the *Sapta-mātṛkās* are accompanied by Gaṇeśa in India.

In the Nepalese harvest festivals, Pārvatī is represented as a young girl, accompanied by two boys Gaṇeśa and Mahākāla. It may be recalled in this connection that Gaṇeśa is associated with harvest festivals in western India, particularly in Konkan.[7]

Tibet

Gaṇeśa did not achieve as much popularity in Tibet as he did in Nepal. This may possibly have been due to the widespread Mahāyāna Buddhism in that land. However, a few images have been found in western Tibet where he was looked upon as a powerful guardian against demons and evil spirits. It is interesting to note that in this role of guardian his image was placed above the main entrance to Tibetan temples, including Buddhist temples. This is basically a Hindu tradition, for, we find in India from 8th century onwards that the images of Gaṇeśa were carved on the entrance to Hindu temples. This entamblature block-*Gaṇeśa-paṭṭikā* is to be found in all the Hindu temples of later period. It is therefore most likely that the tradition travelled to Tibet from India along with the worship of Gaṇeśa.

The Siva temple at Virmand has over its door an image of Gaṇeśa while near the Gelupa monastery at Tabo, in a Buddhist temple is a statue of Gaṇeśa which Francke believes to have been originally placed above the entrance.[8] Here Gaṇeśa is represented two-armed one of which has a bowl of sweets. In another Mahāyāna Buddhist temple at Tabo he is carved on the wooden doors along the divinities of the Buddhist pantheon. Similarly, the figure of Gaṇeśa is painted on the wall above the doors of the principal entrance of a temple at Lhakhang.

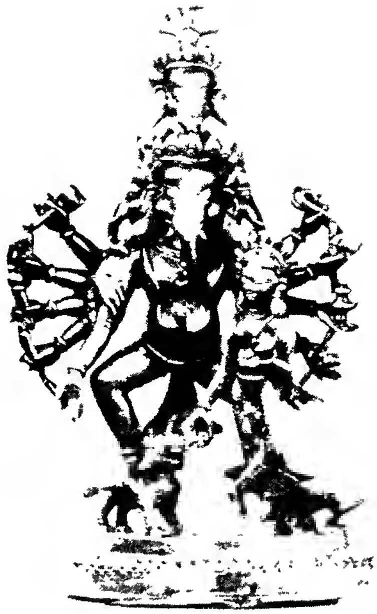

FIG 4 *Bronze statue of Gaṇeśa (Nepal).*

Female forms of Gaṇeśa are extremely are. In India the most noteworthy is the Gaṇeśāni in the 64 Yogini temple at Bheraghat (M.P.). In Tibet also we come across female forms of Gaṇeśa. The Buddhist in Tibet depicted the female and male forms of Gaṇeśa, as being trampled upon by Mahākāla, Kṛṣṇamañjuṣrī and other Buddhist gods.

Khotan

Gaṇeśa was most popular in Khotan.[9] A number of bronze tablets and painted wooden panels were discovered by Stein in the course of his explorations of a stupa at Endere. Here some of the representations are in the classic Indian form whereas others can be distinguished by certain characteristics peculiar to Chinese Turkestan. This is evident from the figure of Gaṇeśa which depicts the elephant-headed god seated on a cushion with soles of his feet touching each other (Fig. 5). He wears tight-fitting trousers which have their origin in Central Asia where they were known as *somstamni* (Sanskrit *svasthāna* and Hindi *suthanā*). The *somstamni* is dark brown in colour and over it is an apron-like garment of tiger skin *(vyāghra-charma)*. He wears a single stringed pearl necklace *(ekāvali)* bejewelled *keyūras* in his arms. On the head is a dainty tiara. The attributes in his hands are not very clear but the proper right probably holds a bowl of sweets and in the upper right hand probably the goad *(aṅkuśa)*. The proper left has what looks like a radish *(mūla-kanda)* while the upper left holds an axe *(paraśu)*.

In the rock-cut temples of Bezaklik, there are several frescoes in which representations of Gaṇeśa are found. They usually depict him seated with six arms, holding sun and moon, banner and probably the *mātuliṅga*. Behind his head is a nimbus *(prabhā-valaya)*. An interesting feature of these representations of Gaṇeśa is that the elephant face does not follow the usual representation of the god because the trunk somewhat resembles the snout of wild boar. However, the god being in the company of Śiva and Kārtikeya, there should be little doubt about his identity as Gaṇeśa.

At Khaklik, about 75 miles from Khotan, two painted representations of Gaṇeśa have been found. Of these, one depicts an emaciated Gaṇeśa. Three of his hands are seen; they hold a bowl of sweets, goad (*aṅkuśa*) and radish each. The upper left hand is not clearly seen. The god is shown wearing a *dhoti*-like lower garment (*antarīya*) and an upper garment (*uttarīya*).

Another figure shows Gaṇeśa seated on a cushion with *prabhā-valaya* at the back. He wears a crown and jewellery on his person. The trunk is turned towards right and he appears to be looking at the female attendant on his left. He has four arms, each holding a radish, a *modaka*, an indistinct object and one hand is seen resting on the thigh. He wears a bluish lower garment.

Mongolia

With the introduction of Buddhism in Mongolia, Gaṇeśa reached that land. Buddhism spread there through Tibet and the Tibetan monk Hphags-pa carried Mahayana Buddhism into Mongolia in the 13th century and is said to have converted even the emperor Kublai Khan. To the Mongols, Mahākāla was only the manifestation of Śiva and it was, therefore, quite natural that Gaṇeśa should have become popular in Mongolia. The dancing form of the elephant-headed god (Nṛtta-Gaṇapati) is to be found among the "five hundred gods of Nar-than". He is shown on his mount (*vāhana*) rat which holds the jewel cintāmaṇi in its mouth. The four hands hold each an axe (*paraśu*), radish (*mūla-kanda*), bowl of sweets and a trident (*triśūla*) which normally is an attribute of Śiva.

According to a legend, the father of Ḥphags-pa is said to have invoked Gaṇeśa who took him up with his trunk, carried him to the top of mount Meru and showing him the country of Mongolia said, "Thy son shall subjugate this whole country", which proved to be true.[10]

Ceylon

Much has been said about the elephant-headed dwarf (*gaṇa*) which has been carved among the row of *gaṇas* sculptured on the Kantaka Cettinga stupa, near Mihintale which was uncovered in the course of excavations in 1934–35. The figure has been taken to represent the proto-Gaṇeśa[11] in the same way as Coomaraswamy is inclined to look upon the similar elephant-headed *gaṇa* carved on one of the Amaravati railings in Andhra Pradesh. If, however, we accept the identification of these figures as representing proto-Gaṇeśa, we can reasonably expect the evolution of Gaṇeśa in the Buddhist pantheon which, however, is not borne out by the available evidence. The figures only represent *gaṇas* supporting the superstructure and we are reminded of the description of Rāvaṇa's palace in the epic which describes it as being supported by caryatids.[12] Moreover the *Mahābhārata* mentions that one of the *Mahā-pārṣadas* of Śiva was elephant-headed.[13] The Buddhists, probably, borrowed the idea of the *gaṇas* from the epics and very naturally the elephant-headed *gaṇa* also came to be represented

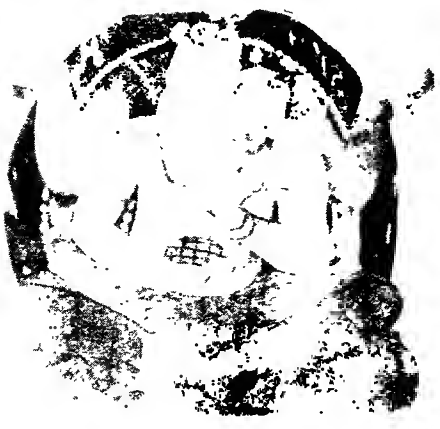

Fig. 5 *Painted panel (Endere, Khotan)*

in Buddhist friezes of the early centuries of the Christian era.

A fine image of Gaṇeśa (Fig. 6) is sculptured on a pillar in a Śiva temple at Polonnaruva. It is carved in a niche crowned by a *Kīrti-mukha*. The god is seated and has four hands of which the lower left holds *modaka*. In the temple of Subrahmaniam at Katargama, about 150 miles from Colombo, Gaṇeśa occupies an independent position. He is worshipped even by Christians and Muslims.

Burma

The Burmese are professedly Buddhist and follow the Pali canon of the Southern school. Buddhism was introduced in Burma in the later half of the 11th century. However, Hinduism appears to have already penetrated into Burma long before Buddhism. This is evident from innumerable images of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava gods and goddesses which have so far been found in that country. There is abundant evidence—epigraphical and otherwise—to show the existence of a considerable number of Hindus, particularly Brahmins, in Burma as priests, astrologers, architects, etc., who probably occupied positions of influence and responsibility. This perhaps took place in the 5th–6th centuries A.D. during the time of the Imperial Gupta rulers. It were these people who introduced and carried with them images of various deities of the Hindu pantheon.

A good number of Gaṇeśa images have so far been found in lower Burma, for in upper Burma Mahāyāna Buddhism held sway. Gaṇeśa being the god who removed obstacles and granted success in any undertaking, his images were carried by merchants and traders who went out of India in order to achieve success in trade and commerce beyond the seas. Their journey was extremely hazardous and full of dangers. It is, therefore, very natural that they carried with them small portable statues of Gaṇeśa. Professor Ray rightly observes that, "Gaṇeśa found popular favour mainly with the commercial section of the population."[14] In Burma, especially in the deltaic regions of lower Burma, Indian immigrants settled in large numbers. In this region, which was their commercial stronghold, a number of small images of Gaṇeśa have been found. They are modest in size, crude in execution and are devoid of any artistic merit. They were probably carried from place to place by merchants and traders as they travelled far and wide in the country.

There are two interesting images of Gaṇeśa in the Rangoon Museum. Both are small in size and are carved in low relief. One of them shows the god seated in *padmāsana* and six armed. The attributes in his hands are not clearly visible. The upper left appears to be holding a discus *(cakra)* and a noose *(pāśa)* while the two lower hands hold the *bilva* fruit and the trunk respectively. Both the images betray poor workmanship.

Professor Ray has noticed fragments of images of Gaṇeśa within the precincts of the Shwesandaw Pagoda, Pagan, where, along with other Hindu divinities placed at the corner of the different pyramidal structures as guardian deities of the Buddhist shrine.[15] However, a most remarkable Gaṇeśa image was recovered sometime ago from the debris of the ruins of one of the temples of Pagan.[16] It is unique and is of great iconographic interest. It depicts Gaṇeśa seated in *padmāsana*. He has four hands of which the upper right holds a *paraśu* and the lower right a rosary *(akṣamālā)* whereas the upper left has a conch and the lower left, placed in his lap probably has *mātuliṅga*. Yet the most interesting feature of the sculpture is the figure of crocodile on the front of the pedestal carved in low relief. Similarly, on the right and left of the pedestal are carved in bas relief a tortoise and fish respectively. All these are acquatic creatures which have not so far been found associated with Gaṇeśa elsewhere so far. Nor is there any literary evidence to connect the god with them. The image, therefore, is unique on account of these unusual features. It is not unlikely that the Hindu traders carved such an image to protect them from acquatic creatures in the jungles of Burma during their travels far into the interior of the country.

There are two more images of Gaṇeśa at Pagan which are only miniature votive tablets. Gaṇeśa thus appears to have gradually achieved an important place in the indigenous religion and mythology of Burma and came to be known as 'Mahā-pienne' and as such is still worshipped in the Peninsula.[17]

Thailand

Thailand (popularly known as Siam) came into contact with India at a very early period. The stylistic evidence shows the influence of the Amaravati school on Siamese art in the early centuries of the Christian era. Later still, the Gupta, Pallava and Pāla elements are noticeable in Siamese art. It appears that the southern part of Thailand came first into contact with India. It was easier for Indian traders to push further eastward from lower Burma into Thailand. This should explain the strong Burmese Hindu influence on the Mon art during 6th–8th century A.D.

The Mons were devout Hindus. Notwithstanding the fact that the Thais adhered to Buddhism later, Gaṇeśa was popular among them all. Several statues of the god have been found. Among these those of the Ayuthian period are noteworthy. The early art of Ayuthia (Ayodhya) betrays strong Indian influence. This is borne out by a fine bronze statue which represents the god seated on a cushion in the *mahārāja-līlā* pose with his trunk curved towards left. Under his uplifted right leg is his *vāhana*, the rat. He wears a knee-reaching lower garment and a sacred thread of snake *(nāga-yajño-pavīta)*. His bangles and armlets are simple rings *(valayas)* whereas the jewelled *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* is noteworthy. He has four hands, the arrangement of which, according to Getty, is rather unusual and unique.[18] From the shoulder to the elbow there is one arm, but at the elbow the arm branches into two. Of the two upper hands, the left holds a noose *(pāśa)* while the attribute in the right is not clearly seen. The lower right holds a broken tusk and the lower left rests on the thigh. However, the god is shown with both the tusks intact. This lapse of iconographical details may be due to the ignorance of the Ayuthian artist.

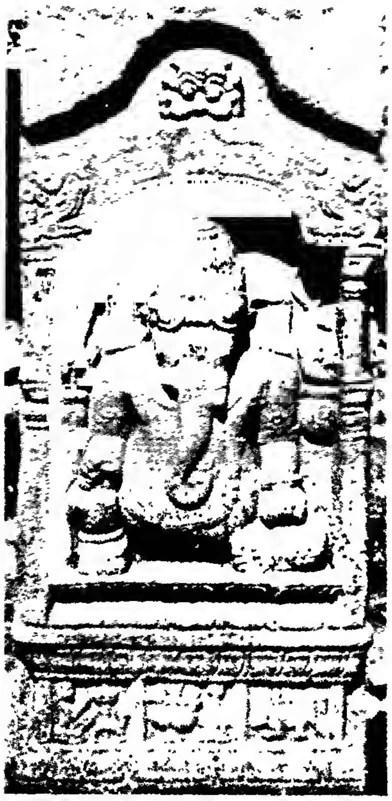

FIG 6 *Gaṇeśa in the Śiva Dewal. Polonnaruwa (Ceylon).*

In the famous Hindu temple at Bangkok, there is an interesting bronze statue of Gaṇeśa. He is shown with his legs superposed. He wears a *nāga-yajñopavīta*. In his right hand is to be seen the broken tusk while in the left is a manuscript. This can be taken, with a reasonable amount of certainly, to be the representation of Gaṇeśa as a scribe *(lekhaka)* for the sage Vyasa who is traditionally supposed to have dictated the whole *Mahābhārata* to Gaṇeśa. This is not unlikely in view of the fact that the great epic had already reached as far as Cambodia by 6th century. It may also suggest Gaṇeśa's association with knowledge (*jñāna*).

Cambodia

Legendary accounts show that India came into contact with Cambodia at quite an early period. Tradition tells us that about the early centuries of the Christian era a Brahmin by name Kauṇḍinya journeyed to the coast of Cambodia and established a kingdom there. He Indianized the country completely, and the Chinese reports state: "They worship the Spirits of Heaven and make images of bronze. Those with two faces have four arms and those with four faces have eight arms".[19] These are obvious references to Hindu gods and demonstrate how deep the Hindu influence had penetrated into Cambodia.

Cambodia is extremely rich in sculptural remains and there are innumerable images of Hindu, including Buddhist divinities. Just as in Burma and Thailand, in Cambodia too a number of Gaṇeśa images have come to light. As already observed, the *Mahābhārata* was known in Cambodia as early as the 6th century. It, therefore, seems likely that they knew Gaṇeśa from an early period. This is confirmed by the evidence from the inscriptions of Angkor Borei, dated 611 A.D., which records the grant of slaves to the temple which was dedicated to several deities of which one was Gaṇeśa.[20]

The cult of Śiva appears to have penetrated into Cambodia from Funan where Hindu religion was practised at an early date. Gaṇeśa, therefore, very likely came along with Śiva. There are several temples of Śiva and Gaṇeśa in Cambodia. In this connection it may be mentioned that Yaśovarman I (889–910 A.D.) had erected an āṣrama at Neak Buos, an important religious centre which was founded by Jayavarman I. The asrama was dedicated to the Gaṇeśa of Chandangiri. This has been referred to in an inscription of 9th century but found in the region of Kompong Thom.[21] The 'Sandal Mountains' (Candanagiri) has been identified as the Chocung Prey near which, on a hill in the vicinity of Prah Pada, are the ruins of a temple that is believed to have been dedicated to Gaṇeśa. This inscription is of great interest because it referes to Gaṇeśa as an independant deity of local importance and emphasizes the tradition which followed him from India to Japan of being worshipped in connection with mountains.

One temple at Prasat Bak (10th century) was apparently dedicated to the worship of Gaṇeśa. Gaṇeśa is also depicted in the scenes in Bung Meglea and his statues have also been discovered in the vicinity of Kuk Trapeang Kul temple. Several other loose sculptures have also been found from time to time. Gaṇeśa is known as 'Prah Kenes' in Cambodia and his representations can be distinguished on account of certain characteristic features. First and foremost, he is never shown as pot-bellied and bulky. He is usually shown sitting cross-legged and with two hands. The trunk is almost straight and curled down at the end: sometime it is upturned also. Another noteworthy feature is that the pre-Khmer images of Gaṇeśa, as a rule, are not shown with head-dress of any sort. However, towards 8th century we find Gaṇeśa wearing an ornate *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*. They are usually bare to the waist and are shown wearing a *nāga-yajñopavīta*.

One of the most remarkable images of Gaṇeśa is in a private collection at Speak Thmar Kendal. It depicts the god sitting in a cross legged posture. He has two hands and wears a tall conical headgear. Curiously enough, he has four hands. It may be especially mentioned that four-headed forms of Gaṇeśa are extremely rare and the only parallel that can be cited is from Ghatiala (Rajasthan) in India where four Gaṇeśa images are carved on the top of a column in cardinal directions.

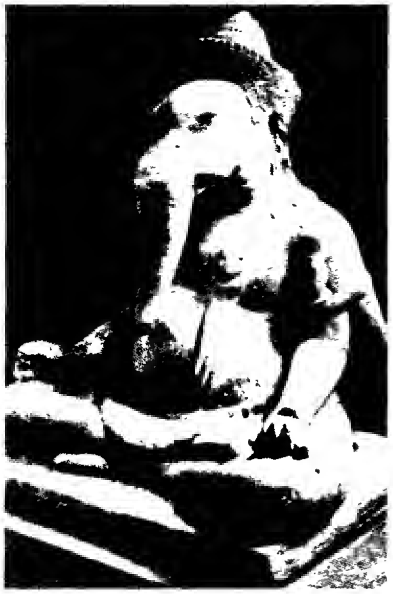

FIG 7 *Stone statue of Ganeśa (Cambodia)*

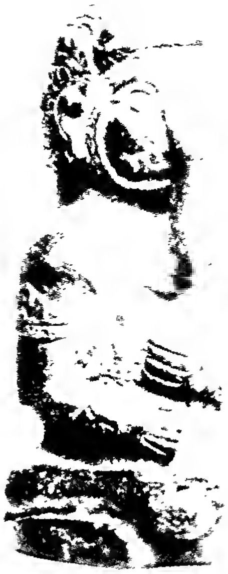

FIG 8 *Bronze statue of Gaṇeśa (Java)*

An interesting stone image of the god was discovered at Thurol Phak Kim Kanda. This is by far the simplest form of Gaṇeśa in which he is shown sitting cross-legged and does not wear any jewellery, not even the sacred thread. The right hand holds probably the broken tusk while the left one has a bowl of sweets. On the forehead is the third eye, a characteristic of Śiva. This is a pre-Khmer image datable to the pre-eighth century.

A fine stone of the Khmer period (10th–12th centuries) is now preserved in the Musée Guimet, Paris (Fig. 7). It shows the god sitting cross-legged and wearing a very elaborately jewelled *mukuṭa*. He also wears a *nāga-yajñopavīta* and has snakes for armlets (*sarpa-keyūra*). Of the four hands, the two at the back are broken, the other two at the front are shown resting in the lap and the attributes in the hands are, therefore, not clear. Though slightly bulky and of ponderous proportions, the statue is well modelled and is a fine specimen of the period to which it belongs.

Champā

To the east of Funan and Cambodia was situated the kingdom of Champā, which is now occupied by the central and southern Annam. The very name Champā is thoroughly Indian and it is clear from the monuments, statuary and inscriptions found in that ancient country that the early civilization flourishing there was due to strong influence from India. Contact with India started from about the early centuries of the Christian era and the influence of the Amaravati school is visible on its early artistic creations. As in Cambodia, in Champā too the principal Hindu cult was that of Śiva. In fact, Śaivism was held in such a high esteem by the Cham dynasty, that it claimed direct descent from Siva. The most important centre of Śaivism was in the Quangdam where, between 4th to 7th century innumerable sancturies were erected at Mi-so'n alone. Alongwith Śiva, Gaṇeśa naturally found his way into Champā.

There is epigraphical evidence to show that temples were erected and dedicated to Gaṇeśa. One such sanctury was at Po Nagar. From the cultural evidence it appears that Gaṇeśa was quite popular during 7th–8th centuries A.D. A most impressive statue of Gaṇeśa was discovered at Mi-so'n where a Śaiva shrine was found.[22] It depicts a standing Gaṇeśa wearing a *dhoti*-like lower garment (Sampot), very similar to the Indian *ardhoruka*, reaching knees. It is held in position on waist by what looks like a cord *(kaṭi-sūtra)*.Originally four armed, two of its back arms are now missing. In the lower left hand is a bowl of sweets which he is eating with his trunk. He wears sparse jewellery and there is no crown on his head, but the *nāga-yajñopavīta* is seen. The statue is dated to about 8th century. As compared to the Khmer representations of Gaṇeśa, this image appears rather bulky. It is characterised by rather coarse plastic treatment. Another seated image was also found at Mi-so'n.[23] Yet most interesting is the Gaṇeśa image in the Saigon Museum. It is unfortunately in a mutilated condition. It shows the god seated, and with two hands. Curiously enough it has three deep set eyes. He also has a small *prabhā-valaya* at the back. According to Boisselier, it is the only representation of its kind in the whole of South-east Asia.[24]

In some of the Cham statues of Gaṇeśa we notice *uṣṇīṣa*, the protruberence on the head, which is supposed to be a symbol of great men *(mahā-puruṣa-lakṣaṇa)*. This, in fact, is a characteristic of the Buddha images and it is not, therefore, unlikely that the Buddhist iconography influenced the Hindu image. This becomes all the more possible in view of the fact that both the religions flourished in Champā side by side.

Java and Bali (Indonesia)

It appears that Java was known to Indians from a very long period, for the *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to the islands as Yava-dvīpa. In all probability the first contacts were made about the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier. Hinduism began to spread in these islands during

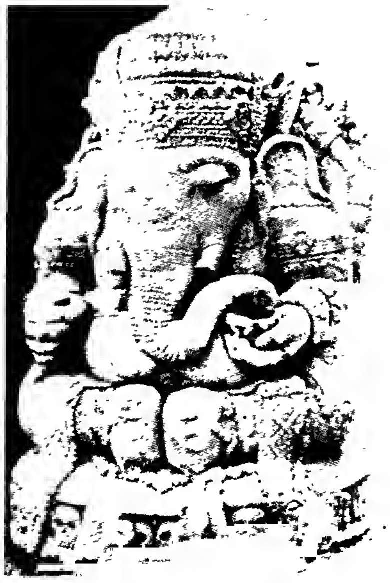

FIG 9 *Stone statue of Gaṇeśa, Bara (Java)*

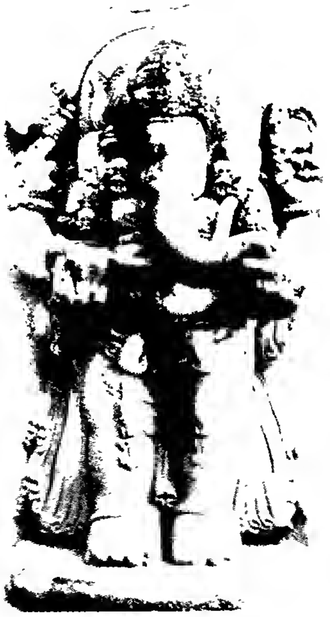

FIG 10 *Gaṇeśa statue from Chaudi-singhasari (Java)*

the time of the great Gupta monarchs in 4th–5th centuries, and Śaivism became a most predominant faith. Innumerable sculptures of Brahmanical gods and goddesses have been found in Indonesia. In Java, however, there does not appear to be a cult of Gaṇeśa and no temples were dedicated to him but his images have been found in the temples of Śiva.

Among the statues of Gaṇeśa in Java the most primitive is the one discovered in west Java.[25] The carving is very crude and the statue appears to be unfinished. Some scholars would like to assign it a very early date only because it is so primitive. However, the image appears unfinished and it is therefore extremely difficult to date it with precision. Another early Gaṇeśa statue is a small bronze (Fig. 8) which is now in the British Museum. It shows the god seated with two hands without any attributes and there is no head-dress. The trunk is somewhat straight. The statue perhaps represents an early attempt at fashioning the anthropomorphic form of Gaṇeśa and may be ascribed to the 6th century. A slight advance is noticeable in the bronze statuette in the possession of G. Coédes. It also has two arms without any attritutes The trunk is straight and the god wears sparse jewellery. He, however, wears a small conical *mukuṭa* over the head.

The stone statue of Gaṇeśa found on the Dieng plateau is believed to be the most ancient representation of the god in Java.[26] It appears that, stylistically at least, it may be later than the preceding one. It shows the Gaṇeśa sitting, with four hands; the proper right hand holding the broken tusk and the left the bowl of sweets while the upper two hold a *paraśu* and a *akṣamālā*. He wears armlets, bracelets, a necklace and a *nāga-yajñopavīta*, but there is no crown on the head.

One of the finest statues of Gaṇeśa from Chandi Banon is now housed in the Djakarta Museum.[27] Practically nothing now remains of Chandi Banon, a Śaivite monument near Borobudur. The statue depicts the god seated and wearing a flowered garment and jewellery. In the right hand he holds a broken tusk and a rosary while in lower left hand is a bowl of sweets. The object in the upper left hand is broken.

The use of skull ornaments in the representations of Gaṇeśa images is a purely Javanese conception. This happened because of Gaṇeśa's association with Śiva who, in the form of Bhairava, wears a garland of skulls (*kapāla-mālā*). This is best illustrated by Gaṇeśa image of Bara (Fig. 9). According to the chronogram in words on its pedestal it is dated 1239 A.D.—in the early Singhasari period.[28] The god carried his usual attributes but a number of skulls are seen on the pedestal. Gaṇeśa is the god who removes all dangers and difficulties. In this case he is himself protected by a large Kāla head against dangerous influences threatening him from the rear. The large canines and the long tongue of the Kāla recall modern Balinese masks. The back hands of Gaṇeśa are at the same time used for the claws of the Kāla. Very similar arrangement of skulls is also seen in the statue from Chandi Singhasari.[29] It shows the god standing with the usual attributes in his four hands. He wears elaborate jewellery in the making of which skulls are used (Fig. 10).

During 8th–9th century the Śaiva cult was especially flourishing in Bali and consequently Gaṇeśa became quite a popular deity. It is interesting to note that a majority of Balinese images of Gaṇeśa show him in a standing posture. Besides, he was usually shown with a third eye, a characteristic of Śiva. A remarkable statue from Djembaran depicts him seated and holding in his two hands a fly whisk in the right and a bowl of sweets in the left (Fig. 11). A bronze image of Gaṇeśa have also been found in Bali.

Gaṇeśa is also to be seen sculptured in the group of royal personages whose statues were made posthumously. Probably, they invoked the god to remove obstacles in life after death.

Borneo

It is indeed surprising that Hinduism should have penetrated as far as Borneo in the 5th century or even earlier. This is evident from an epigraphical record discovered at Kotei which records certain Hindu rites performed by Brahmins. Furthermore, a cave at Kombeng contained several Brahmanical and Buddhist images among which a majority were of the Śaiva pantheon. Of these, a fine stone statue of Gaṇeśa shows him sitting with the usual attributes in his four hands.[30] It is a loose image and appears to have been brought with others from some other temple which was facing destruction at the hands of hostile barbarians. It seems that the idol is taken to be contemporaneous with the Kotei epigraphs of 5th century and is thus supposed to be one of the oldest statues of Gaṇeśa known so far. This dating however, is not supported by stylistic evidence. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that the statue originally belonged to some temple on the banks of river Mahakan whence it was brought and deposited in the cave. On stylistic grounds it can be assigned to 8th century.

Another statue of Gaṇeśa from Borneo shows the deity seated with fan-shaped ears and almost straight trunk which appear to be the characteristic of Borneo statues of Gaṇeśa.[31] Another important feature that is common to both is that the crown looks more like the *jaṭāmukuṭa*. In the present case it looks as if the hair is combed into a round bun (*dhammilla*) on the top of the head and is adorned by a tiara. The attributes in his hands are not clear. A very interesting feature of this statue is the *ūrṇā* mark, or the protruberance between the eye-brows, an important mark of greatness. The *ūrṇā* is usually to be seen in the statue of Buddha in India and its presence in Hindu images is, probably, due to the ignorance of the artist who was perhaps used to fashion Buddha images. It may be recalled that another mark—*uṣṇīṣa*—has been noticed in the images of Gaṇeśa in Champa.

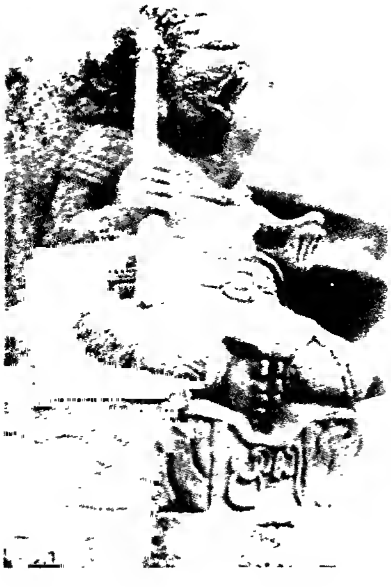

Fig 11 *Gaṇeśa from Djembaram Bali*

China

Gaṇeśa probably reached China through Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan. However, it appears to have reached there at a very early date, for there are two early representations of Gaṇeśa in China. One is a fresco (Fig. 12) in the rock-cut caves at Tun-huang and the other is a stone image carved in low relief in the rock-cut temple at Kung-hsien (Fig. 13). The former is depicted along with other Hindu deities such as the Sun, the Moon and the Hindu god of love, Kāmadeva and the *Navagrahas*. On stylistic grounds it can be dated to 6th century. The stone image at Kung-hsien can be dated on the basis of inscriptional evidence, to 531 A.D. It, thus, becomes the earliest dated image of Gaṇeśa. He is shown seated in the true Indian cross legged posture. He has two hands, the right one holding lotus and the left, the cintāmaṇi jewel. The inscription refers to him as the 'Spirit King of Elephants'.

Two forms of Gaṇeśa were known to the Chinese and the Japanese. Of these, Vināyaka was the single form and the Kangi-ten was the double form. There are many representations of Vināyaka who is usually shown seated. He has two hands, left holding a radish and the right holding a *paraśu* (Fig. 14). Notwithstanding the fact that there is documentary evidence to show that the double form was secretly worshipped in China as late as 11th century no

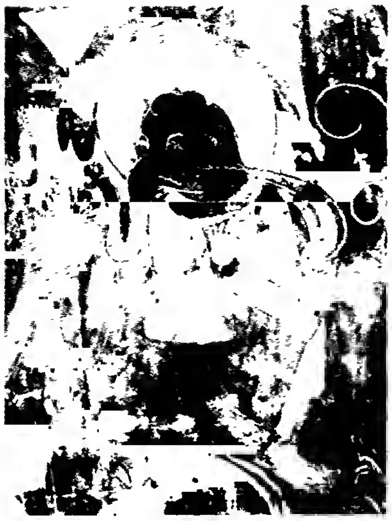

FIG 12. *Painted panel, Tun huang (China)*

images of the double form have been found. This may perhaps be due to the ban on the worship of Kangi-ten imposed by emperor Chen Tsung in 1017 by an edict.

Japan

It appears that Gaṇeśa was unknown in Japan till 9th century. But once his worship was introduced by Kolso Daishi, a Buddhist, the god became quite popular and his statues in the Vināyaka form were made and temples were dedicated to him. He was often shown standing with two, four or six arms, and usually with a smiling countenance. In the Kaku-zen-cho form he was shown with three heads, each having three eyes and in his four hands he held a sword, a radish, a *modaka*, and sceptre. He was supposed to be seated on a mountain and was referred to as 'King of Elephants'.

In the double form Kangi-ten (Fig. 15) Gaṇeśa was worshipped not publicly in temples but secretly. It was a secret esoteric cult, based on the doctrine of *yoga*.

FIG 13 *Gaṇeśa in low relief Kung-hsien (China)*

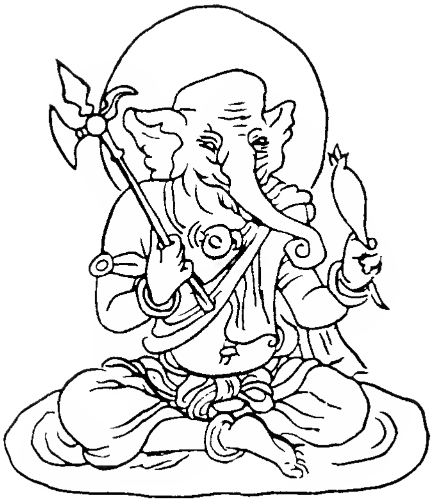

FIG. 14 *Vināyaka* (*China*

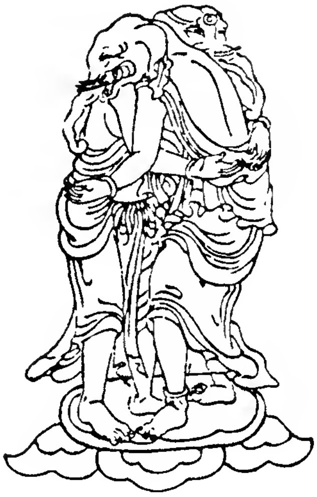

FIG 15 *Kauji-Ten* (*Japan*

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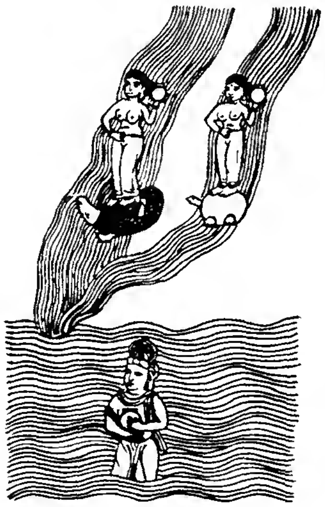


Religio-Cultural Emissaries from India

M. D. KHARE

INDIA, THROUGH HER long history, has influenced the culture of most countries of Asia and the Western world. Such cultural communications were through saints, traders, ambassadors, besides religious teachers. It is a fact that Indians, unlike others, never imposed their faith and ideas by force or by exterminating the local culture, but enriched it by mutual adjustments while retaining the basic elements of the culture of the nations to which they carried their home-culture. The first notable ambassador of Indian culture was the sage Agastya, the first compiler of the Tamil grammar, who is said to have gone as far as Ceylon in the south. In fact in the South-East Asian countries he is venerated so much that a separate cult—the Cult of Agastya—has grown around him.

Sanskrit and Prākrit literature, particularly *Kathāsaritsāgara, Dīpavaṃsa, Mahāvaṃsa,* the *Jātakas*, etc., are replete with stories of sea voyages and the hazards of travellers. The protohistoric and historic trade routes, especially the silk-route to China passing through Central Asia, the spice-routes to South-East Asia and the Western world played a vital role in the spread of Indian religions and culture in other countries. Impact of the Indian culture is discernible in Egypt, West Asian countries, Afghanistan, Central Asia, China, Ceylon and the South-East Asian countries. Here, in this paper, it is proposed to recapitulate it region-wise.

Egypt and West Asia

India's contact with Egypt is very ancient. It is the opinion of some historians that cloth wrapped around the Egyptian mummies was imported from India[1], and their original home was Punt which could, perhaps, be identified with the Pāṇḍyan country in the south. Even the names of Egyptian and Brahmanical gods are identical.[2] Further, in early historical times, during Aśoka's reign, Indian missionaries with the message of Dharma must have reached Alexandria, for Aśoka in his Thirteenth Rock Edict clearly mentions Ptolemy Philadephos, the ruler of Egypt. It is quite likely that a few traders from India had establishments in a few cities of Egypt.

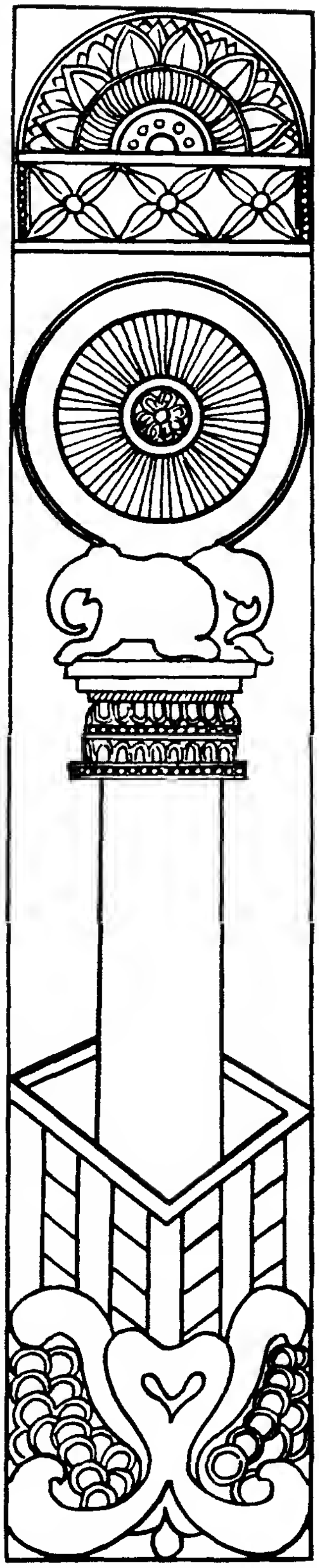
The discovery of several 'Indus-type' seals from many West-Asian sites, viz., Ur, Kish, Susa, Lagash, etc. and, a dockyard and a 'Persian Gulf seal' at Lothal in Gujarat, India, point to the contact, trade, cultural or otherwise of the Harappans with West Asia as early as in the third millennium B.C.[3] Stronger impact of early Indian religion during the middle of the second millennium B.C. is evident from the fact that Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, the twin Aśvins—all of the Vedic pantheon—are mentioned in an inscription found at Boghaz-koi[4] recording the treaty between the Hittites and the Mittani peoples. It is possible that there were some movement of the Aryan people from India to Asia Minor as there is the possibility of people coming from Asia Minor to India.[5] The languages of the Avesta and the Vedas and the respective religions have some commonness between them. Could it be possible that the Parsis were the residents of India prior to their reaching Persia? Of course, for the present it is largely conjectural. By far the most substantial evidence of India's contact with the West is provided by an Aśokan Rock Edict. The trade routes have been advantageously utilized in the third century B.C. by Aśoka, who despatched several goodwill missions with the message of peace, love and service in various directions; five such missions were sent to the western countries, Syria, Macedon, Epirus, Cyrene and Egypt.

Afghanistan and Central Asia

Recent archaeological discoveries, particularly Aśokan epigraphs in Aramaic in Afghanistan and art remains in Central Asia are significant. It is said that Yavana Dharma Rakshita went from India to Arachosia to propagate the faith of the Enlightened and converted many.[6] Ārya Dhitika, son of a rich Brahmin of Ujjain, was converted by Upagupta and he was responsible to a great extent for the spread of Buddhism in Thogar (Tho-dkar), a principality to the north and north-west of Kashmir and ruled by Minar Dhitika. During his short stay of three months he converted numerous persons, including the king Minar. He thus paved the way for the many *sthaviras* from Kashmir to visit this region. During the time of Minar and his son I-ma-sya about fifty monastries became active with monks and nuns.

At Balkh, in the seventh-eighth centuries, many monasteries were functioning with a number of monks living there. At Zang-tépé, 30 km. from Termez on the Oxus, have been found during excavations fragments or birch bark manuscripts in Central Asian Brāhmī and in hybrid (Buddhist) Sanskrit language. They are assignable to seventh-eighth centuries A.D. Several other documents written in variants are Buddhistic in purport.[7]

The trade routes between India and China passed through Central Asia and Afghanistan and these are studded with a number of religious and cultural townships of Indian religions. A few such establishments are : Bamiyan, famous for its temples and colossal images of the Buddha; Bactriana, with its *Nava-saṅghārāma;* Sogdiana (Samarkand and Bokhara), from whence Seng hun (Sanghabhadra) translated Buddhist texts into Chinese; Kashgar and Yarkand and Khotan yielding a number of Indian texts, viz., *Dhammapada*, *Sūrya-garbha-sūtra*, *Prajñāpāramitā*, etc., besides vestiges of many stūpas, vihāras and temples. Besides, the discovery of inscribed frescoes recalling Ajanta paintings and a number of standing Buddha figures at Dandan Uiliq; tablets inscribed in Kharoṣṭhī with the legend



Chakradhavaja, Amaravati

Mahānubhāvo Mahārājo likhati from Niya, the language and the script, all confirm the continuance of Indian tradition (their being introduced by immigrants from Taxila).[8] Sanskrit texts datable to fifth century A.D. from Endere; colossal stucco statues at Rawak; temples and wall paintings showing Indian monks at Bazaklik; the Thousand Buddha caves at Tunhuang all point towards the Indian influence in Central Asia. The rulers of Kuchi bore even Indian names. Besides, a few notable Indian texts like the *Dhammapada* in Kharoṣṭhī (first-second century A.D.); *Sāriputra-prakaraṇa* (first century A.D.), and a Sanskrit drama attributable to Asvaghosha were also found in Central Asia. Endere and Niya also yielded seals bearing the figure of Kubera, Trimukha and Gaṇeśa while Stein has brought to light figures of Śiva and Viṣṇu.

China

Although Indian Buddhist missionaries reached China in about A.D. 65, yet the texts themselves had reached there much earlier, perhaps in the second century B.C. through the Yeuh-Chi rulers. Dharmaraksha and Kasyapa Mātaṅga, the pioneers in China, translated the Buddhist texts into Chinese in the first century A.D. and thus paved the way for others to follow. There was an onrush of Indian Buddhists into China between the third and sixth centuries A.D.[9] Some of those who went to China for the propagation of the tenets of the Enlightened are : Gautama-saṅgha, Puṇyatrāta, Dharmayaśas, Yaśa, Kumāravijaya, Vimalākṣa, Buddhajīva, Dharmakṣema from madhyadeśa, Upaśūnya and Paramārtha from Ujjain, Guṇavarman from Kashmir, Bodhidharma, Jñānabhadra, Jinayaśas and Yaśogupta from Bengal and Kāmarūpa (Assam), Buddhabhadra and Vimokṣasena from Swat, Jīvagupta of Gāndhāra, Dharmagupta of Lāṭa, Prabhākaramitra, Bodhiruci, Sudhākarasiṁha Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra and Dharmadeva. Among these Gautamasaṅgha, Bodhiruci, Amoghavajra and Dharmadeva translated Buddhist texts into the Chinese. Amoghavajra alone took with him five hundred texts out of which he translated seventy-seven. But the greatest and the last translator and who died in China itself was Dharmadeva. Buddhajīva who had accompanied the Chinese traveller Fa-hien. Sudhākarasiṃha and Amoghavajra are to be remembered for the introduction into China a form of mystic Buddhism.

Nepal

After his conversion to Buddhism, Aśoka undertook a pilgrimage to Lumbinī, the birth place of the Buddha and in this he was guided by Upagupta. The king's daughter, Cārumatī, who later on married Devapāla of Nepal, also accompanied him.

Ceylon and the South-East Asian countries

Ceylon is one of those countries where the impact of Buddhism had been greatest. Aśoka's contemporary in Ceylon was Tissa who sent a diplomatic mission under the leadership of his nephew, Ariṭṭha to the Mauryan court. The mission returned with the gift of the doctrine of the Buddha and a personal message from Aśoka to Tissa exhorting the latter to become a follower of the Faithful. Aśoka's son Mahendra, accompanied by four *sthaviras* went to Ceylon for this purpose. Later, Saṅghamitrā, the daughter of the Mauryan emperor, was taken to Ceylon by Ariṭṭha for the specific purpose of the ordination of queen Anula and her companions. A branch of the Bodhi tree was also planted in the Island.[10] Besides, the numerous Brāhmī inscriptions found in the Island bear witness to the cultural impact of India in the field of writing. Again, it is quite likely that the many vihāras and dagobas now in ruins, particularly at Anurādhapura, might originally, have been influenced by their Indian prototypes.

The South-east Asian countries are collectively known as *Dvīpāntara* and here the impact of the Indian religions and culture was the greatest. The countries included are Malaya, Indonesia, the erstwhile Indo-china, Siam, Cambodia, etc., "To these islands, culturally regarded as integral parts of Bhāratavarṣa, extended the specific Indian religious ceremony or institution known as *Ijyā* or sacrifice. As stated in the *Vāmana-purāṇa*, they were sanctified by the performance of pious deeds like sacrifice (*ijyā*), by righteous war (*yuddha*), by trade (*vāṇijya*) and other deeds (*karmabhiḥ*)".[11] After the Third Buddhist council, sometime in the third century B.C., missions were sent to Suvarṇabhūmī, Lankā and to the Yavana country. *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa* credit Thera Sona and Utar to have converted sixty thousand people to the Buddhist faith; fifteen hundred of both sexes became *bhikṣus* or *bhikṣuṇīs* and entered the *Saṃgha*.[12] According to *Mahākarma-vibheda*, Gavāṁpati was responsible for the propagation of Buddhism in Suvarṇabhūmī. The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta also mentions that the rulers of Siṃhala and other islands recognized his suzerainty and applied for the imperial charters bearing the Garuda insignia, besides offering military help when required.[13] There are a few later inscriptions as well attesting to the extent of cultural contacts of India with these nations. Let us consider them country wise.

Malay Peninsula : An inscribed stele found at Vat Sema Muang of Ligor commences with *svasti*, an appropriate beginning for a Hindu record. The term *siddhayātrā* in the inscription of Mahānāvika Buddhagupta has its own story to tell. These are two seals, one of carnelian stone bears the legend *Śrī Viṣṇuvarmasya* and the other from Perak in Pallava characters has *Śrī* and *varman*. It is interesting to note the names ending with varman,[14] since the term is Indian in origin.

Indonesia : In Sumatra, the local indigenous language contains many Sanskrit words pointing to the prevalence of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the seventh century A.D. The Kedukau Bukit inscription bears the Sanskrit words "Śrīvijaya siddhayātrā subikṣa" while the two Telaug Tuwo epigraphs mention that in Śaka 606 Jayasena (-nāga) laid out a charitable park called Śrīkṣetra perhaps after the holy city of Puri on the Kalinga coast.

In Java, the inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman are the earliest. Pūrṇavarman styles himself as *vikrānta* and his foot prints are likened to those of Viṣṇu; the allusion being to the *Trivikrama avatāra*. Certainly, Pūrṇavarman had Hindu leanings. Another inscription refers to the digging of a canal named after the two well-known rivers of north India, Candrabhāgā and Gomatī. The system of reckoning days of the month here recalls the practice obtaining in south India. As a finale, we may mention that great was the attachment of the people of Java with India that one of the Śailendra kings endowed a vihāra at Nālandā.

In Central Java at Tuk Mas an inscription in the *upajāti* metre and datable to A.D. 732 extols a spring by comparing it with the holy Gangā. The Changal inscription of the same date mentions that a king named Sañjaya installed a Śiva liṅga, besides invoking the Hindu Trinity; Sañjaya himself being compared to Raghu, Sannāha and Manu.

In Borneo from a cave at Goenoeng Kombeng Hindu and Buddhist sculptures were found. Four sacrificial posts inscribed in Sanskrit verse and datable to A.D. 400 mention the *bahusuvarṇika* sacrifice, gift of twenty-thousand kine, *danas*, like *bahudāna*, *jīvadāna*, *kalpavṛkṣa-dāna*, *bhūmidāna*, while the fourth compares the donor with Bhāgiratha, son of Sagara. The name Kuṇḍaṅga occurring in the first inscription was perhaps a merchant-adventurer from south India.[15]

Indeed, for ages South-east Asia was the land of Hinduism.

Indo-China

According to the local tradition Cambodia (Kamboja) and Annam (Campā) were brought under the Indian influence by Kauṇḍinya, a brāhmaṇa, who married Dana, a local princess, and took over the rule of the kingdom there. In all probability, he was, to a great extent, responsible for the introduction of Indian culture in Indo-china.

In Champā, the Vo-Canh Rock Inscription datable to 400 A.D. is the earliest document referring to *Viśvajit* sacrifice, an orthodox Hindu sacrifice to be performed in one of the countries overseas. One of the two Cho-Dinh inscriptions, also datable to 400 A.D., is benedictory in character praying for the progeny of Bhadravarman and would perhaps point to the efforts of the Indian settlers, the anxiety to stabilise the rich heritage of India, as also to enrich the culture of the country they settled in. An inscribed stele from My-Son, rich for its ancient Hindu monuments, praises Bhadravarman as versed in the four Vedas—*Cātur-vaidya*.

The majority of settlers in Cambodia hailed from south India. The kings assumed the title *dharma-mahārāja* and their names ended with *varman*. Years were reckoned in the Śaka era. Two epigraphs belonging to the Fou nan (fifth century A.D.) reveal that Viṣṇu and Buddha were worshipped while the Phou Lokhon (Laos) Inscription speaks of the worship of Śiva. The names of bhikṣus Ratnabāhu and Ratnasiṃha are to be found in the Vat Prey Vier Sanskrit epigraph. Thus it appears that Hindusim, including Buddhism, prevailed here but curiously enough the characteristic of this colonial Hinduism is that it presents a blending of peculiarly different sects, which is less known in India. Śiva and Buddha are often represented identically.[16]

From the foregoing it is clear that the well-known Vaidika ideal *kṛṇvanto viśvam āryam* (let us make everyone in the world a noble soul) was the foremost guide-line of the Indian missionaries. For their work they devised two systems, *samrāṭ* and *parivrāṭ* signifying political and religio-cultural movements. Normally, the way to infuse religio-cultural ideas was paved by the *parivrājakas*, who tried to gather information of all types and of all places from the pilgrim centres in India itself and planned their itinerary to foreign lands along with merchants. In case of any difficulty, the *samrāṭ* perhaps was to take a forceful action according to the needs and circumstances. Samudragupta's sojourn might perhaps be considered to belong to this type of Hinduisation.

Since the scope of Vedic *Dharma* is very vast and all pervading *dhāryate anena iti dharmaḥ* or "*dhriyate loko'nena* or *dharati lokaṃ vā*", it is but natural that the sages thought in terms of Universal Brotherhood (*vasudhaiva kuṭumbakam*). But this goal of universal brotherhood could not be achieved without a missionary zeal, which they certainly possessed. Attempts of Aśoka in sending missionaries to different parts of the world is only a part of whole scheme of universal brotherhood, i.e., to make everyone an ārya, i.e. a noble soul. The appealing simplicity of Buddhism found favour everywhere. With the revival of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, a new spirit was infused and they followed the famous dictum 'to become god' one has to do 'godly deeds'.

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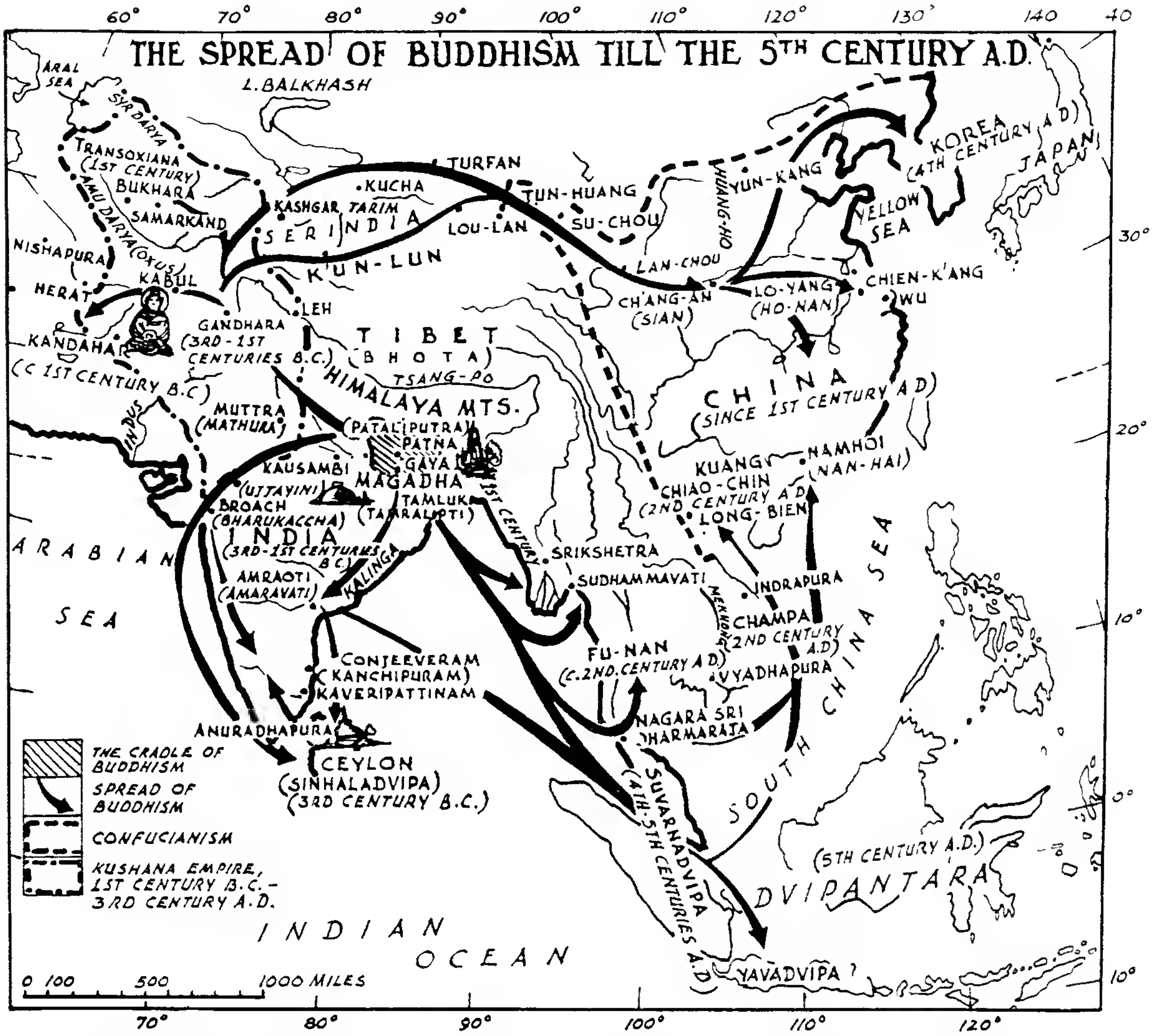
Ācāryas of Nalanda Abroad

B. N. MISRA

SENDING MONKS FOR preaching Buddha's law in distant regions and foreign lands has its roots in the circumstances of the time of the Buddha himself. Once while he was sojourning in the Bamboo-grove monastery at Rājagṛha, complaints came to him that during the rainy season the Bhikkhus had to trample upon the crops, grasses and creatures and thereupon commit violence.[1] He then allowed the Bhikkhus to observe Vassāvāsa at one place which began after the full-moon day of the Āṣāḍha month or a month later,[2] recite Pātimokkha and perform ceremonies of Pavāraṇā, Kaṭhina, etc. These activities transformed the Vassā-settlements into domiciles and the settlements became almost "semi-permanent" in character as early as the fourth century B.C.[3] Nalanda also represented a full-fledged permanent type of such settlements. After expiry of the rainy-season the monks wandered about preaching the Buddha's law for about nine months individually or in groups. The Buddha himself deputed sixty Arhats to various places, each to a different direction, for propagation of the Dhamma, accomplish the welfare of gods and men and lead a pure Brahmacarya-life.[4] He himself remained a great missionary throughout his life after enlightenment. The same missionary spirit echoed during Aśokan times. Aśoka proclaimed propagation of the piety or righteousness as against the sound of war-drums.[5] Through these means he aimed at victory over far-and-wide nations of divergent faiths and deputed his Anta-Mahāmātras and Dharma-Mahāmātras to the neighbouring states beyond the frontiers upto 600 yojanas—Yavanarāja Antiochus II Theos of Syria, Magas of Cyrene in North Africa, Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt, Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia, Alexander of Epirus or Corinth and Choḷas, Pāṇḍyas, Tāmraparṇī, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Nābhaka-Nābhapantis, Bhoja-pitinikas, Āndhras and Pulindas. Aśoka believed that victory through righteousness reached all the corners of this world and the world beyond.[6]

By the sixth century A.D., when Nalanda emerged as a full-fledged university, the objectives of the missionaries became multifarious. They went to foreign lands for preaching the law of the Buddha, for translating leading works into foreign languages, for founding monasteries, for warding off evil spirits, for combating the Tīrthikas, for improving foreign scripts, and for advanced studies in Buddhism, or they often took with them stūpas, replicas, images, seals, and manuscripts in large numbers. Sometimes, objects of trade also entered those countries along with religious materials. All this must have resulted into a socio-religious and cultural contact and exchange between India and the other nations. The contributions of the missionaries, the teachers and the students of Magadha, in this respect are summed up below in a chronological order.

During the Gupta period and later, China was approachable via the north-west frontier,


THE SPREAD OF BUDDHISM TILL THE 5TH CENTURY A.D.
60° 70° 80° 90° 100° 110° 120° 130° 140
ARAL SEA
L. BALKHASH
SYR DARYA
TRANSOXIANA (1ST CENTURY)
BUKHARA
SAMARKAND
AMU DARYA (OXUS)
NISHAPURA
HERAT
KABUL
KANDAHAR (C 1ST CENTURY B.C.)
GANDHARA (3RD-1ST CENTURIES B.C.)
INDUS
KASHGAR
TARIM
KUCHA
TURFAN
SERINDIA
LOU-LAN
TUN-HUANG
SU-CHOU
K'UN-LUN
LEH
TIBET (BHOTA)
TSANG-PO
HIMALAYA MTS.
HWANG-HO
YUN-KANG
LAN-CHOU
CH'ANG-AN (SIAN)
LO-YANG (HO-NAN)
CHIEN-K'ANG
WU
KOREA (4TH CENTURY A.D.)
JAPAN
YELLOW SEA
CHINA (SINCE 1ST CENTURY A.D.)
KUANG
NAMHOI (NAN-HAI)
CHIAO-CHIN (2ND CENTURY A.D.)
LONG-BIEN
MUTTRA (MATHURA)
PATALIPUTRA
PATNA
GAYA
MAGADHA
KAUSAMBI
(UJJAYINI)
BROACH (BHARUKACCHA)
TAMLUK (TAMRALIPTI)
INDIA (3RD-1ST CENTURIES B.C.)
AMRAOTI (AMARAVATI)
KALINGA
1ST CENTURY
SRIKSHETRA
SUDHAMMAVATI
INDRAPURA
MEKONG
CHAMPA (2ND CENTURY A.D.)
FU-NAN (C. 2ND. CENTURY A.D.)
VYADHAPURA
NAGARA SRI DHARMARAJA
CONJEEVERAM (KANCHIPURAM)
KAVERIPATTINAM
ANURADHAPURA
CEYLON (SINHALADVIPA) (3RD CENTURY B.C.)
ARABIAN SEA
SOUTH CHINA SEA
SUVARNADVIPA (4TH-5TH CENTURIES A.D.)
DVIPANTARA (5TH CENTURY A.D.)
YAVADVIPA ?
INDIAN OCEAN
THE CRADLE OF BUDDHISM
SPREAD OF BUDDHISM
CONFUCIANISM
KUSHANA EMPIRE, 1ST CENTURY B.C. - 3RD CENTURY A.D.
0 100 500 1000 MILES
70° 80° 90° 100° 110° 120°
30° 20° 10° 0° 10° 40

via Bengal, Manipur, Assam, Lower Burma, Arakan and Upper Burma, and via Tāmralipti, Coast of Burma and Arakan, straits of Malacca, Sumatra, Java, etc. Tibet was reached via Nepal. Ceylon was approached generally via Tāmralipti.

5th–6th centuries A.D.

Paramārtha, the author of the life of Vasubandhu, was probably the first missionary from Magadha to reach Chinā in 546 A.D. He hailed from Ujjain and settled down in Pāṭaliputra. The Chinese emperor Wu requested Viṣṇugupta, probably. the last Imperial Gupta ruler of India, to send some suitable scholar who could work in Chinā. Viṣṇugupta selected Paramārtha who carried with him a large number of Buddhist manuscripts and went by the sea-route. In China Paramārtha translated more than seventy works into Chinese. He expired there in 569 A.D.[7] It is said that Paramārtha belonged to the Nalanda convent:[8] but the statement remains doubtful. Dharmajātayaśas (481 A.D.) and Guṇavṛddhi (fifth century A.D.) of Magadha translated several Buddhist works into Chinese.[9] Jñānayaśas and his disciples Yaśagupta and Jñānagupta of Magadha also translated six Buddhist works into Chinese between A.D. 564 and 572.[10] Dharmakṣema, who also hailed from Magadha, carried with him an incomplete copy of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* to China during the fifth cent. A.D.[11]

6th–7th centuries A.D.

Prabhākaramitra, a kṣatriya, studied *Yogācāryabhūmi* or *Saptadaśa-bhūmi-śāstra* of Āsaṅga under Śīlabhadra, understood Hīnayāna and taught Abhidharma at Nalanda.[12] Prabhavarman and Indravarman were his pupils. With a view to propagate the Law of the Buddha amongst the uninitiated races, he left Nalanda with his ten monks and lay disciples reached the kingdom of the Western Turk-kagan (Tokhāristān and Eastern Iran). The Kagan received him warmly and arranged regularly for their boarding and lodging. Prabhākaramitra preached to him for several days. On an invitation from the T'ang emperor Tai-tsung of China Prabhākaramitra reached the Chinese capital in 626 A.D. and took residence in the Hingtsien monastery. In 629 A.D. the emperor asked him to take up the translation of Buddhist works into Chinese and appointed nineteen monk-scholars. Amongst these, the two monks Saṃgha and Gupta were Indians. One of these two acted as an interpreter.[13] "Some scholars translated his words into Chinese, some verified this translation, while others wrote it down. Another group copied it and high officials under the orders of the emperor examined the final redaction and supervised its execution."[14] Translation work continued till 630 A.D. Prabhākaramitra was able to translate three works including Āsaṅga's *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṃkāra*. He died in 633 A.D. at the age of 69. His disciples erected a stūpa over his ashes.[15]

7th–8th centuries A.D.

Vajrabodhi hailing from Malaya in south India, was ordained at Nalanda when 20 years old and studied Vinaya and Mādhyamika doctrine for six years with Śāntabodhi at Nalanda and received education at Kapilavastu and south India also.[16] He was born in 661 A.D.[17] Vajrabodhi was the son of king Iśānavarman of Central India.[18] He studied Hīnayāna at Nalanda[19] for eleven years (SRELCB, p 56). With his disciple Amoghavajra he reached China via Ceylon in 720 A.D. and translated 500 Buddhist scriptures into 130 volumes in 25 years.[20] In China he propagated Tantrayāna[21] and translated eleven Tantric works into Chinese[22] including *Vajraśekhara*.[23] He carried the Mahāprajñāpāramitā text to China[24] and died there in 731 A.D.[25]

8th century A.D.

Amoghavajra was disciple of Vajrabodhi and studied at Nalanda.[26] He came from the Pāṇḍya country.[27] When twentyone years old, he went to China with his teacher Vajrabodhi (Vajramati), propagated and deepened the roots of the Guhya cult there.[28] Between 746 and 771 A.D. he translated seventy-seven texts into Chinese and died there in 774 A.D.[29] *Prajñā* went to China from Nalanda as an ambassador of king Subhākara during the eighth century A.D. (*IDRE*, p. 274). Probably this Subhākara was the same as king Subhākara I of Orissa. *Subhākara-siṃha* studied under the abbot Dharmagupta of Nalanda. He was a descendant of Amṛtodana, an uncle of Śākyamuni.[30] He was king of Orissa once and contemporary of I-tsing.[31] He was identical with Subhakara I. the Paramasaugata of the Neulpur plates of Orissa.[32] In 716 A.D. when he was eighty years old, he went to China and established there the Tantric school.[33] He was at Chang-an during 717–724 A.D. and translated Buddhist texts into Chinese. He died there in 735 A.D. (*IDRE*, p. 322).

8th–9th centuries A.D.

Muniśrī taught Śila and Dharma at Nalanda.[34] He was a Chinese who came to Chinā from Nalanda in the 9th regnal year of Chen-Yuan era (793 A.D.). He was in Chang-an (800 A.D.) and died there (806 A.D.). He translated the Japanese work Shugokokkai-shudarnikāya (T. 997, XIX, 530, C. Li 28) in collaboration of Hanya (Skt. Prajña) in 790 A.D. This work was hailed by several scholars.

10th century A.D.

POU-TO-KI-TO (Buddhakīrti) was a Śramaṇa of Nalanda. He reached China from Nalanda in 989 A.D. and presented to its emperor some relics of the Buddha and Sanskrit texts[35] and received violet-coloured robes from him.[36] *Dharmarakṣa* was a Buddhist monk of Nalanda and he went to China during the time of Vigrahapāla II (960–988 A.D.).[37] He reached China when 44 years old.[38]

11th–12th centuries A.D.

Dharmadeva was born at Nalanda and he became a monk there. During the reign of Rājapāla, in 971 A.D. he went to China.[39] Till 981 A.D. he translated forty-six Sanskrit works into Chinese.[40] In 982 A.D. he changed his name as Fa-hien from Fa-tien so that the dates of his translations might recon to two periods.[41] Till 1001 A.D. he further translated 72 works[42] including the *Sukhāvatīvyūha.*[43] A posthumous title of Hsuan Chiao Chan Shih or the "Dhyāna Teacher of Profound Learning" was awarded to him in 982 A.D. by the emperor Chin-Tsong (998–1023 A.D.). His works mainly expounded Tantras and Dhāraṇīs.[44] He was a member and later the head of the Imperial Bureau of Translators of Buddhist Texts in Chinese in 982 A.D. during the time of the Sung dynasty.[45] In fact, three Indian scholars were at its head and they translated about two hundred volumes between 982 and 1011 A.D.[46] He passed away in China in 1001 A.D.[47]

14th century A.D.

Shiku went to China after the destruction of Nalanda. Thence he went to Korea and taught Buddhist doctrine there during the 20th regnal year of Japanese king Chusen as per the stele inscription carved in 1328 A.D. at Tsudoji in Korea.

B. Java-Sumatra

6th–7th centuries A.D.

Dharmapāla became a pupil of Diṅnāga[48] at Nalanda and became a paṇḍita there.[49] Later, he succeeded Candrakīrti[50] and became abbot of Nalanda.[51] He is generally assigned to sixth-seventh centuries A.D., the latest date being 635 A.D.[52] Eldest son of a minister of Draviḍa country, Dharmapāla was a native of Kāñchīpura.[53] According to Yuan-Chwang Dharmapāla "gave fragrance to Buddha's teachings".[54] His compositions were : *Śabdavidyāsamyukta-śāstra* in 25000 ślokas. A commentary on *Śataśāstravaipulya.*[55] A commentary on *Vidyāmātra-siddhi.*[56] A commentary on *Nyāyadvāra-tāraka-śāstra.*[57] *Paramatthadīpini.*[58] *Vimānavatthu-ṭīkā.*[59] *Petuvatthu-ṭīkā.*[60] *Therīgāthā-ṭīkā.*[61] *Theragāthā-ṭīkā.*[62] *Itivuttaka.*[63] *Udāna-ṭīkā.*[64] Ālambana-pratyaya-dhyānaśāstra-vyākhyā.[65] Caryāpitaka.[66] Bali-tattva-saṃgraha.[67] Beḍā-vritti on Pāṇini's grammar written conjointly with Bhartṛhari,[68] Varṇasūtra-vṛtti, a commentary on Cāndra grammar of Candragomin.[69] He translated Sanskrit works into Tibetan.[70] His work Śataśāstra-vaipulyavyākhyā was translated into Chinese in 650 A.D.[71] His memory was extraordinarily sharp. He heard 600 ślokas of an opponent heretic before an assembly only once and remembering all the ślokas he refuted them systematically.[72] Once he defeated about a hundred Hīnayāna scholars near the city of Visākha country.[73] His chief disciples were Śīlabhadra[74] and Dharmakīrtti.[75] After a brilliant career at Nalanda for more than thirty years Dharmapāla left for Suvarṇadvīpa[76] (Indonesia) for studies during his last days.[77]

10th–11th centuries A.D.

Dipaṁkara Srījñāna (Atīśa) was born in 980 A.D. as son of king Kalyāṇaśrī and queen Prabhāvatī of Gaur at Vikramanipur in Bengal,[78] or Sahor in Bhagalpur.[79] When Dīpaṁkara met king Vigrahapāla II, he told him that he came from the Kāñcanadhvajaprāsāda at Sahor in the east.[80] Sahor was the Sahor Pargana with the city of Bhagalpur in the east of Vajrāsana. Near Sahor was the "Bhikramapurī Mahānagara" (i.e., Vikramaśilā).[81] First, Dīpaṁkara studied with Jetāri,[82] probably at Vikramaśilā. Later, Jetāri sent him to study at Nalanda for ordination. Dīpaṁkara approached Bodhibhadra, the abbot of Nalanda, for the purpose. As he was only 11 years of age, he waited for nine years more to become eligible for ordination. During these nine years he was a śramaṇa (novice) in yellow robe. Bodhibhadra named him as Dīpaṁkaraśrī jñāna after ordination.[83] After a year's study as a Bhikṣu at Nalanda, he went to Maitrīpāda Advaya-vajra or Avadhūtipā and studied Mantras and teachings of the Siddhas for about six years.[84] Then he left for Vikramaśilā where he was put to test by Nāropā, and studied with him for about eleven years. Thereafter he studied for about two years at the Vajrāsana Mahāvihāra under Mahāvinayadhara Śīlarakṣita. When he was 31 years old, he became a Tripiṭakācārya. When 44 years old, he became the chief of 51 scholars and incharge of 108 temple-monasteries at Vikramaśilā.[85] He became abbot of this Mahāvihāra at the request of king Nayapāla.[86] He mediated between the king Nayapāla and the Kalachuri king Karṇa.[87] Dīpaṁkara was treated as a second *sarvajña* amongst the five hundred arhats of the Mahāsāṅghika school. The Tibetan Rgyatson-gru-senge came to invite him and presented a large piece of bar-gold to him but returned unsuccessful. Later, Nag-ttcho, another Tibetan, came to take Dīpaṁkara to Tibet. Dīpaṁkara handed over the charge of the monasteries to Sthavira Ratnākara and left for Tibet[88] and preached there for thirteen years (1040–1053 A.D.).[89] Following Tantric works are credited to Dīpaṁkara although he wrote about two hundred books. The *ITBU*, pp.72–79 records names of eighty-three Tantric books in Sanskrit and Tibetan : Tārā-triratna-stotra, translated into Tibetan by a Tibetan interpreter at Vikramaśilā.[90] Bodhi-patha-pradīpa.[91] Ratna-karaṇḍodghaṭa, translated into Tibetan.[92] Bodhi-patha-pradīpa-pañjikā.[93] Mahāsūtra-samuccaya.[94] Bhagavad-abhisamaya.[95] Prajñāpāramitā-piṇḍārtha-pradīpa, a gloss on Aṣṭasāhasrikā.[96] Mādhyamopadeśa-satya-dvayāvatāra.[97] Saṃgraha-garbha.[98] Bodhisattva-Manyāvalī,[99] Mahāyāna-patha-sādhana-varṇasaṃgraha.[100] Sūtrārthasamuccayopadeśa.[101] Śikṣā-samuccaya-Abhisamaya.[102] Bodhimārga-pradīpapañjikā.[103] Dīpaṁkara died at Ñethan near Lhasa in Tibet at an age of 73 years (980–1053 A.D.).[104] He was known to the Tibetans as JovoJe[105] (i.e. Prabhu). His letter Vimala-ratna-lekha addressed to king Nayapāla is preserved in Tibetan.[106] Dīpaṁkaraśrījñāna went to Suvarṇadvīpa via Bengal, Burma and Malaya to study Tantras, etc. under Ācārya Dharmapāla for twelve years.[107] and while returning to India he visited Ceylon (Tāmradvīpa) also.[108]

C. Tibet.

8th Century A.D.

Śāntarakṣita is known also as Śāntirakṣita and Ācārya Bodhisattva in Tibet.[109] He was born in 705 A.D. during the reign of Gopāla I[110] and died in 765 A.D. at the time of Dharmapāladeva.[111] His native place was Zahor in Bengal (modern Jessor),[112] Sahor in the Bhagalpur district[113] or Sahor in the N.W. corner of the Andhra country.[114] At Nalanda one Ārya[115] was a disciple of Śāntarakṣita,[116] who was the high priest of Nalanda Mahāvihāra.[117] and the spiritual teacher of the king of Magadha.[118] When he returned to Nalanda from Tibet, he met Padmasambhava[119] with whom was married Śāntarakṣita's sister Mandāravā.[120] He was a Vajrayānist of the Svatantra-Mādhyamika or Svatantra-Yogācāra school.[121] Following works are attributed to him : Vārtikālaṃkāra, a commentary on Dharmakīrtti's Pramāṇavārtika.[122] Vāda-nyāya-vṛtti Vipañcitārtha, Tattvasaṃgraha,[123] Tattva-siddhi, "an elaborate defence of Vajrayāna, beginning with a namaskāra to Vajrāyāna which is of the nature of Mahāsukhavāda and laying stress on Vijñānavāda".[124] Mādhyamikālaṃkāra-kārikās and commentaries on them,[125] Satya-dvaya-vibhaṅga-pañjikā, a Mahāyāna work.[126] He translated several Sanskrit works into Tibetan.[127] Śāntarakṣita, when seventy-five years old, was invited to Tibet by the Tibetan king Khri-sroṅ-ldehu-btsan to consecrate the Samye monastery.[128] He became the head of the Samye monastery and when hundred years old, he expired there.[129] He introduced Buddhist monasticism there for the first time.[130]

Padmasambhava was a contemporary of Śāntarakṣita at Nalanda,[131] where he was educated and became chief Tantric teacher,[132] and taught yoga and occult sciences.[133] He belonged to the Tantric Yogācāra school of Nalanda.[134] He was the son of king Indrabhūti of Udayana[135] or Udyāna (Swat) in Afghanistan,[136] and was a native of Ghazni[137] or belonged to Andhra country.[138] He mastered astrology, medicine, languages, arts, crafts and nine paths or vehicles in the heaven of the Ādi-Buddha for attaining enlightenment.[139] He translated Sanskrit works into Tibetan.[140] Amongst his works, Samaya-pañcāśikā in Tibetan[141] and "Bardo Thodol"[142] are known. From now a controversy "between Brahmanism and Buddhism started in India".[143] It appears that Nyima Simha was the king of Magadha when Padmasambhava lived.[144] Padmasambhava founded Samye, the first Buddhist monastery in Tibet.[145]

Kamalaśīla was a disciple of Śāntarakṣita at Nalanda[146] and was teacher of Tantras there.[147] He translated Sanskrit works into Tibetan,[148] and wrote the Bhāvanā-krama after the Debate of Samye.[149] His Sanskrit works are[150]: Ārya-saptaśatikā prajñāpāramitā-ṭīkā, Āryavajracchedikāprajñā-pāramitā-ṭīkā, Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-ṭīkā, Nyāyabindu-pūrvapakṣa-saṃkṣipta-Tattvasaṃgraha-pañjikā. Kamalaśīla translated Sanskrit works into Tibetan and defeated the Chinese monk Hoshang in religious discussions in Tibet.[151] He met his tragic end there.

10*th Century* A.D.

Maitrīgupta, the Brāhmaṇa Tīrthika, was a disciple of Śavarī whom he went to see at Śrīparvata (Nāgārjunakonda). He was ordained as a monk at Nalanda and studied there under Ratnākaraśānti and others,[152] and as Paṇḍita of Vikramaśilā he is also said to have gone to Tibet.[153]

10*th*–11*th centuries* A.D.

Dīpaṃkaraśrī Jñāna (Atīśa) was taken by the Tibetans to Tibet from the Vikramaśilā mahāvihāra.[154] He worked there for thirteen years[155] as already noted above.

11*th century* A.D.

Somanātha was one of the five hundred paṇḍitas of Nalanda who challanged Dus-Sabs. pa-chun-nu, the preacher and patron of Kālacakrayāna, at Nalanda. He was probably the first teacher of Kālacakrayāna in Tibet about 1027 A.D.[156] He hailed from Kashmir.[157]

12*th*–13*th Centuries* A.D.

Śākyaśrībhadra was born in 1127 A.D. and studied at Nalanda, Bodhgaya and Vikramaśilā. He was the guru of Govindapāladeva and the last abbot of Vikramaśilā.[158] After the destruction of Nalanda and Vikramaśilā he went to Jagattala (Bengal), thence to Nepal and stayed in Tibet for ten years. In 1213 A.D. he returned to Kashmir, where, in 1225 A.D. when he was 98 years old, he died.[159] He had translated certain Sanskrit works into Tibetan.[160] Śākyaśrībhadra, the last abbot of Vikramaśilā vihāra, while on his way back to Kashmir, stayed for ten years in Tibet.[161] *Śrījagatamitra* was son of king Kalyāṇamati and ordained as Śrīdharmamitra by Jinadeva at Nalanda. He became popularly known as Mitrayogī, as he practiced yoga later on.[162] He was also known as Jaganmitrānanda, the chief professor at Uddaṇḍapurī.[163] He was Dīkṣāguru of king Jayacandra of Kāśi. He wrote Chaturaṅga-dharmacarcā, which was translated into Tibetan.[164] He was born in Radh (West Bengal) and received Siddhacaryā from

Lalitavajra who was himself a disciple of Tilopā.[165] Mitrayogī (Śrījagatamitra) visited Tibet at the request of Khro-phu Byams dpal.[166]

D. Nepal

10*th Century* A.D.

Vāgīśvarakīrtti was born at Vārāṇasī in a kṣatriya family. Being a Mahāsāṃghika, he was named as Śīlakīrtti. Sage Hāsavajra gave him abhiṣeka of Chakra-saṃvara. Near Magadha he obtained siddhi. God Vāgīśvara appeared before him on the banks of the Gaṅgā and blessed him. He visualised Gaṇapati and Tārā. He started Sautrāntika and Tantric institutions.[167] He was a follower of Chanaka (A.D. 955–983). He wrote Mṛtyuvañcanopadesa.[168] He formed a mystic communion with the Cakrasaṃvara family (father, mother and son) and vanished at the temple of Śāntapurī.[169] Vāgīśvarakīrtti, as keeper of the western gates of Nalanda and Vikramaśilā, went to Nepal for religious propitiation.[170]

E. Korea

14*th Century* A.D.

Ti-na-puo-tuo or Jinabuddha was a disciple of the Nalanda priest Vinayabhadra. In the beginning of the Tai-Ting era of the Yuan dynasty (1324–27 A.D.) he came to Korea. He presented Buddha's relics and sūtras to the emperor and in return received a violet-coloured robe.[171]

The foregoing would show that Magadha, the cradle-land of Buddhism, through the ages, acted as a torch-bearer, responding to the ever-pressing needs of the Asian nations and in disseminating the spiritual message of the Enlightened One. The whole of Asia took Magadha as its leader for obtaining solace and inspiration in the domain of religion and culture.

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2 *Ibid* ' अपरज्जुगताय आसाळ्हिया पुरिमिका उपगन्तब्बा, मासगताय आसाळ्हिया पच्छिमिका उपगन्तब्बा इमा खो भिक्खवे द्वे वस्सपनायिका ति।"
3 *B M M I*, pp 55 and 57
4 *MV* p 23, 1 10 32 'चरथ भिक्खवे चारिक बहुजनहिताय बहुजनसुखाय लोकानुकम्पाय अत्थाय हिताय सुखाय देवमनुस्सान दिसेथ भिक्खवे, धम्म आदिकल्याण मज्झेकल्याण परियोसानकल्याण सात्थ सव्यञ्जन केवलपरिपुण्ण परिसुद्ध ब्रह्मचरिय पकासेथ।'
5 *H L.I* p 8 (Rock Edict No IV 3) "भेरीघोसो अहो, धमघोसो।"
6 *Ibid.*, pp 16–17 'अ पयु विजयो प्रिनिग्मो मो।
7 *I C*, pp 42 44, *C A*. p 600
8 *JBORS* (XXX. Pt 11), p 134
9 *IDRE*. p. 126
10 *Ibid*, p 161
11 *ICA*, p 60
12. *B S*, p. 336, *IDRE*, p 308.
13. *C A*, p 609-10

14. *B S*, p 336
15 *Ibid*
16 *EBP*. pp 145–55
17. He died in 732 A D. and lived for 71 years Hence his date of birth is 661 A D (Cf BS p 346, where his date of birth is wrongly given as 600 A.D
18 *CA*, p 610. According to *BS* p 346 he hailed from Malaya (south India) and born in 600 A D in a Brāhmana family.
19 *BS*. p 346.
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23 *EBP*. p 145
24 *SBSI*, p 31.
25 *BS*, p 346
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38. *Ibid*
39. *BB*, p 218. In its footnote 4 it states that according to Jayachandra Vidyalaṃkar this period was of Vigrahapāla II; According to *BS*, pp 355–56 and *ITC*, pp 127–28 he went to China in 973 A.D
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49. *TGB*, p. 162. "Nachdem Dharmapala nur eine kleine Weile in Nalanda Pandita gewesen war"
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51. *MTLT*. p. 15
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82 *IPLS*. p. 50.
83 *ILMBT*, pp 40-42. In *IPLS*, p 51 and *ITBU*, p. 67 it is stated that at the age of 19 years Dīpaṃkara received sacred vows from Śīlaraksita. a Mahāsānghika ācārya of Odantapuri who named him as Dīpamkaraśrījñāna
84 *ILMBT*, pp. 40–42
85. *Ibid*
86 *Ibid* In *HB (II)* p. 353. it is stated that after his return to Suvarṇadvīpa Dīpamkara was invited by Mahīpāla to Vikramaśilā
87 *SE*, p 27
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91 2500. p. 254.
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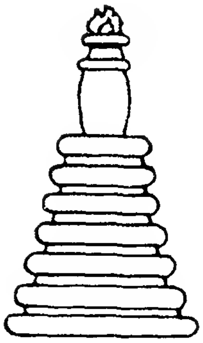
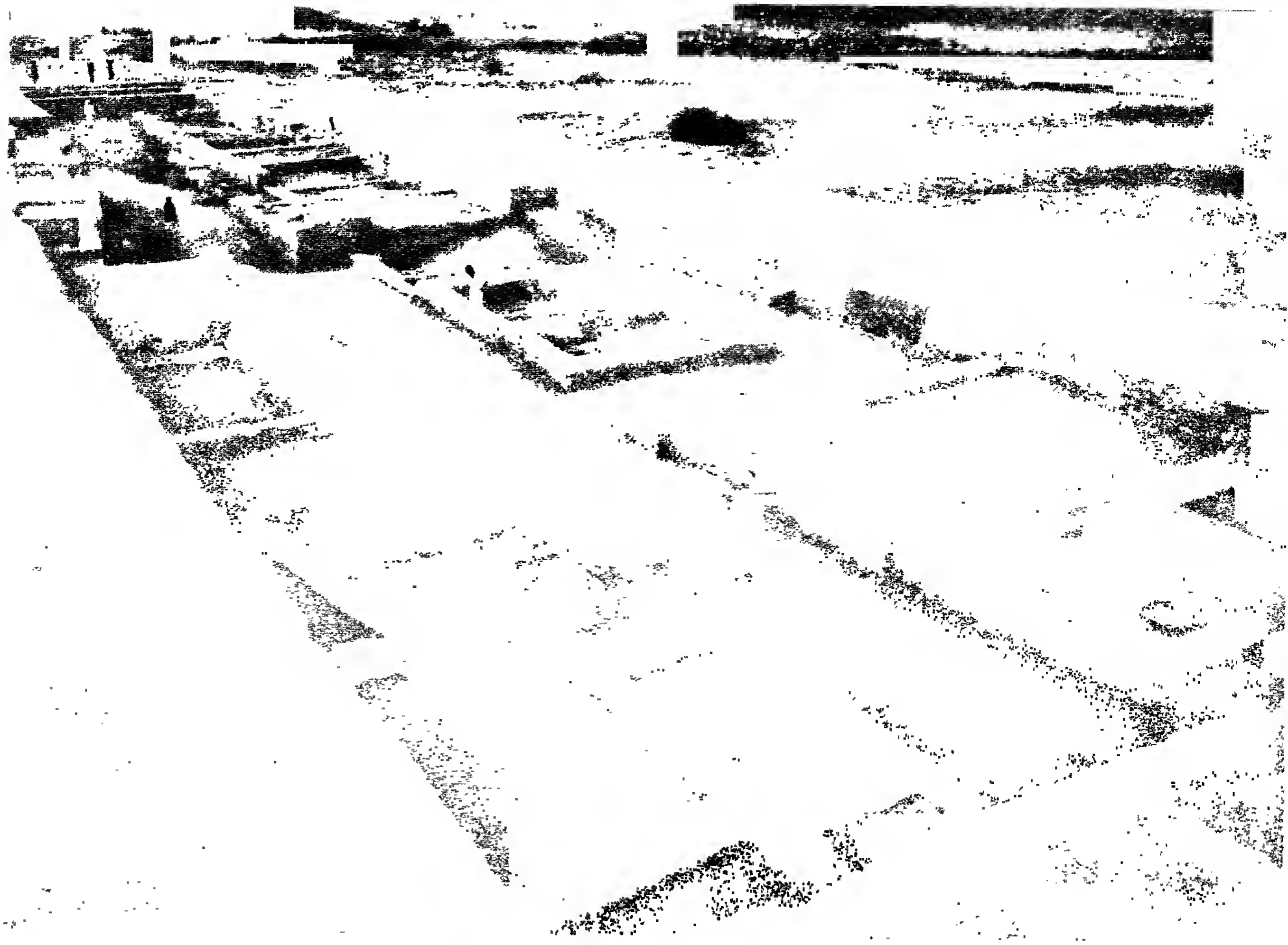
118 *IPLS* p 49
119 *ILMS*, p 37
120 *IHQ*(XXXII–2 and 3) p 167
121 *TS*, p XXII
122 *BD* p 137
123 *AIE*, p 577, *ITBC* p 126
124 *TS*, p XXI
125 *SBSI*, p 148
126 *Ibid* p 328
127 *IPLS*, p 49
128 *TBGL* pp 182 and 189
129 *BS* p 405
130 *PSJZ (I)* p 99, *T*, pp 170 and 8
131 *ILMS*, p 37
132 *BB*, pp 211–12
133 *TBD*, p. 74, *EBH* p 199
134 *CAI* (Mookerjee) p 180
135 *SBSI*, p 35
136 *TBD* p 74
137 *ICR* p 183
138 *IHQ*(XXXII 2 and 3) p 167
139 *TBGL*, pp 122 and 131 with footnote 2
140 *AIE* p 577
141 *IPLS* p 49
142 *TBD* p LIV
143 *IWI* (LXXX 21), p 14
144 *TBGL*, p 182
145 *ITCNMEL* p 13 *TBGL* p 26
146 *ILMBT* pp 38 39
147 *ILMS* pp 129 and 38, *BS* p 405
148 *IPLS* p 49
149 *MBT II* p 6
150 *ITBC* p 132
151 *PSJZ (I)*, p 3
152 *MTLT*, p 12
153 *MTLT* pp 12-13
154 *IPLS* pp 67 68
155 *ITBC* p 72
156 *JCHRIRM* (II), pp. 19-20 and 22
157 *BS* pp 410 11
158 *BB* p 226 *BS*, pp 413 14.
159 *BS* pp 413 14, *BB* p 226 states that he expired in Bihar
160. *IPLS*, p. 50.
161 *BS*, pp 413 14
162 *PSJZ (I)*, p 84, *BS* p 413
163 *BB* p 226
164 *BS*, p 413
165 *BS* p 413
166 *PSJZ (I)* p 84, *BS* p 413
167 *PSJZ (I)* p 29
168 *ITBC*, pp 64 65
169 *PSJZ (I)* p 29
170 *PSJZ (I)* p 29
171 *FIT* (49), p 400 C





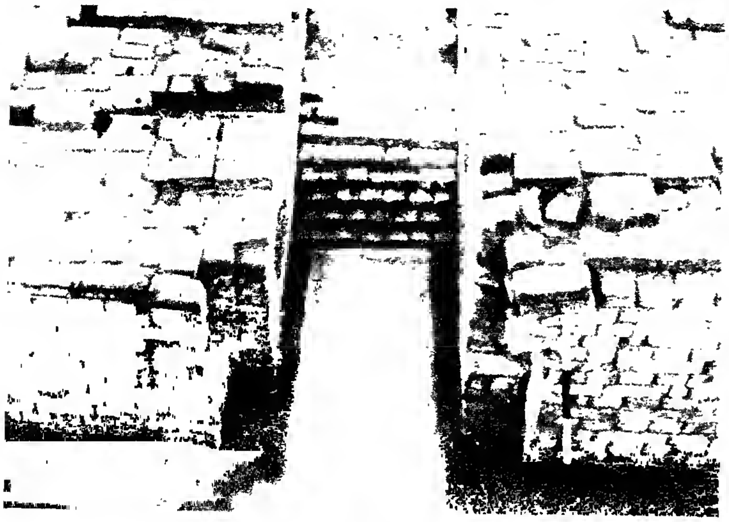
1 Lothal: Bazaar street in the Lower Town (2300 B.C.)

2 Lothal: Dock with the spill-way in the foreground and inlet on the right (indicated by the sitting figure) (2350 B.C.)

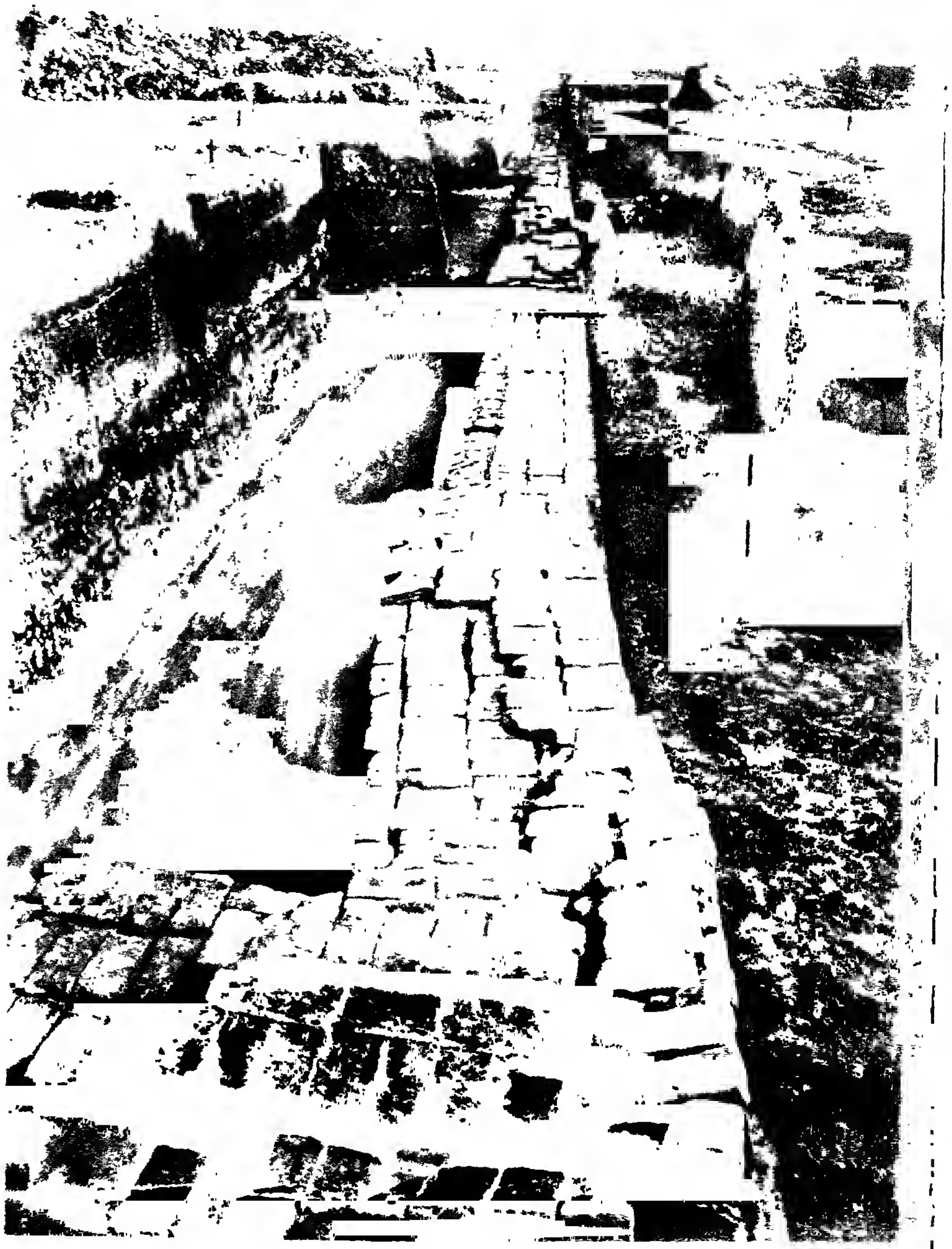
Space donated by: MANGALORE GANESH BEEDI WORKS, MYSORE-5.

3. Lothal: A perforated stone anchor in the basin of the dock.

4. Lothal: Western embankment of the dock



5. Lothal: Close-up of the spill-way of the dock with water-locking arrangement. The vertical slits in the walls were meant for sliding a wooden shutter.



6 Lothal Eastern embankment wall of the dock with an inlet of the second stage (indicated by the standing figure)

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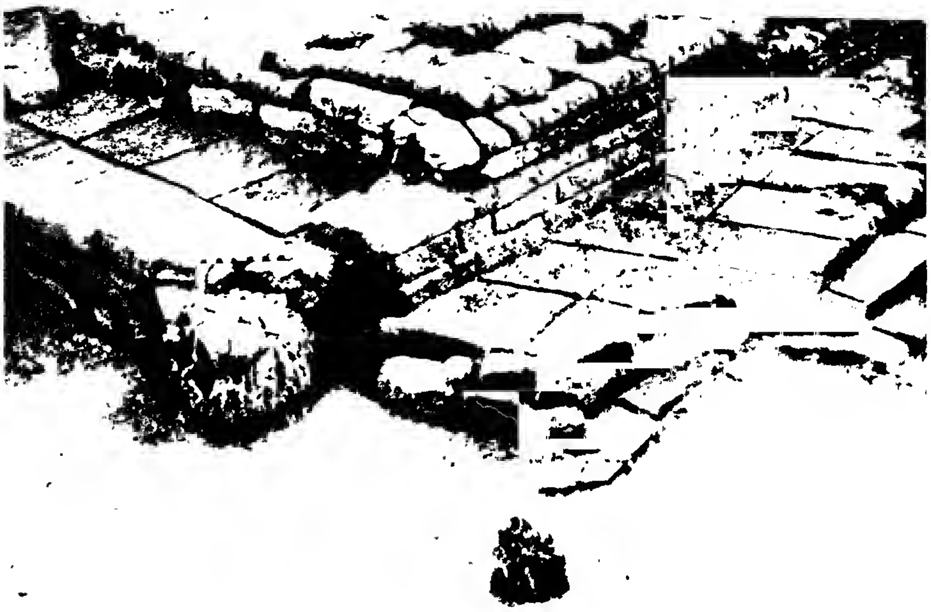
7. Kaveripattinam. Brick jetty for anchoring ships and haulage of cargo (300 B.C.)



8. Kaveripattinam: Stumps of wooden posts fixed along the channel of the wharf.

9. Gogha (Hathab-Hastabra): Boats moored in the ancient dock which is still in use

Space donated by : THE MAHARASHTRA SUGAR MILLS LTD., BOMBAY 20

10 Mohenjo-daro: A terracotta amulet with a ship motif. The cabin is also visible.

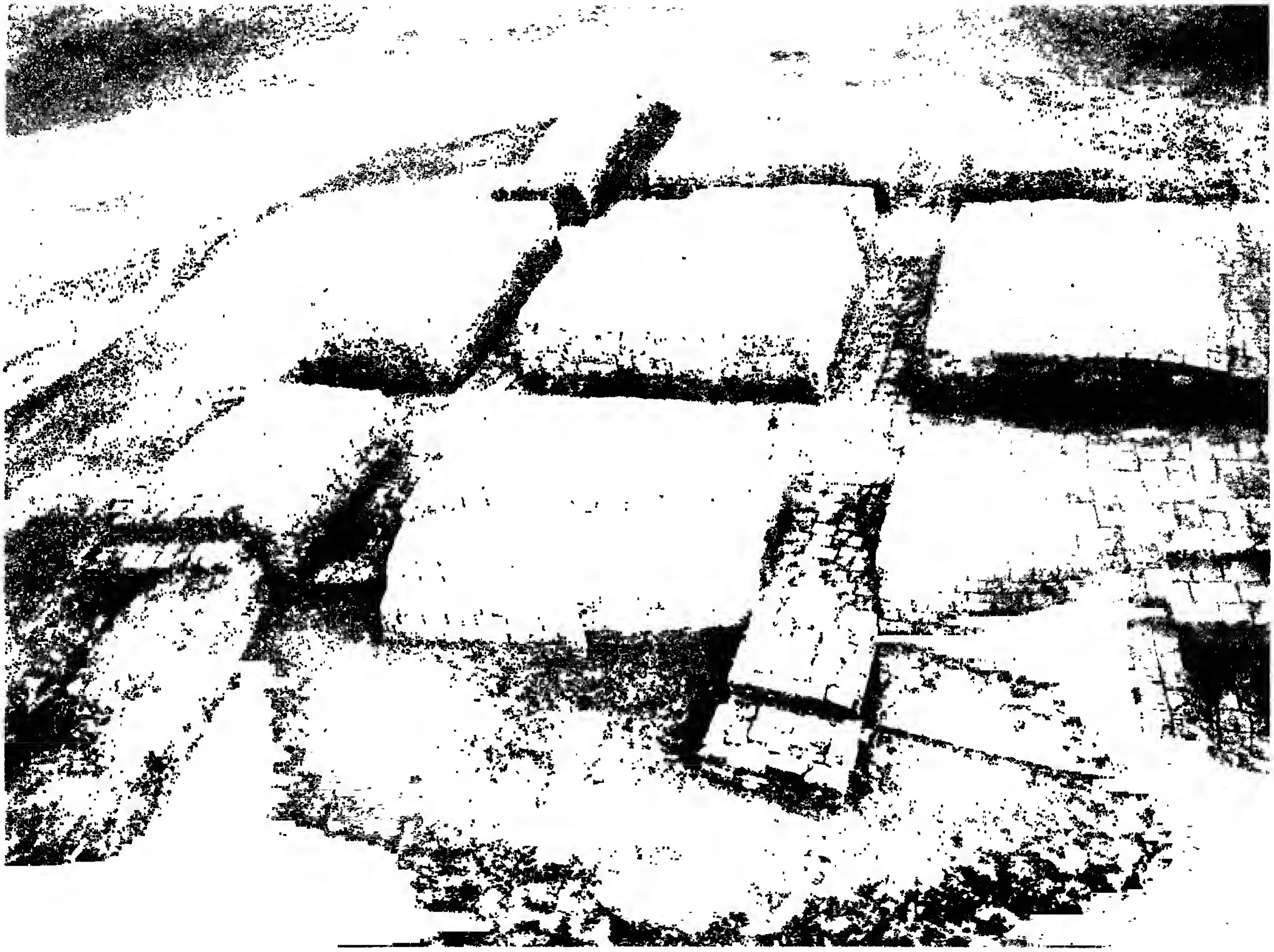
11 Mohenjo-daro: A ship with cabin engraved on a seal (second half of the third millennium B.C.)

12 Arikamedu: Brick walls of the ware-house (dock?) projecting into the river.

13 Lothal Terracotta model of a boat (2000 B C).
The sail and oarsman are additions.

Space donated by: ALEMBIC CHEMICAL WORKS CO., LTD , BARODA-3.

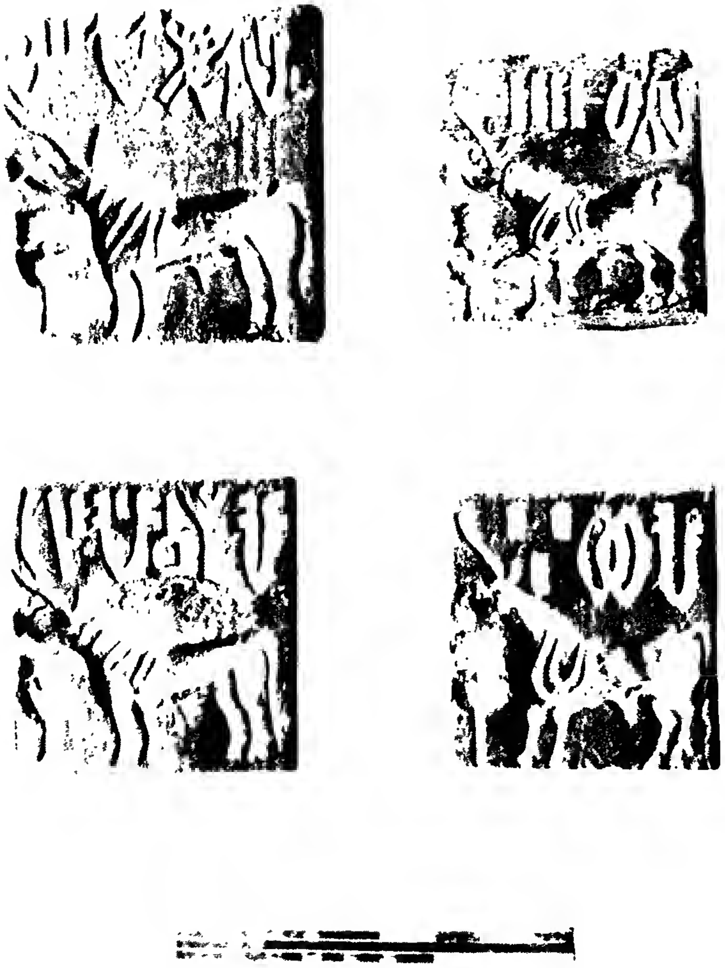
14 Lothal: Brick platforms of the warehouse with air vents and passages.



Space donated by: ALEMBIC GLASS INDUSTRIES LIMITED, BARODA-3.

15. Lothal: Persian Gulf seal (steatite).

16. Lothal: Terracotta sealings with impressions of more than two (different) seals.



17. Lothal: Square stone-cut seals with Indus script and unicorn.

Space donated by : PUNJAB NATIONAL BANK, NEW DELHI.

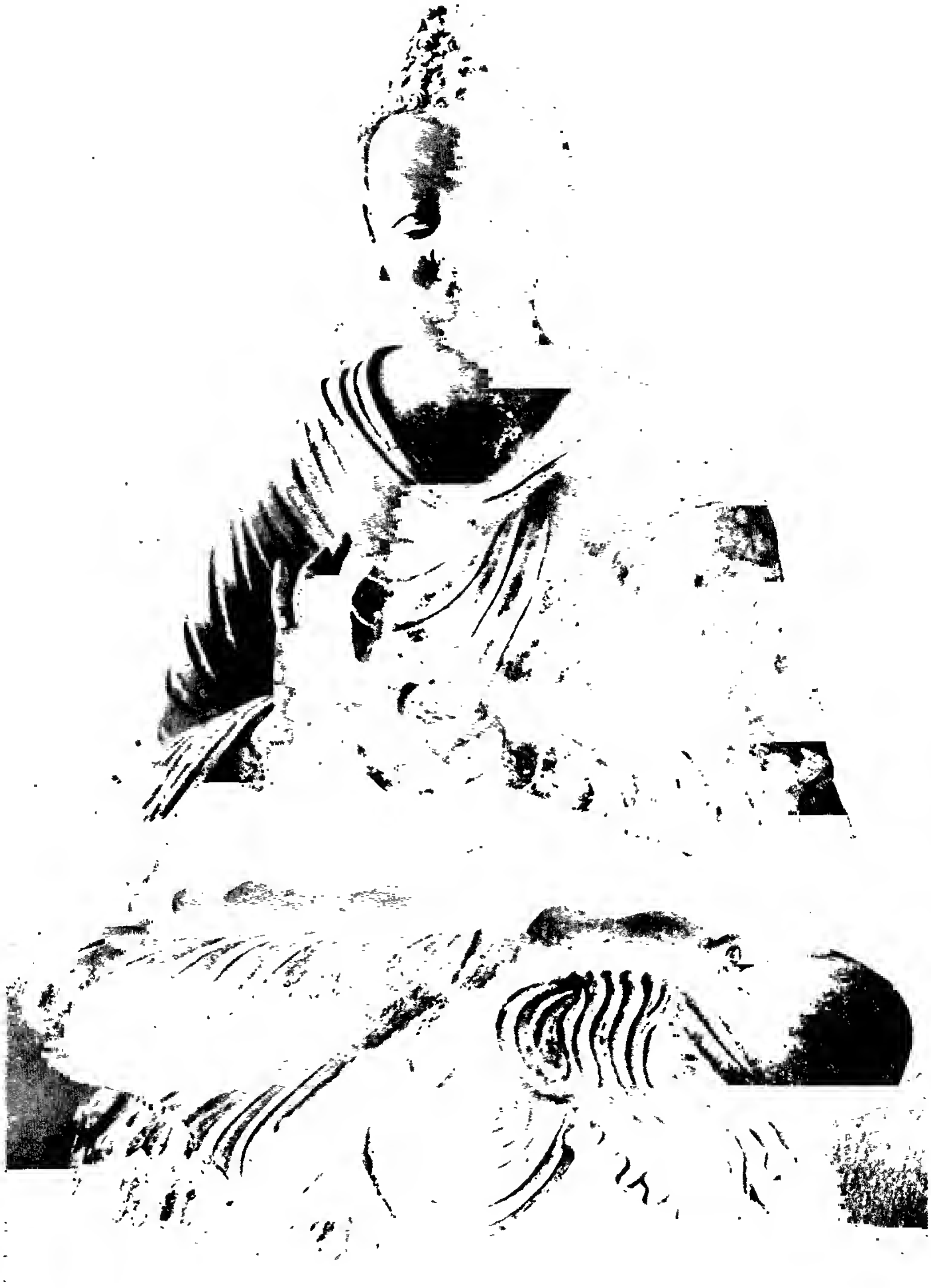
18. Transportation of a completed ship (Goa Museum, courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India).

Space donated by · UNITED COMMERCIAL BANK, CALCUTTA.

19 Naval battle (Goa Museum, courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India).

Space donated by : SYNDICATE BANK, H O. MANIPAL, (MYSORE STATE)

20. Buddha-preaching from Shotarak (Kabul Museum, courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India)



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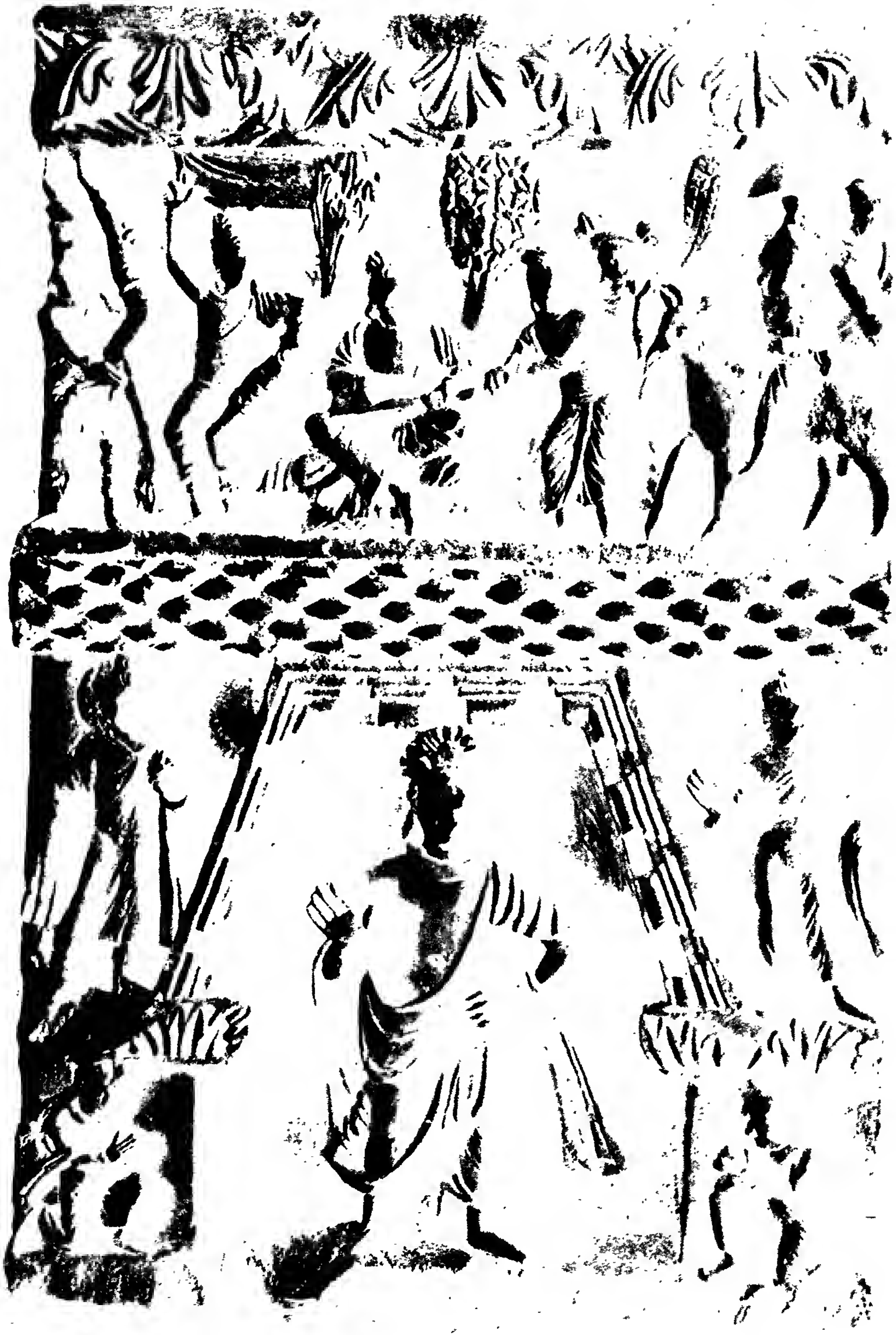
21 Sculpture from Tappe Sare Gau, Afganistan (Kunduz Museum, courtesy Archaeological Survey of India)



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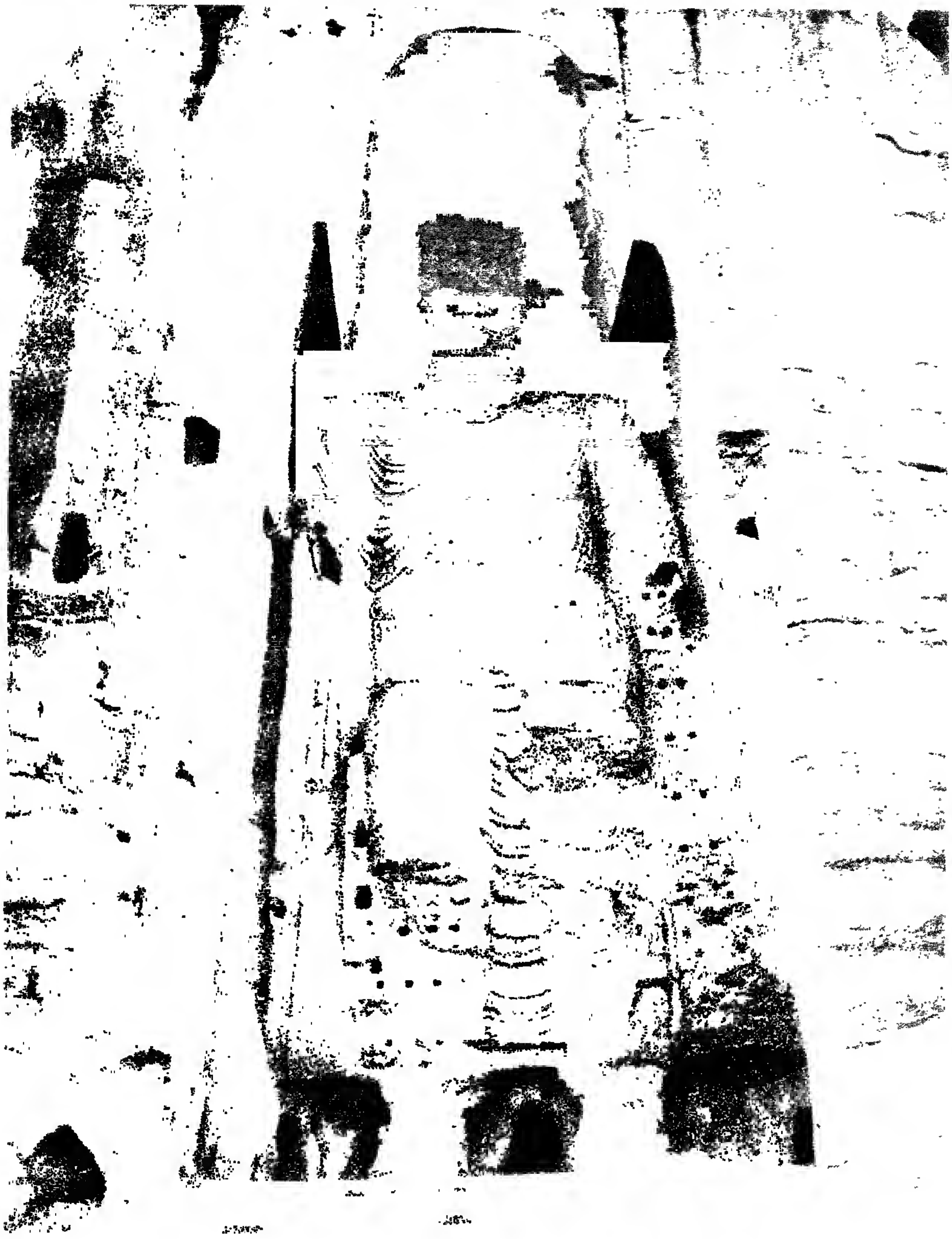
22. Gigantic Buddha of Bamiyan, Afganistan, 53 metres (courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India).



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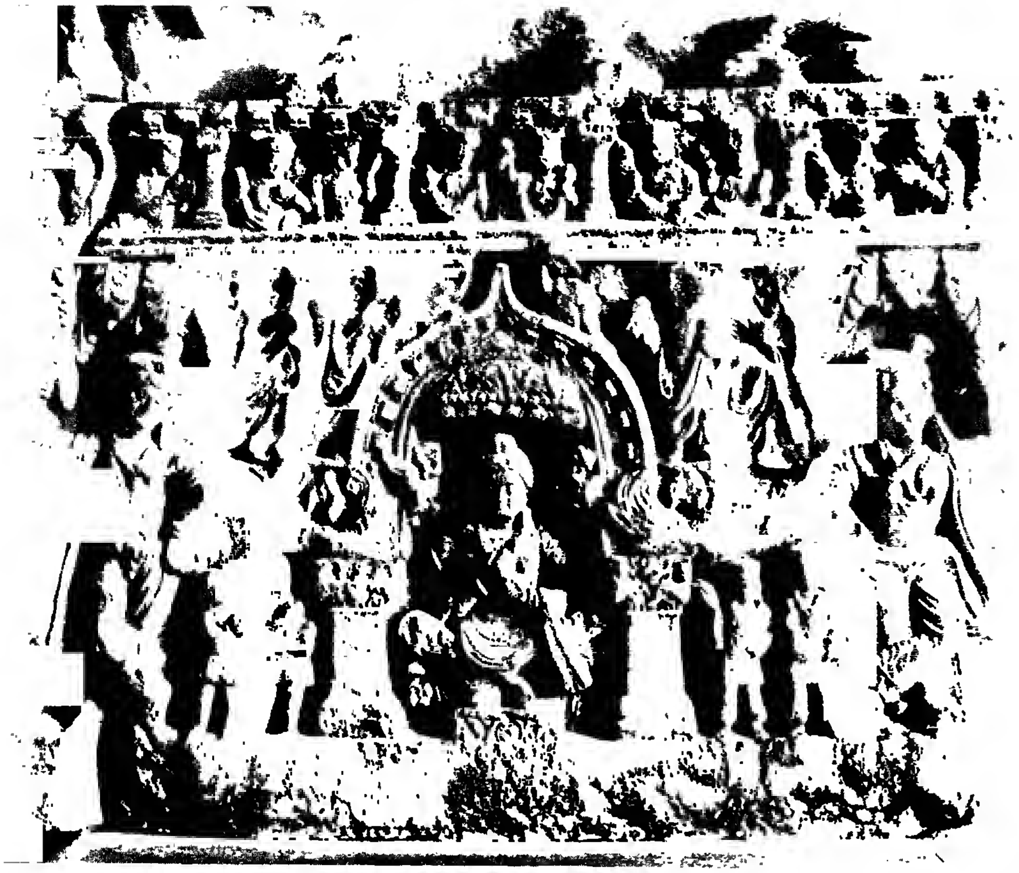
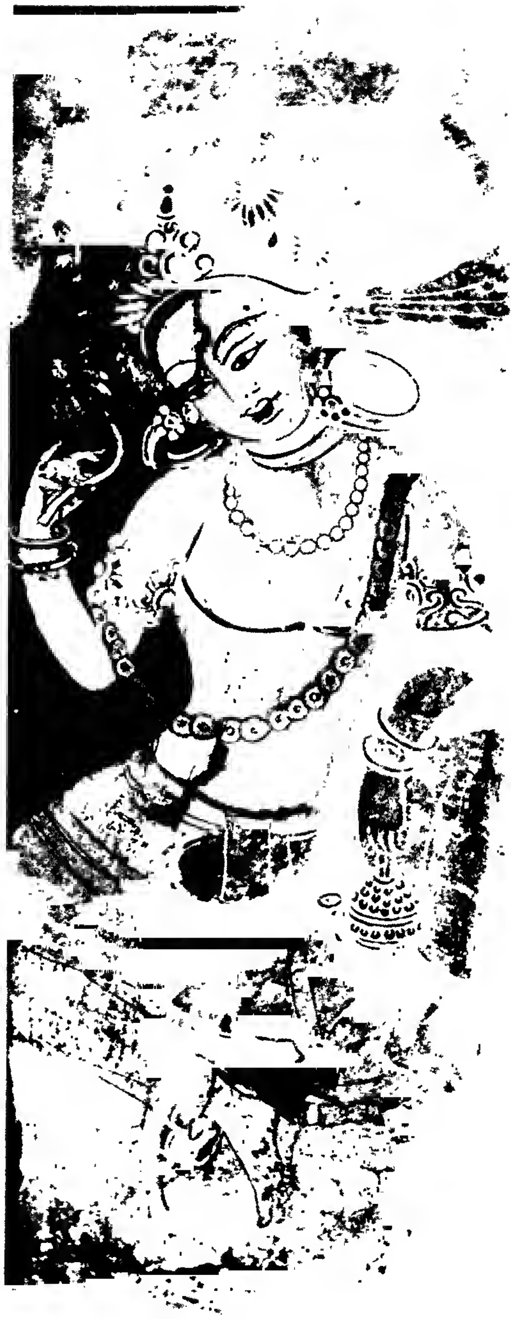


23. Buddha from Fondukistan (Kabul Museum, courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India).



24. Maitreya from Fondukistan (Kabul Museum, courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India).

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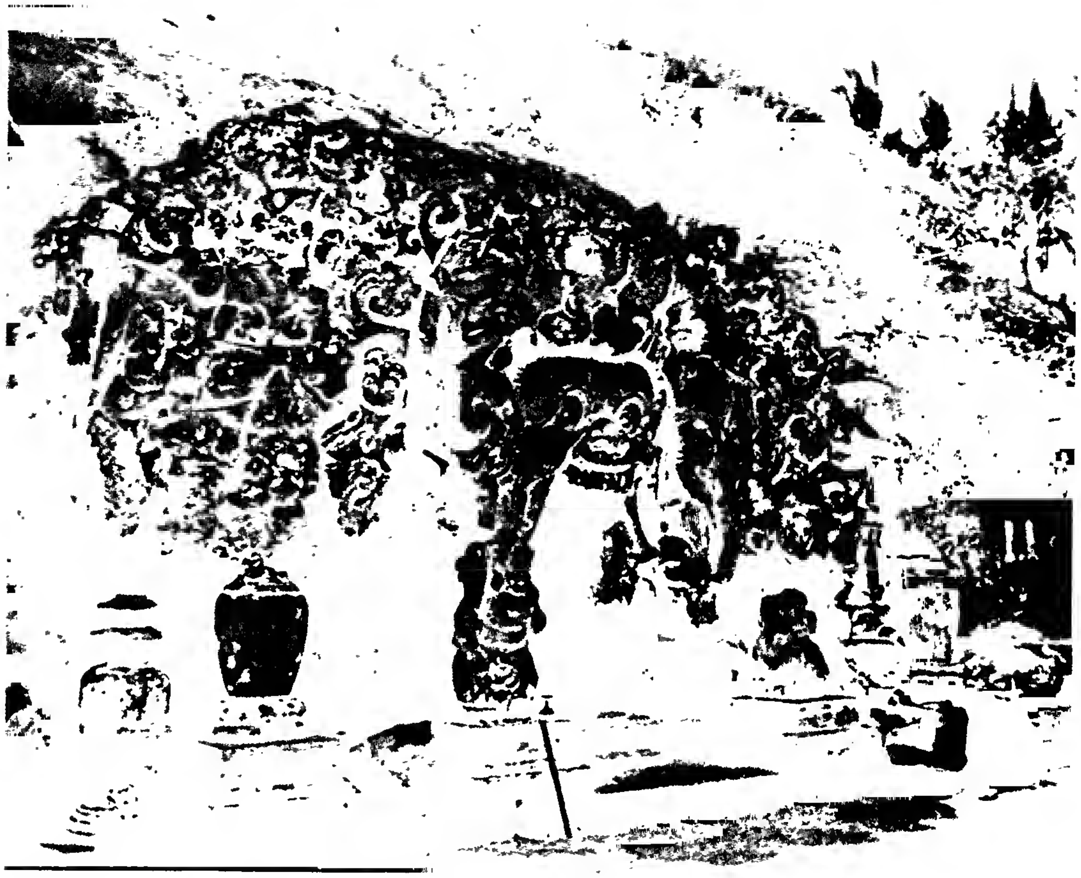

25. The Goa Gajah (Sanskrit gaja-guhā) in Bali, Indonesia.

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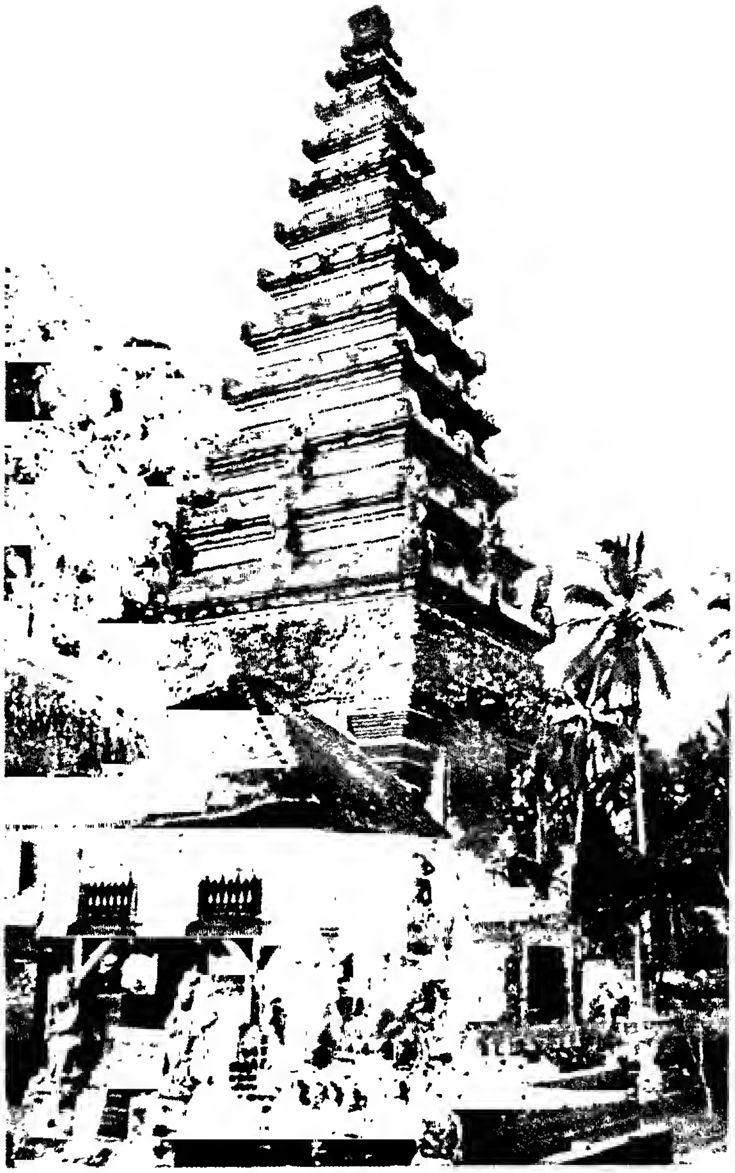

26. A brick meru temple of Bali, Indonesia

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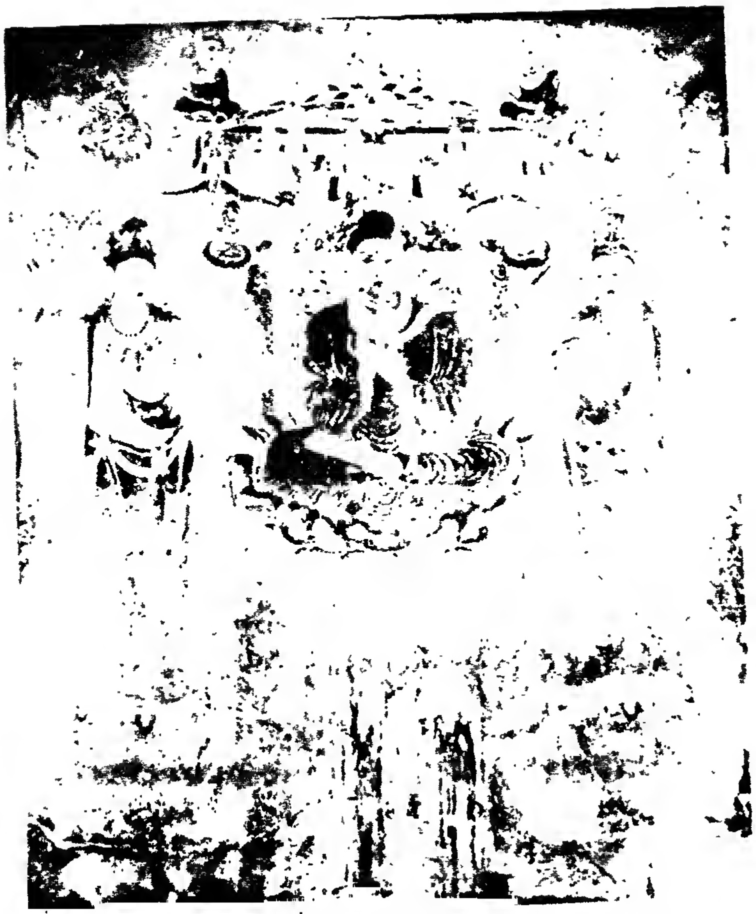
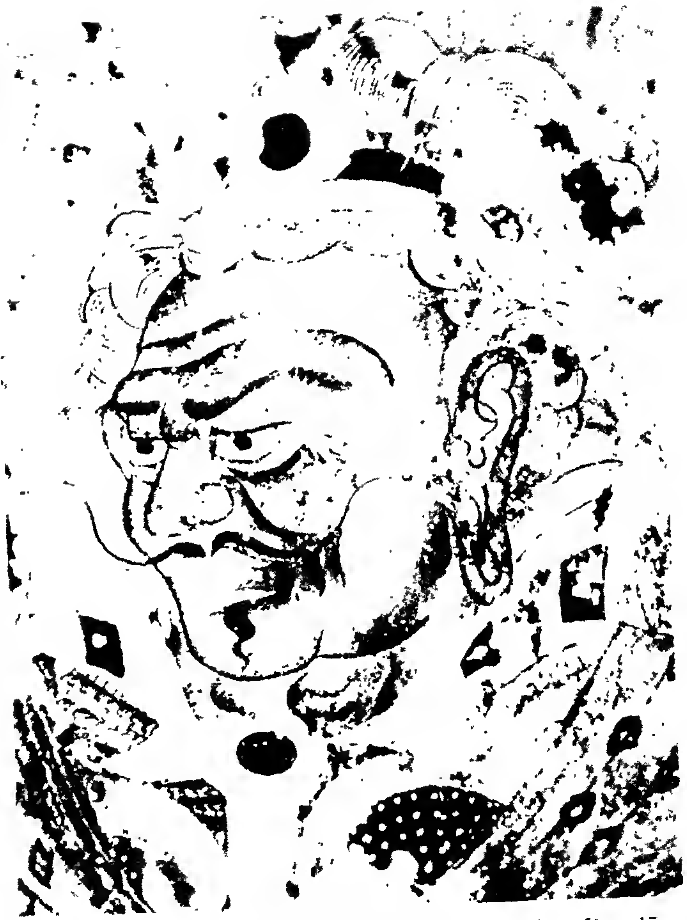


27. Paradise of Amida or Sukhāvatī, Kondō, Hōryūji (Panel 6) Japan.



28. Jinnō (devarāja) detail, Paradise of Miroku, Kondō, Hōryūji (Panel 10) Japan

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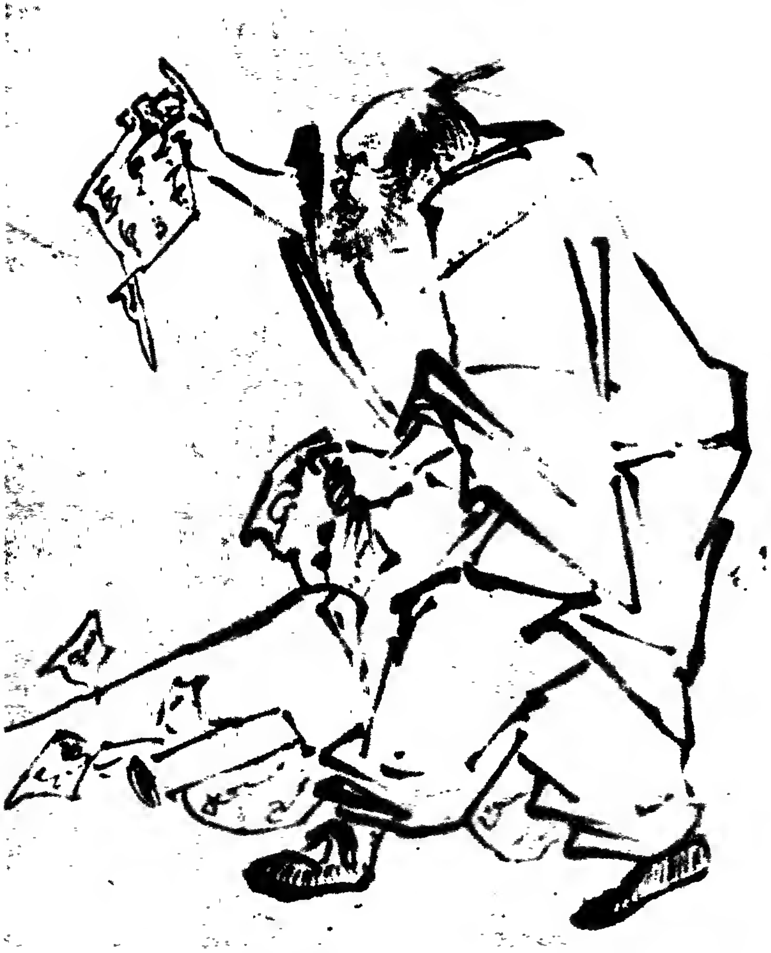
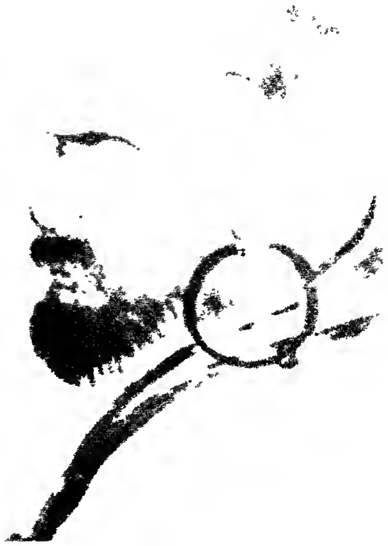
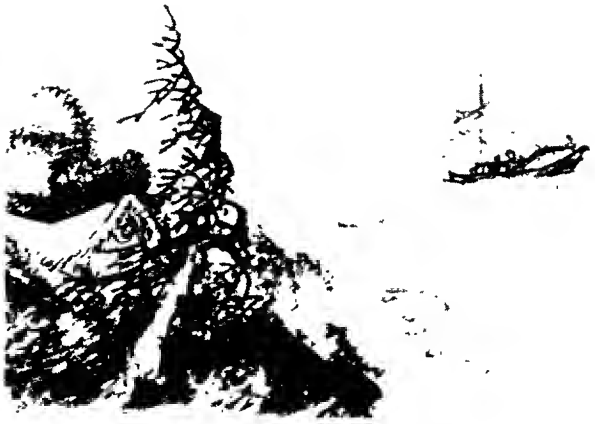


29 Liang K'ai: Patriarch tearing up sūtras Chinese 13th cent.



30. Mu Ch'i: Bodhidharma Chinese. 13th cent.



31 Sesson: Boat in storm. Japanese. 16th cent

32. Sesshu: Landscape. Japanese. 15th cent.

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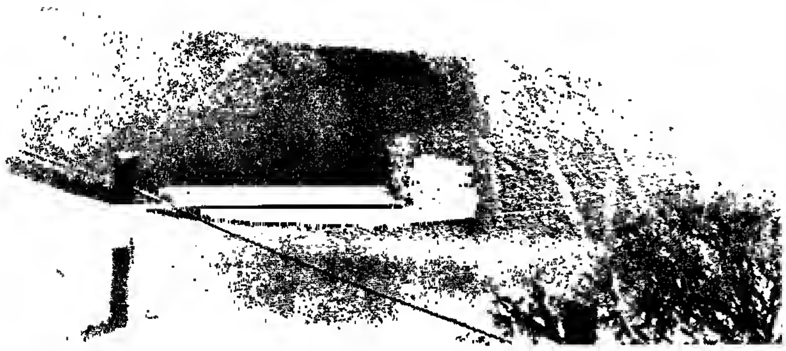
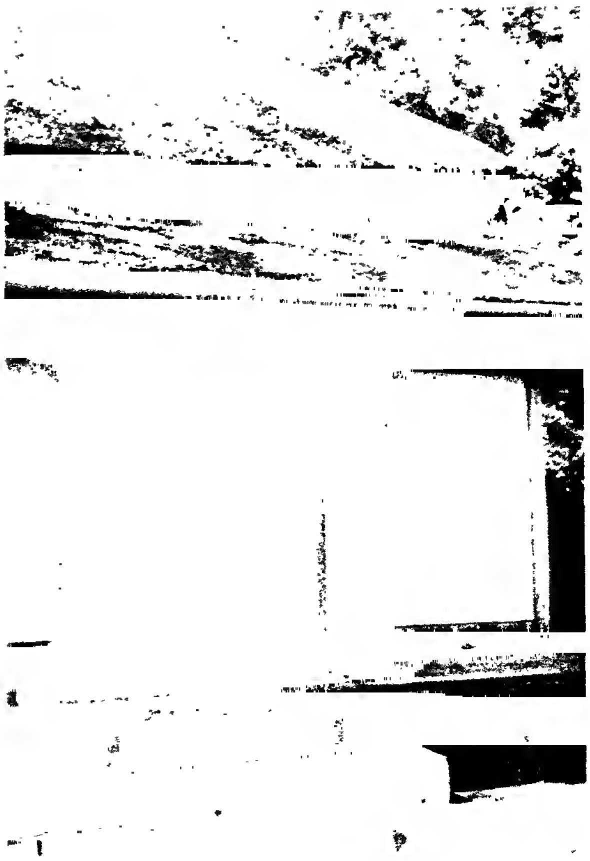
33. Moon-viewing terrace at Silver Pavilion, Kyoto
Japanese 15th cent



34. Teahouse at Matsue. Japanese. 18th cent.



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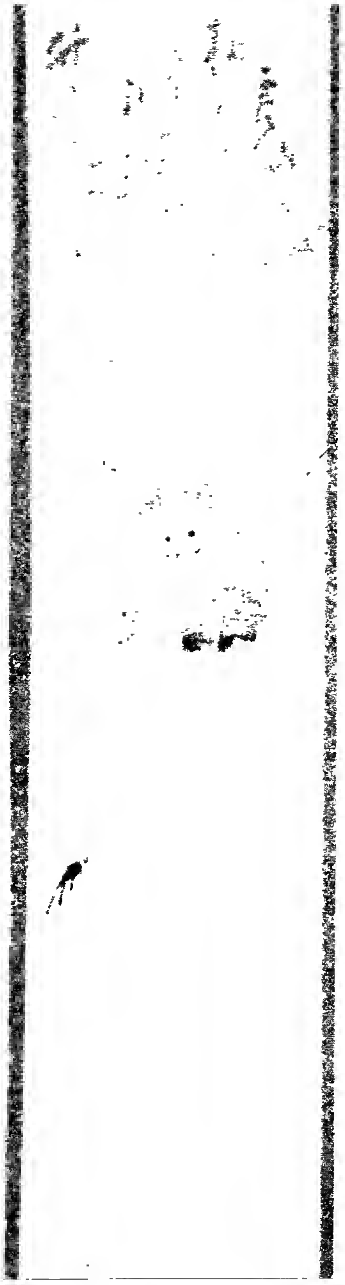
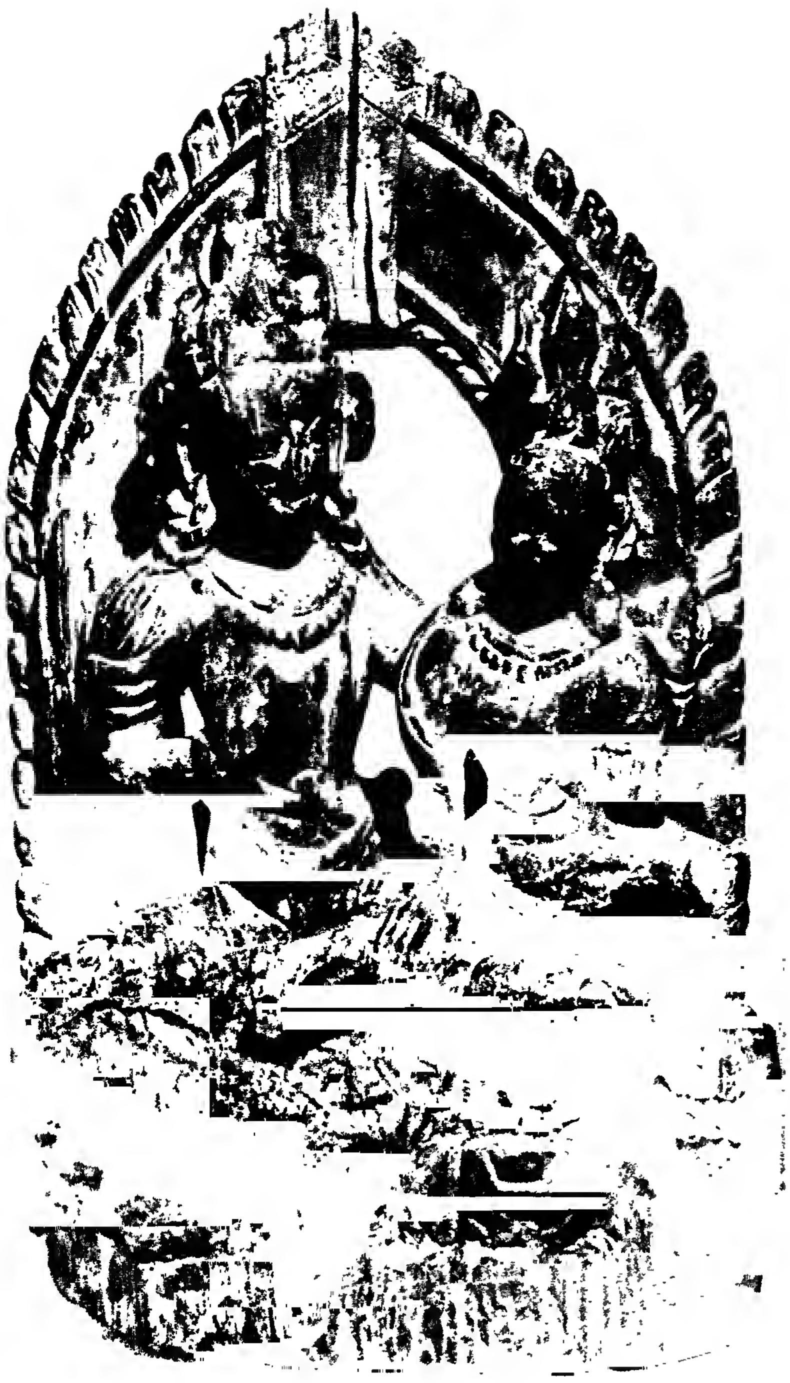
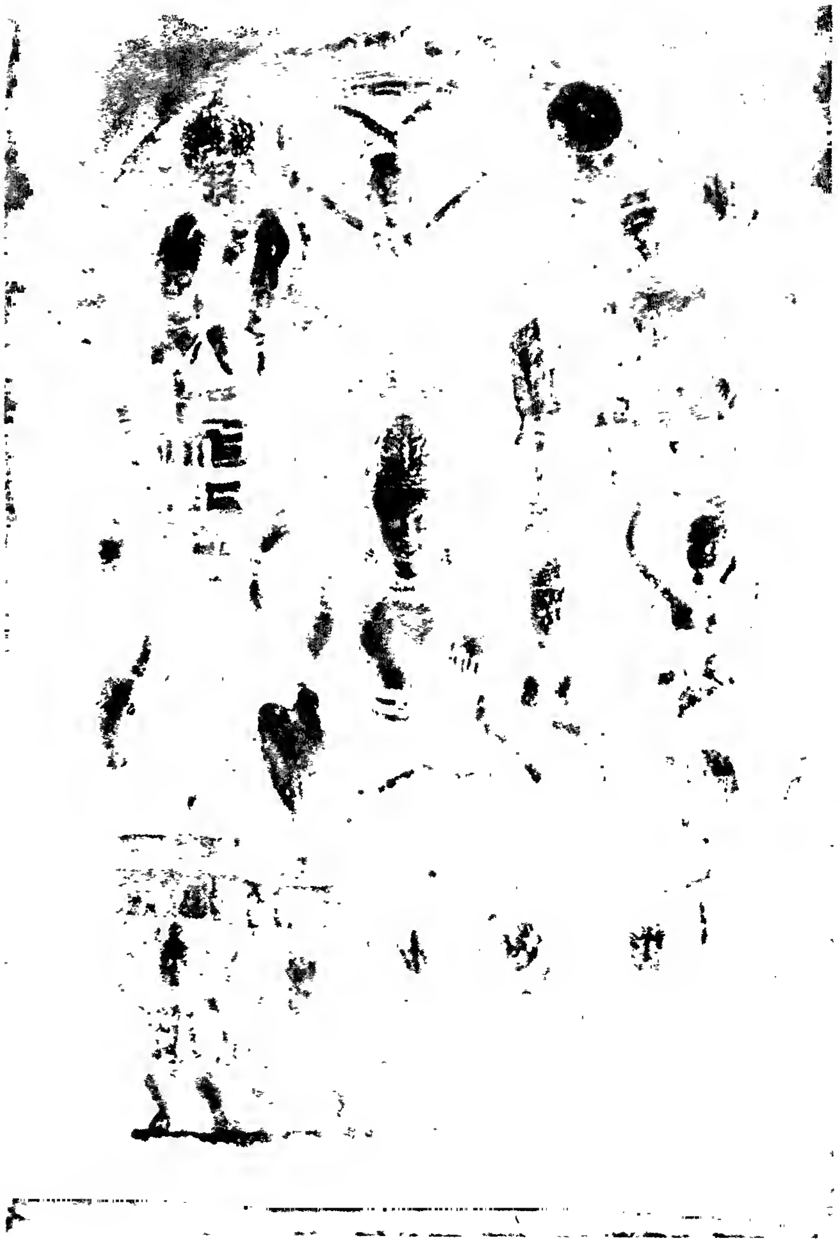
35. Takuan: Hsien-tzu in shrimp catch. Japanese. 16th cent.



36. Hakuin: Monkey reaching for reflection of the moon. Japanese. 18th cent.

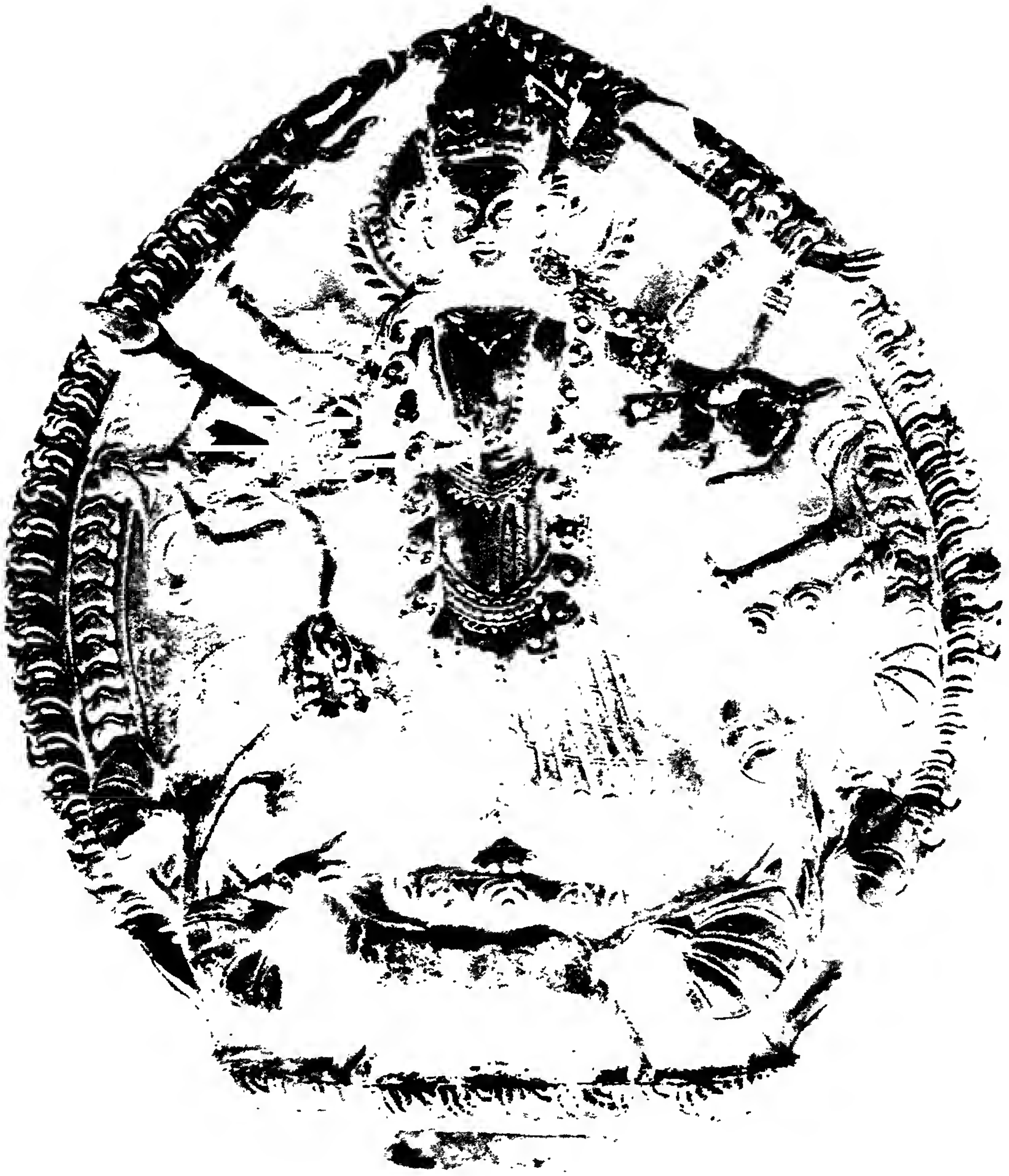


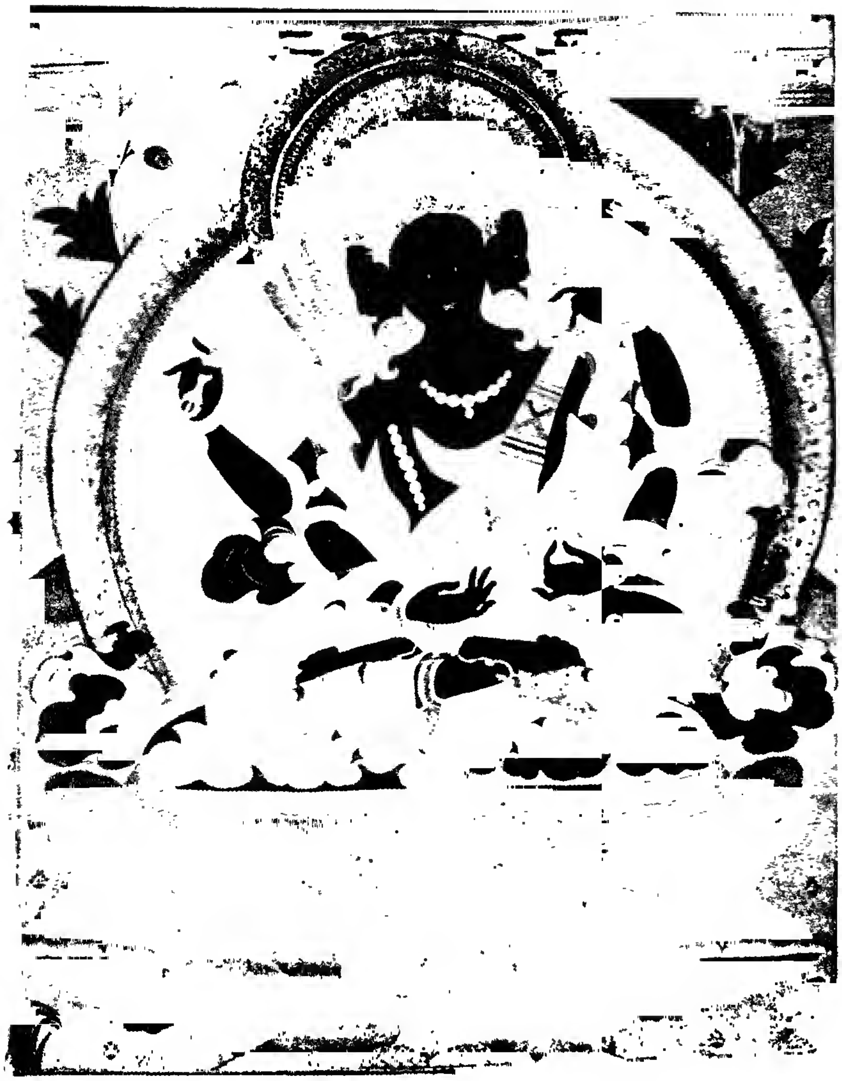
37. Umā-Maheśvara. Nepal. Wood. 16th-17th cent. (courtesy: National Museum, New Delhi).



38. Śiva as Gaṅgādhara with Pārvatī on Kailāsa. Nepal. Stone. 9th cent. (courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India)

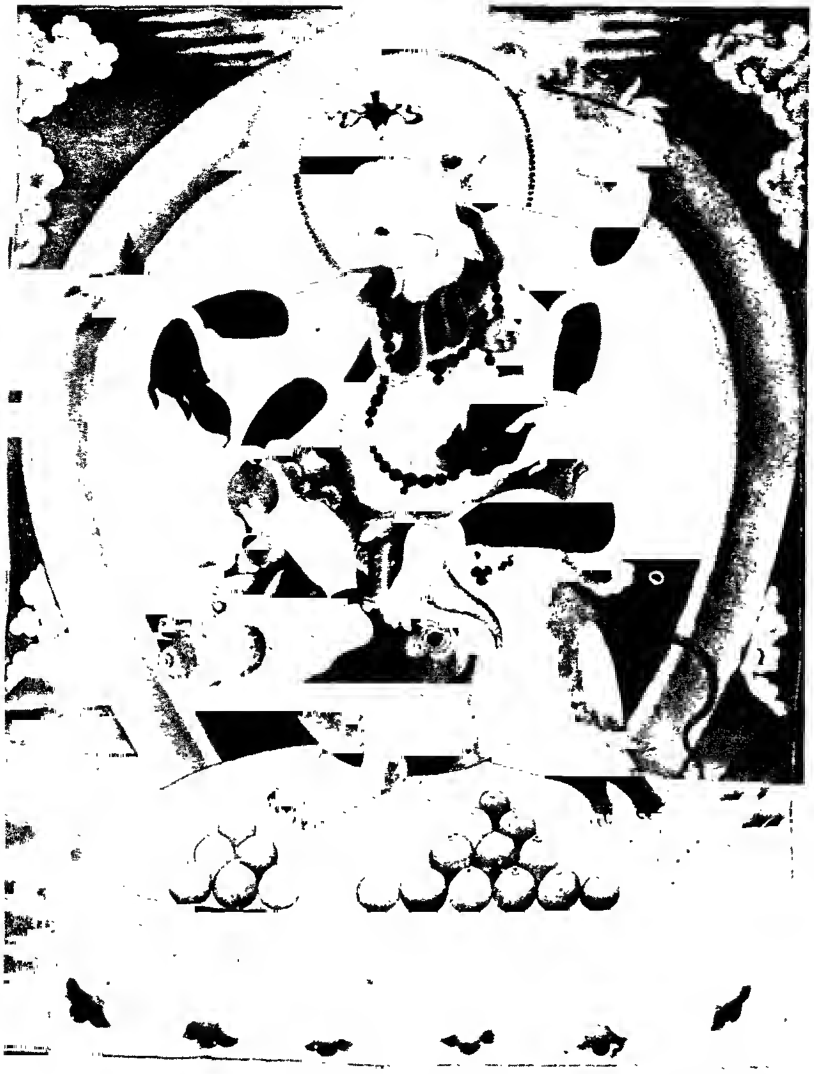
39. Ekapāda Trimūrti. Nepal. Stone. Circa 17th cent. (courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India)



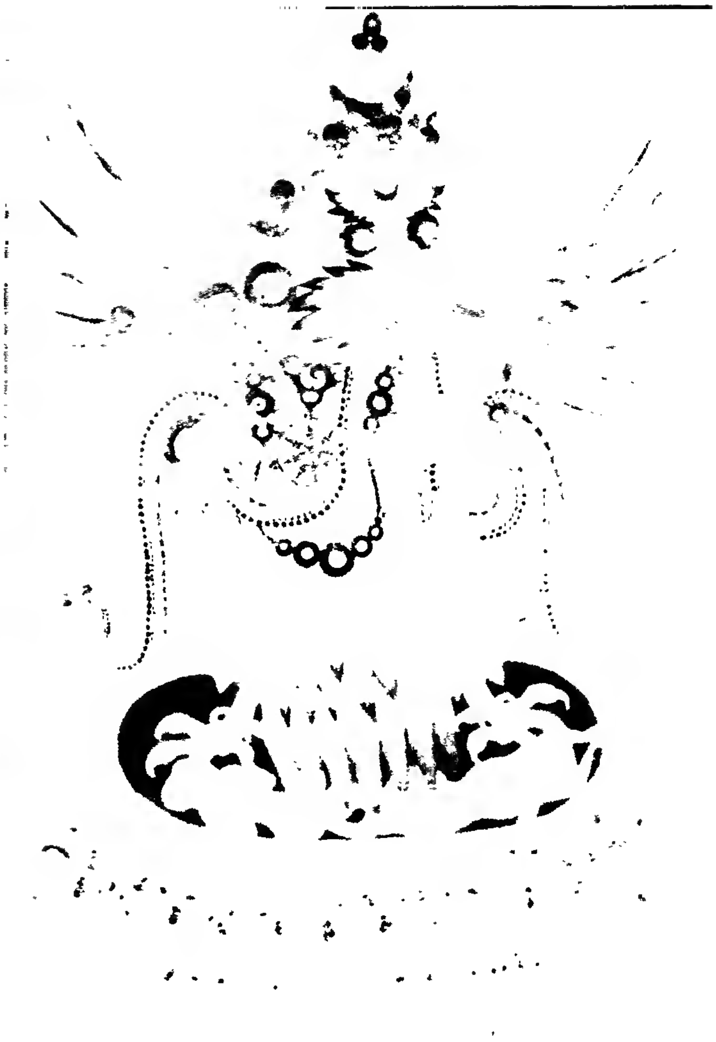


40 Sarasvatī. Tibet. (courtesy: Lokesh Chandra).

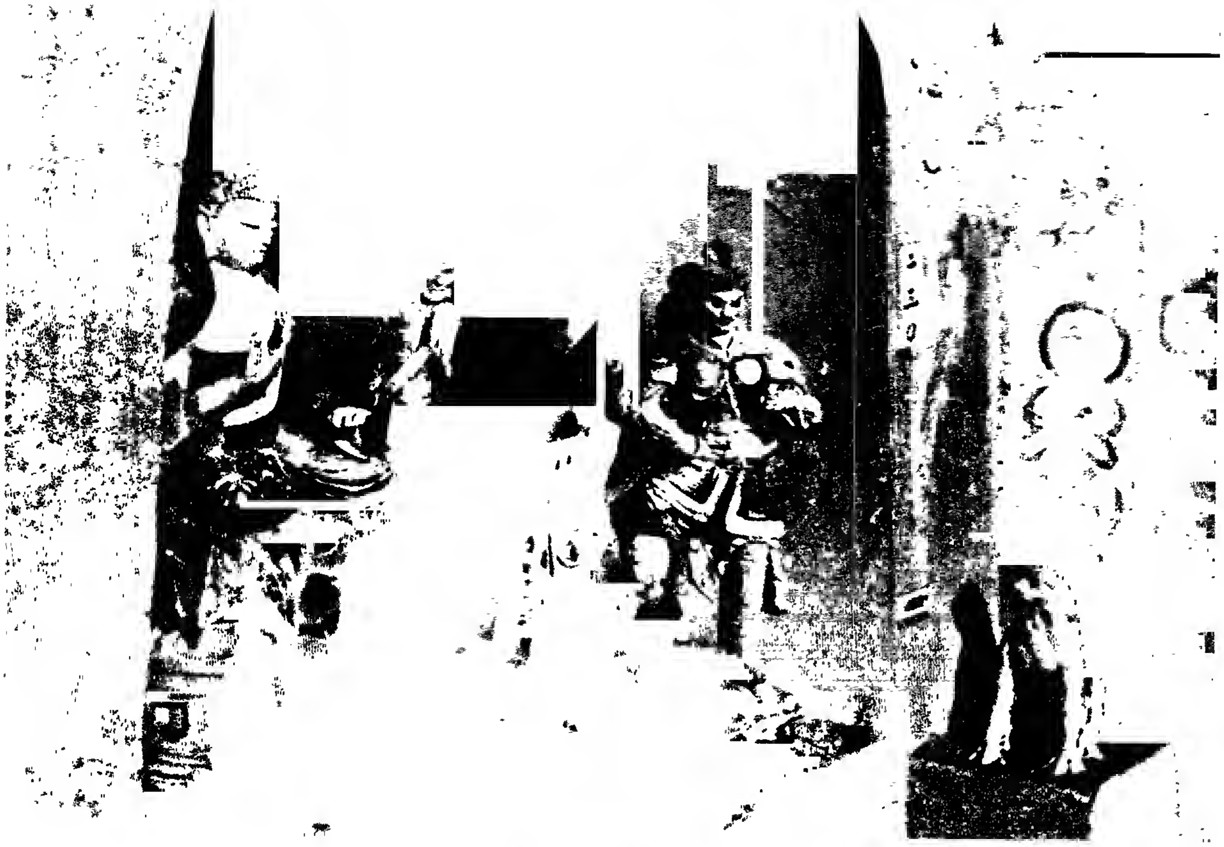
41 Yamāntaka Tibet (courtesy: Lokesh Chandra).



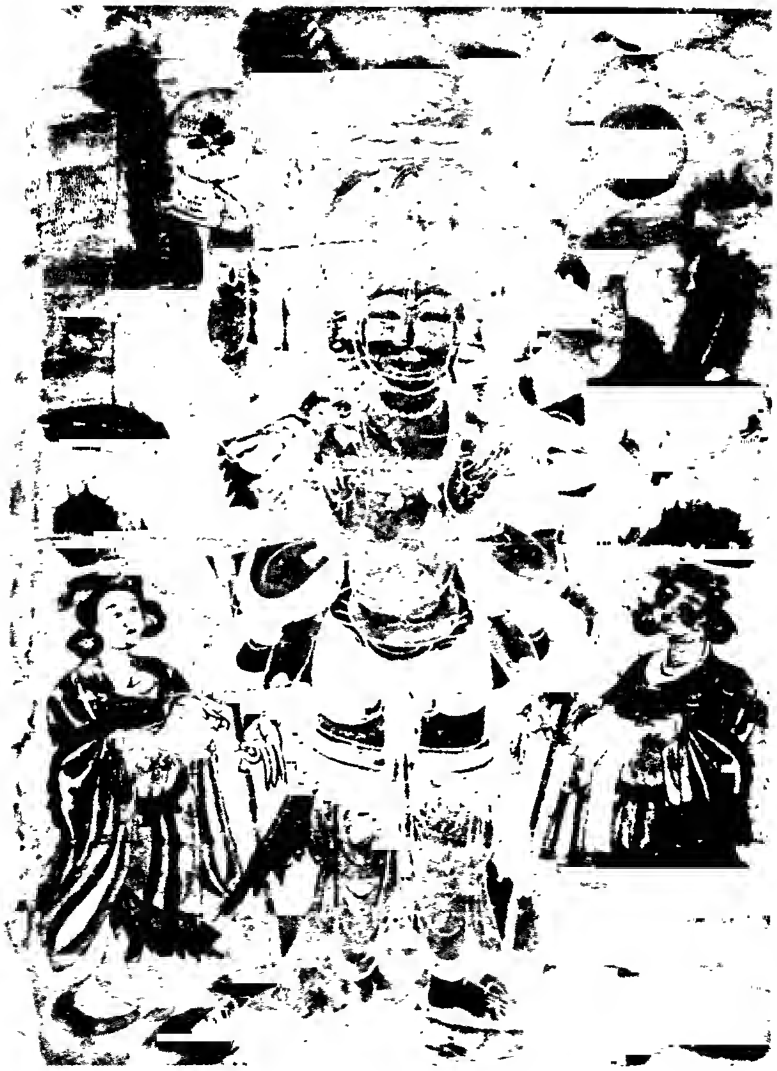
42. Gaṇeśa. Tibet (courtesy: Lokesh Chandra)



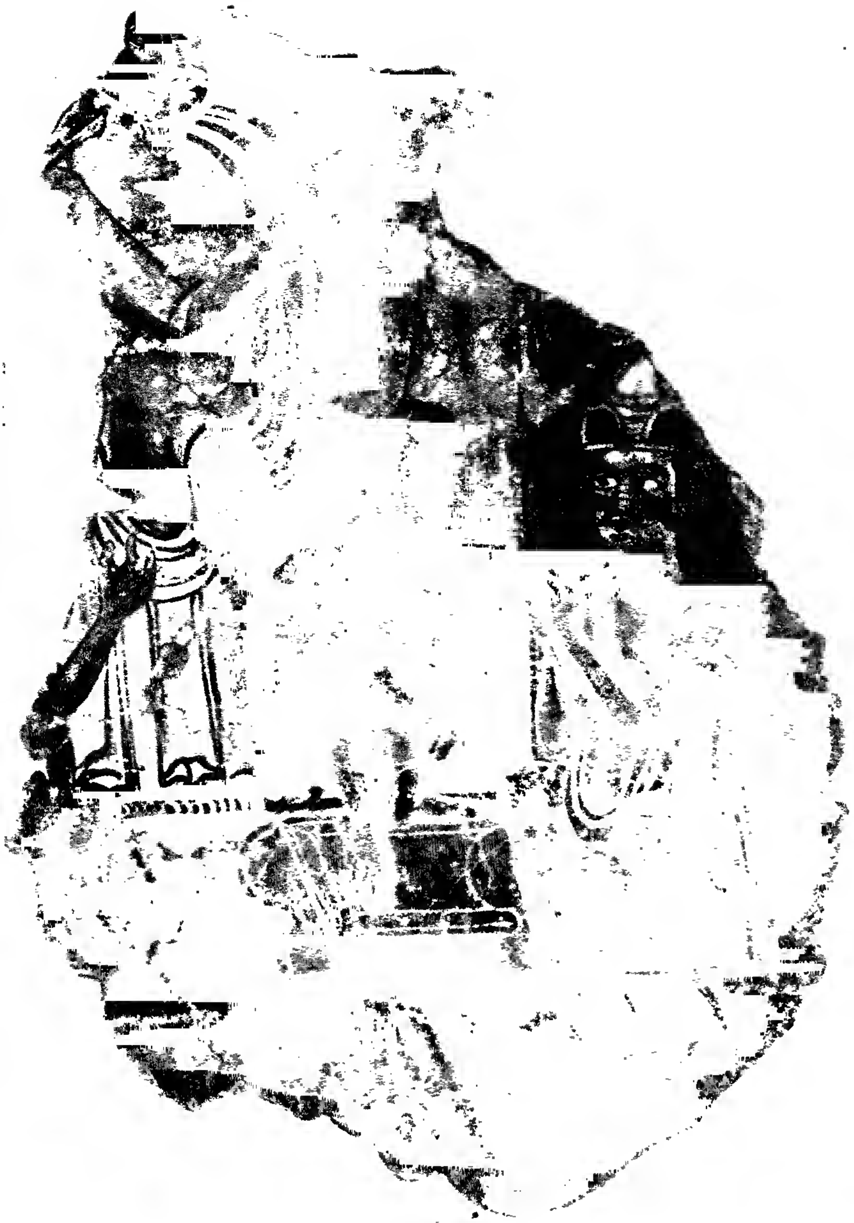
43. Garuḍa. Tibet. (courtesy: Lokesh Chandra).



44. Scene from inside a cave at Tun-huang, Central Asia. The images include Buddha, worshipper, dvārapāla, etc.

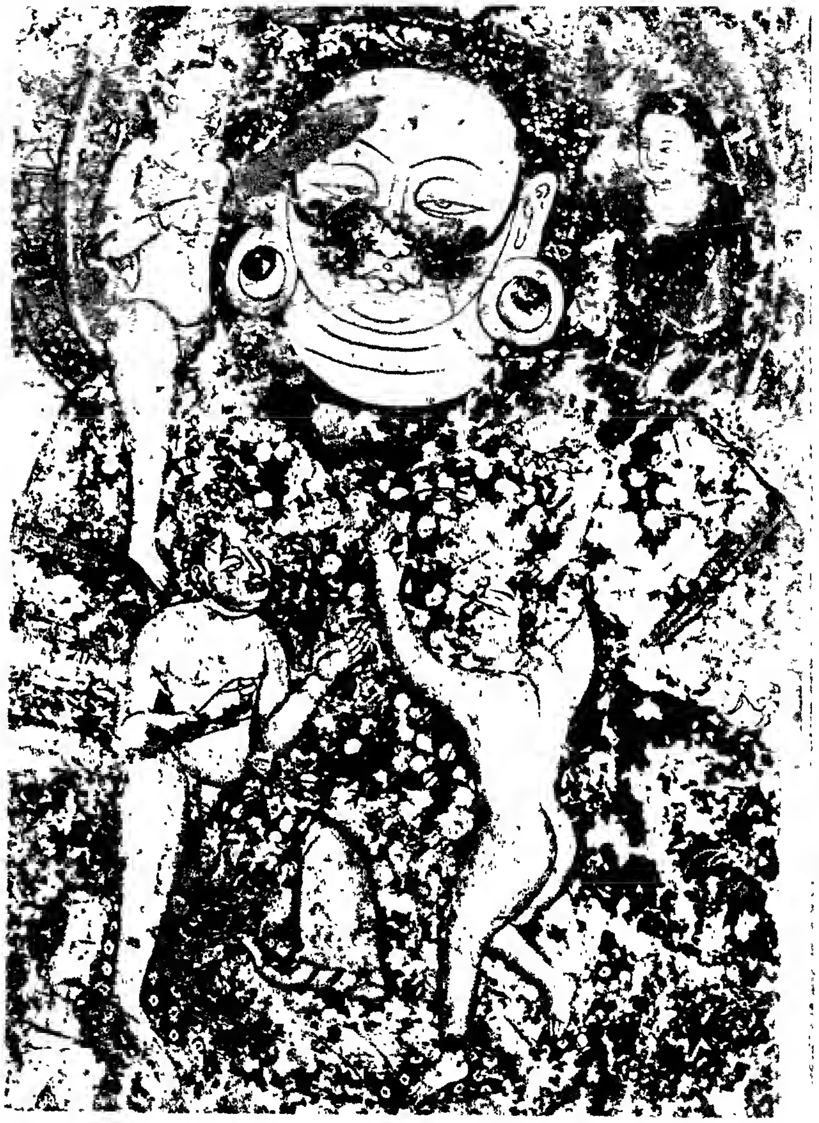


45. Figure of Avalokiteśvara on a silk banner from a cave at Tun-huang, Central Asia. (Courtesy: National Museum, New Delhi)



46. Gautama seated on throne with feet resting on footstool, the smaller figure seated on a low stool facing Gautama with hands in anjali mudrā. From Miran, Central Asia (courtesy: National Museum, New Delhi).

47. Hārīti with children, from Farhad-Beg-Yailaki in Central Asia (courtesy: National Museum, New Delhi).



Sanskrit Nīti Literature in "Greater India"

LUDWIK STERNBACH

Introduction

WISE SAYINGS, MAXIMS, adages, aphorisms were very popular in India from times immemorial. They were usually collected in so-called subhāṣita-saṃgrahas, that is, collections of metrical stanzas—good sayings (subhāṣita's). Sir M. Monier Williams in his *Indian Wisdom or Examples of the Religious, Philosophical and Ethical Doctrines of the Hindus* described these "sayings of wordly wisdom, the nīti literature of India, as charming allusions to natural objects and domestic life, with occasional striking thoughts on the nature of God and the immortality of the soul, as well as sound ethical teaching, in reality a storehouse of practical good sense".

Aphorisms, maxims, adages have been constantly quoted in conversations and formed a storied treasury of wise sayings transmitted by oral tradition until they were collected in subhāṣita-saṁgrahas.

2. These wise sayings were often bound together by stories and included in kathā works so that these works became also storehouses of wise sayings. It is even possible that in order to create some more readable subhāṣita-saṁgrahas the most famous kathā works were composed. That might be, for instance, the case of the Pañcatantra and the Hitopadeśa which are the best known nīti works in India and are, in reality, subhāṣita-samgrahas, the subhāṣitas of which were joined together by different animal stories.

3. The wise sayings in Sanskrit, so popular in Indian works, spread also to countries west, south, north and, in particular, east of India, and became known and popular among peoples who belong to "Greater India".

4. It is a natural phenomenon that Sanskrit wise sayings also influenced the literatures of the Dravidian cultures, in view of the symbiosis of these two cultures. Thus, they were incorporated often into Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, and other literatures of southern India.

5. The Sanskrit wise sayings became also well known in Ceylon. They came there either directly or through the collections of wise sayings written in Tamil or other Dravidian languages, particularly through the Nālaḍiyār.

6. The Sanskrit wise sayings became also very well known in Nepal and Tibet and from the latter were incorporated in the literature of the Mongolians.

7. Through the Manipurian Puṇṇas the Sanskrit wise sayings crossed the frontier to Burma and were included in the Pali literature of Burma, in particular in the Pali Lokanīti

which spread to the whole of South-East Asia. We know, for instance, of the existence of the Pali Lokanīti in Siam, Laos, Xieng Mai, Champā, etc.

8. Through Pali, the Lokanīti also became known in the local languages of South-East Asia, the best example of it being the translation of the Lokanīti into Burmese, in the form of the Nīti Kyan.

9. The nīti literature of India through the development of the Hindu empires in the Malay peninsula and the whole of the Indian Archipelago spread also to Java, Sumatra and Bali.

10. The Sanskrit subhāṣitas came to be known in the cultures of South-East Indian states, mostly by the Hinduized kingdoms of South-East Asia, either in the form of individual wise sayings or in the form of subhāṣita-saṃgrahas translated into the local languages. But since the Pañcatantra and the Hitopadeśa or parts of the Mahābhārata containing some wise sayings, as for instance, the Viduranīti of the Udyogaparvan, were translated into the local languages of the countries surrounding India and even to the countries more to the west, east, south and north of India, the wise sayings contained in these works also became known in these countries.

11. With regard to the Pañcatantra, we know that in 570 A.D. the first version of this work was translated by the physician Burzōē under the patronage of the Sassanian King Chosroēs Anūshīrwān (531–579 A.D.) into Pehlavi, probably by 570 A.D. This text is lost but its contents are known to us from an Old Syriac and an old Arabic translation. The Old Syriac translation made by a Syrian priest, named Būd, is known in part only, while one of the translations into old Arabic by Ibnu'l-Muquaffa made around 750 A.D. and entitled Kālīla wa-Dimna (later called Fables of Bidpai) was the basis of all the translations and adaptations into European languages. In particular a new Syriac translation was made from the Kālīla wa-Dimna, probably in the eleventh century A.D. Also in the eleventh century Symeon Seth made from the same source a Greek translation from which the Italian by Giulio Nuti, one German and some Slavonic translations were made; also basing himself on the same old Arabic translation Rabbi Joël prepared in the twelfth century a Hebrew translation which was the basis for the Latin translation by Johannis di Capua (in the thirteenth century A.D.); from this translation A. von Pforr made a German translation in 1483 A.D.; from the Latin translation emanate the Spanish and two Italian translations; and from one of the Italian translations French and English translations were made. In 1142 A.D. Abu'l Maālī Nasrallāh ibn Muhammad ibn Abdal-Hamīd brought about a Persian translation entitled Kitāb Kalīla wa-Dimna. The latter translation was the basis of the East-Turkish translations and adaptations, in particular the Persian adaptation called Anwāri Suhaili by Husain ibn Alī al-Wā'iz which in turn was the basis of several translations into European and Asian languages (Turkish, Georgian, Grusian, French, Swedish, English, German, Dutch, Hungarian, Malay, etc.).

In the thirteenth century A.D. a second Hebrew translation was prepared by Jacob ben Eleazar from the Arabic translation.

On the other hand, the southern version of the Pañcatantra was translated into Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam, Telinga and became very well known in southern India from where it spread to the Malayan Peninsula and then to Siām as the Nonthuk Pakaraṇa, to Laos as Mulla Tantai and to Java as the Tantri Kāmandaka or Tantravākya or Caṇḍrapiṅgala, etc.

Also the Hitopadeśa was translated into some Dravidian languages, Persian, Newāri, etc. and spread to some countries surrounding India.

12. We find also a part of the Viduranīti of the Udyogaparvan of the Mahābhārata in the Javanese Mahābhārata.

However, some of the translators of the Pañcatantra and the Hitopadeśa were more interested in the animal stories than in nīti teachings, subhāṣitas, contained therein, therefore, in these cases, only some, and often only very few of the nīti sayings contained in these two kathā works, became known in the literatures of these countries, but that was not the case with the Pehlavi translation of the Pañcatantra and the offshoots of this recension, which contains most of the wise sayings included in the oldest version of the Pañcatantra—the Tantrākhyāyikā.

More important than the translations of these works were, however, the translations of some collections of Sanskrit wise sayings.

Tibet

13. In the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. some of the works best known in India at that time, not necessarily of Buddhist character, were translated into Tibetan and were included in the Tanjur. Eight nīti works were so included in the Tanjur of which the most important are :

Śes-rab brgya-pa zhes-bya-baḥi rab-tu-byed-pa; in Sanskrit Prajñāśataka nāma prakaraṇa by Nāgārjuna;
Lugs-kyi bstan-bcos śes-rab sdoṅ-po zhes-bya-ba; in Sanskrit Nitiśāstra prajñādaṇḍa nāma by Nāgārjuna;
Lugs-kyi bstan-bcos skye-bo gso-baḥi thigs-pa zhes-bya-ba; in Sanskrit Nītiśāstra jantupoṣaṇabindu nāma also by Nāgārjuna;
Tshigs-su bcad-paḥi mdzod ces-bya-ba; in Sanskrit Gāthākoṣa nāma or Āryakośa by Ravigupta;
Tshigs-su bcad-pa brgya-pa; in Sanskrit Śatagāthā by Vararuci;
Tsa-na-kaḥi rgyal-poḥi lugs-kyi bstan-bcos; in Sanskrit Cāṇakyanītiśāstra by Cāṇakya;
Lugs-kyi bstan-bcos; in Sanskrit Nītiśāstra by Masūrākṣa.

All these seven out of eight nīti-works are collections of subhāṣitas or of gnomic verses prevalent in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. in India, some of which are lost in Sanskrit and could only be recovered from the Tibetan translation included in the Tanjur.

14. Particularly important is the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version of Cāṇakya's sayings which was included also in the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa Purāṇa and became prevalent in Tibet. It is one of the loveliest collections of the nīti-literature of India. The Tibetan Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra, although smaller than the original Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version, contains a great number of very beautiful and well-known Sanskrit wise sayings.

15. The second collection found in the Tanjur which contains a number of wise sayings of Sanskrit origin is the Nītiśāstra-prajñādaṇḍa or She-rab dong-bu. In the colophon it is ascribed to Klu-sgrub or Lu-trub i.e. Nāgārjuna. Winternitz considered that it was not likely that the She-rab dong-bu was the work of Nāgārjuna. However, according to W.L. Campbell it was written by Nāgārjuna himself. If we accept Campbell's theory, then it was composed some time in the first century B.C. Campbell considered it as a metrical translation in Tibetan of a Sanskrit ethical work. In any case it was probably composed in the form found in the Tanjur sometimes in the eleventh century A.D.

The She-rab dong-bu was a well-known work in Tibet, though it was more likely better known by the educated classes by name only. It was largely quoted by Tibetan authors. Campbell considered that later writers borrowed many of the sentiments and sometimes entire lines, inserting them in their own compositions.

The whole work contains 260 maxims dealing mostly with ethics and general wisdom.

It contains only very few Buddhistic stanzas and even in these places some Sanskrit words could have been changed by the translator in order to fit the text with his own faith. Such a procedure has been extensively applied in the Tibetan Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti texts also. Since, however, we can compare the latter text with the Sanskrit text of the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra it is possible to point out in the latter work the changes made by the translator. In the case of She-rab dong-bu it is possible only to surmise that that was the case. Similarly as other Sanskrit authors of works included in the Tanjur, She-rab dong-bu quoted some stanzas from the Pañcatantra or the kathā literature and followed the pattern of most Sanskrit anthologies, as far as their contents were concerned.

16. The Nīti-śāstra of Masūrākṣa was almost unknown until 1962 when it was edited in Tibetan and Sanskrit and translated into English by Sunitikumar Pathak in the Viśva-Bhāratī Annals, Vol. X. Masūrākṣa is an unknown author. He is not mentioned in any of the histories of Indian literature. Only Vallabhadeva in his Subhāṣitāvalī mentions Masūrākṣa as the author of verse 2935. This verse is, however, a Pañcatantra verse (pp. 3.35, Pts. 3.43, PtsK. 3.40); this seems to show that Māsurākṣa's work was a subhāṣita-saṁgraha, a type of work which was very popular in India beginning from the tenth or eleventh century A.D. The Nītiśāstra of Masūrākṣa in the Tanjur contains 122 stanzas, most of which it was possible to trace to Sanskrit sources.

17. The other works in the Tanjur, i.e. the Nītiśāstra prajñādaṇḍa, the Nītiśāstra jantu-poṣaṇabindu—both ascribed to Nāgārjuna, Ravigupta's Āryākośa (Gāthākośa) and Vararuci's Śatagāthā contain a number of Sanskrit nīti-sayings, a part of which could be traced to Sanskrit sources. However, the eighth niti-work in the Tanjur, i.e., the Vimalapraśnottararatnamālā does not contain any subhāṣitas.

18. Independently of the eight nīti-works included in the Tanjur, another collection of nīti-verses was compiled in the thirteenth century in Tibet. This was the Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi (nīti) nāma śāstra ascribed to Saskya Pandit Kun-dgah-rgyal-mts'han dpal-bzaṅ-po, in Sanskrit Ānandadhvaja-śrī-bhadra. Saskya Pandit was born in 1180 A.D. He made a long trip to China and resided in middle Tibet in the Saskya monastery in the province of Ts'ang "one hundred days' journey distant" from Tashilhunpo. According to the legend the Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi was brought by Saskya Pandit from China, but was lost by him when a boat overturned in a river. However, when the Saskya Pandit returned to his monastery, he found it in the library.

In fact, the Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi, which contains 456–457 different aphorisms in nine chapters, is no doubt of Sanskrit and not of Chinese origin, although only a small amount of these aphorisms could be traced to Sanskrit sources.

The Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi was probably compiled not by one person but by three scholars. It was afterwards translated into Mongolian and Kalmuk and thus the Sanskrit nīti-sayings became well known not only in Tibet, but also in Mongolia.

Lama Irdini Maybun Gallishev who lived among the Buryats in the second half of the nineteenth and in the beginning of the twentieth century prepared the *Zertsalo Mudrosti* (Mirror of Wisdom) which contains 979 aphorisms in Buryat; he himself claimed that his work was based on the Subhāsitas of Gunga-al-an in Tibetan, i.e. the Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi; several Sanskrit subhāṣitas could be traced in this Buryat work, also a few subhāsitas from the Pañcatantra. Recently it has been edited in the Soviet Union by T.A. Dugar-Nimaev, Buryatskovo Izdatelstvo, Ulan-Ude.

Indeed, the Subhāṣita literature of Indian origin was widespread from Tibet to Mongolia.

Nepal

19. Nepal did not enjoy an independent history until 879 A.D., when it threw off the Tibetan yoke. Despite Tibetan influence, Sanskrit culture, particularly through Buddhism, became prevalent in Nepal. Many works were translated into Newari and nīti-literature of India became prevalent in Nepal. Not only the kathā works containing nīti-sayings, but also the whole of the Cāṇakya-nīti-saṁgraha version of Cāṇakya's sayings became well known in Nepal. It is even possible that this version was compiled in Nepāl.

Ceylon

20. Another version of Cāṇakya's aphorisms, the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version of Cāṇakya's sayings became prevalent in Ceylon.

21. The number of Sanskrit texts known in Ceylon is not great. They came there in four periods. The first being up to 1017 A.D., it is up to the conquest of Ceylon by the Choḷas, i.e. the Anuradhapura period; the second up to the beginning of the sixteenth century, i.e. the time when the Portuguese conquered the coastline of Ceylon; the third lasted until 1815, i.e., the Kandy period; and the fourth or the modern period began in 1815. During the latter period Sanskrit became better known and was more frequently learned by the Singhalese.

The number of Sanskrit works which became known in Ceylon during the first two periods is very small since at that time only the Buddhist Pali literature was absorbed by the Singhalese. Beginning with the Kandy period, some Sanskrit books were studied in primary schools and some in the Pansala schools, i.e. schools for boys who intended to join the order of the bhikkhus.

22. Among these Sanskrit books, two, in particular, were collections of nīti-sayings, namely the Vyāsakarāya composed of some 100 maxims and the Pratyayaśatakaya also composed of some 100 maxims.

Both these works came probably to Ceylon from the southern part of India and were probably influenced by two collections of nīti-sayings composed in Tamil, partly of Sanskrit origin. This is the Nālaḍiyār and the Nīdi-vĕṇbā. Particularly the second one greatly influenced the Pratyayaśatakaya.

That the Vyāsakarāya, of which the greatest part of nīti-sayings could be identified with Sanskrit nīti-sayings, came from the south of India can be seen from the fact that a great part of these sayings were included in the Sūktiratnahāra, a south Indian subhāṣita-saṁgraha; it is attributed to King Sūrya of Kaliṅgarāja and was compiled in the first half of the fourteenth century.

23. In addition to these two works we know about the existence of some Singhalese subhāṣita-saṁgrahas, in particular the Subhāṣitaya of Alagiyavanna of 100 verses; the Lōkōpakārya by Raṇasgallē Thera of 238 verses; the Anurāgamālaya of 65 verses (which despite its title has no erotic contents); the Upāratnamālaya of 60 verses, as well as the textbook of poetry prepared by Attaragama-Baṇḍāra, the Vadankavipota which contains some nīti-verses of Sanskrit or Dravidian origin.

Also nine verses of the Sanskrit Navaratnaya were very well known in Ceylon; the Sanskrit Navaratna became one of the Sanskrit works studied at the Pansala schools. Although the nine verses have some ethical meaning, they are rather of kāvya origin.

Burma

24. The early history of Burma and its relations with India are obscure. However, it is well known that Burma became Buddhist directly from India when according to legend, two

missionaries, Soṇa and Uttara, were deputed by the Third Buddhist Council which met in Pāṭaliputra in the time of Aśoka to go to Suvarṇabhūmi (Burma or the Far East). However, Buddhaghoṣa was probably the main apostle of Buddhism in Burma and he proceeded there from Ceylon in the middle of the fifth century A.D.

25. The principal elements in the population of Burma, the Mrammas came probably from Tibet and were ethnically connected with a large number of tribes, now living in the eastern border of India such as the Nagas, Kukis, Mismis, Lepchas, Abors and Bhuṭiyas. It is probable therefore that on their way to Burma, they came into contact with Indian culture. Later the Mrammas came into contact with the Hinduized Pyus, Mons who lived in Upper Burma and so formed modern Burma.

26. The Brahmanical religion was completely ousted from Burma by Hīnayāna Buddhism, Pāli was adopted as the classical language which has evolved a new literature and continued its unbroken career for many centuries to come.

27. According to tradition, Pāli is a dialectal form of Māgadhī. To the Pali non-canonical literature prevalent in Burma belong three collections of nīti-sayings : the Lokanīti, the Dhammanīti and the Rājanīti. These nīti-works were prepared for a king's ācārya in order to enable him to discourse on ethics and polity, to pronounce moral maxims and give advice. They were probably first composed in Sanskrit and through the Manipurian puṇṇas who, driven from their native abode by the vicissitudes of war, made a home for themselves in Burma, spread to Burma. They were written in Bengalī characters, but editions in Sanskritised Burmese also exist.

28. The most important of the three nīti-works in Burma is the Lokanīti which was composed between 425 and 1400 A.D. and was recopied hundreds of times. The Sanskrit Lokanīti of the Manipurian puṇṇas commences with the first introductory stanzas of the Hitopadeśa but this stanza was disregarded in the Pali work most probably on account of the difficulty in its adaptation to Buddhist views.

The Lokanīti is a typical collection of subhāṣitas of Sanskrit origin and the Buddhistic influence on them is rather small. The greatest part of the sayings found in the Lokanīti, as well as in the two other nīti-works of Burma the Dhammanīti and the Rājanīti, could be traced to Sanskrit nīti-literature.

The Pāli Lokanīti of Burma was translated into Burmese under the name of Nīti K̲yan. Usually each Sanskrit stanza, then Pali stanza, was divided into two sentences in Burmese. Therefore, the Nīti K̲yan contains two hundred eleven sentences while the Pali Lokanīti only one hundred sixty seven.

In Burma we also know about the existence of another work on nīti, namely the Suttavaḍḍhananīti. It is a comparatively recent collection and is mostly influenced by the Buddhist canon, but some stanzas could also be traced to the Sanskrit nīti-literature.

29. In addition to these collections of nīti sayings, the whole of the Cāṇakya-nīti-sāstra version (Sanakaya-nīti) was translated into Burmese in the beginning of this century and even today is well known in Burma.

30. Between the Mons and the Peguans another collection of sententious maxims, some of which are of Indian origin. is well known, viz. the Rājādhirāja.

Thailand, Champā, Lao, etc.

31. The Pali Lokanīti spread from Burma (or through Burma from India) into the whole of South-East Asia. It became prevalent in Thailand, Champa, Laos, Khmer and Xieng-mai.

32. Several editions of the Pali Lokanīti are known in Thailand. It is known that four of these Pali Lokanīti's were translated into Thai and became known under the name Sup'hāsit Lokanīti or Sup'hāsit Lokanīti Klam Klong. The latter was used by the local education development board for the use of students in 1904. This edition comprises 408 maxims and is not a real translation of the Lokanīti, but its recast with several additional wise sayings from other sources.

33. The best known Thai subhāṣita-saṁgraha is the Sup'hāsit of P'hraḥ Rūang. According to tradition, P'hraḥ Rūang was one of the first kings of Sukhet'ai, probably Rāma K'amheng, who lived in the second half of the thirteenth century. The Sup'hāsit of P'hraḥ Ruāng exists in several editions. This Sup'hāsit is influenced by Indian thinking, but it cannot be proved that any of the wise sayings contained therein is of Indian origin.

In the nineteenth century a monk living in a monastery in Bangkok compiled a Siamese subhāṣita-saṁgraha which was translated by E. Lorgeou as Subhāṣit Siamois. It also contains some subhāṣitas of Indian origin.

The most important Thai Sup'hāsit's are the Pū-sön-Lān and the Lān-sön-Pū, a grandfather's teaching to his grandchild and a grandchild's teaching to his grandfather. They are probably of Lao origin, but were very well known in Thailand. The Pū-sön-Lān was originally written in Sanskrit but its source cannot be traced.

In Thailand two other works of Sanskrit origin are also prevalent, viz. the Pip'hek sön büt and the Pali sön nön; they do not contain any wise sayings *per se* since they are based on the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. On the other hand, the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version of Cāṇakya's sayings was translated in the beginning of this century into Siamese and is known to the Thai intelligentsia.

34. In further India, Hindus established two powerful colonial kingdoms—Champa and Kambuja-deśa. The first comprises today's South Viet Nam without its southern tip and part of the northern part of Viet Nam. The second—today's Cambodia and the southern part of today's South Viet Nam called under the French administration—Cochin-China. The people of Champa were fully Hinduized and Sanskrit was the official language of Champa.

Another Hindu colony was established in the Malayan Peninsula. It was established by merchants. Although these Hinduized kingdoms had an intimate knowledge of the Rāmāyaṇa, Hitopadeśa, some kāvya-works, Purāṇas, grammars, Smṛtis and other branches of Indian literature, they did not develop a particular liking and interest in the nīti-literature of India. Therefore, it is difficult to find there any appreciable influence of Sanskrit nīti-literature with the exception of some translations of the Lokanīti—Lokanīti-pakarana (for *prakaraṇa*), the Hitopadeśa and the Pañcatantra.

35. In Cambodia (Kambuja-deśa) the Rājaniti (for Rājanīti), *Texte tiré de Sastras sur feuilles de latanier* in Pali with the Cambodian résumé was published in 1941. It contains political maxims in Pali, almost identical with the Pali Rājanīti, prevalent in Burma; it shows Indian influences.

36. Also in Phnom Penh a *Sup'hāsit ebāp sri Bāky Kāby, Anāk Okña Suttant Prija Téṅ Ind* was published in 1951. It contains some 250 aphorisms in Khmer which describe the beauty and charm of women, the model for which were Sanskrit kāvya-works. It seems to be partly based on the Amaruśataka. However, it is impossible to trace the origin of these maxims.

37. In Laos, in addition to the intimate knowledge of the Lokanīti, we find also the Pū sön Lān and the Lān sön Pū which contains some wise sayings of Indian origin, but the other known Lao proverbs cannot be proved to come from Sanskrit sources.

Java, Sumatra, Bali

38. By the beginning of the second century A.D. the Hindus had established political authority in today's Indonesia, in particular in Java, Sumatra and Bali.

In Java there were several Hindu kingdoms and two of them, called Cho-po and Ho-lo-tan by the Chinese, sent regular embassies to China in the fifth century A.D.

The first Hindu empire was founded by the Śailendra dynasty in the eigth century A.D. It comprised also the Malay Peninsula. The Śailendra kings were followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism and were influenced mostly by the culture existing at that time in Bengal. They ruled until the eleventh century A.D. when they were invaded by the Cholas. Towards the end of the thirteenth century A.D. a new dynasty was founded by King Vijaya with the capital in Majapahit.

In the fifteenth century A.D. a fugitive Hindu Chief of Java founded the Kingdom of Malacca. Only in the sixteenth century the Hindu kingdom of Majapahit fell and was converted to Islam, but the royal family and a large segment of Indian population took refuge on the Island of Bali which had been a Hindu island for nearly a 1000 years.

39. Extensive Sanskrit literature flourished in Java. In addition to many Sanskrit works translated into Old Javanese, as for instance, parts of the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, some Purāṇas, the Pañcatantra, the people of old Java showed particular liking in the gnomic literature of India and particularly in Sanskrit nīti-sayings.

40. The most important of these collections is the Sāra-samuccaya. This subhāṣita-saṁgraha in Old Javanese, containing 517 maxims, is mostly based on wise sayings found in the Mahābhārata. Almost all subhāṣitas contained in the Sāra-samuccaya could be traced to Sanskrit sources of which the greatest part comes from the Mahābhārata.

41. Some of these verses were also known in the Javanese translation of the Mahābhārata and some 36 verses (subhāṣitas) are from the Viduranīti of the Udyogaparvan. The language of these nīti-sayings is almost identical with the Sanskrit original.

42. The same cannot be said, however, about another collection of nīti-sayings in Old Javanese, namely the Ślokāntara. The latter work is also a subhāṣita-saṁgraha in Old Javanese; it contains 83 nīti-sayings, most of which could be traced to Sanskrit sources.

43. The third subhāṣita-saṁgraha in Old Javanese is the Nītiśāstra on Nītisāra which was probably composed in the last years of Majapahit. It contains 120 verses in 15 chapters. They are all of Sanskrit origin. Many of the nīti-sayings contained in the Nītiśāstra are also found in the Tantri Kāmandaka and the Ślokāntara. It is, therefore, possible that it was compiled by a Javanese from sources known in Java at the time.

44. The Old Javanese Tantri Kāmandaka is an Old Javanese version of the Pañcatantra, but unlike the other Pañcatantra versions known in "Greater India", it does not contain the animal stories only, but is intermingled with nīti-sayings mostly, but not exclusively, based on the nīti-sayings found in the Sanskrit Pañcatantra and other Sanskrit works.

45. Another work in Old Javanese based on Sanskrit sources is the Nītisāra which is either a fragment or a Sanskrit anthology; it is loosely based on the Sanskrit Kāmandakīya Nītisāra.

Conclusions

46. These few examples of Sanskrit nīti literature in "Greater India" quoted above are only illustrative of the influence of Sanskrit nīti-literature on the literature of countries west, north, south and east of India.

Many manuscripts certainly exist in South-East Asia containing nīti-verses based on Sanskrit sources, but unfortunately not very much has been done to utilize them.

Indian Influence on the Geographical Names of South-East Asia

D. C. SIRCAR

THERE ARE MANY cases in which the same names are found to be borne by different localities either in the same territory or in different countries. Such cases may be divided into two classes, viz., accidental and deliberate.

In the geography of modern India, we have at least three places called Pāṭnā, e.g., (1) headquarters of the Patna District of Bihar, situated at lat. 25° 37′, long. 85° 12′ 31″ ; (2) headquarters of the former Patna State now merged in Orissa, standing at lat. 20° 36′, long. 13° 9′: and (3) town in the Belgaum District of Maharashtra, 20 miles to the west of Belgaum, at lat. 15° 52′, long. 75° 18′. There is no link among these localities excepting the fact that the same name, Pāṭnā, which is derived from the Sanskrit word *pattana* meaning 'a township', applied to them. Similar is the case with the several places called Navagrāma (usually written in English as 'Nowgong'), literally 'a new village or habitation'. The case of localities called Purī, Nagara and Nagarī, which are the stereotyped latter part of names like Puruṣottamapurī, Rājapurī, Pāṭaliputranagara (Śrīnagara), Mālavanagara and Madhyamikānagarī is not quite different. Besides cases like the above cited from India, the same name is sometimes found to be borne by different localities in different parts of the world. Thus Delhi is not only the name of the capital of India but also of the chief town of the Delaware County in the State of New York, USA, which is situated on the northern bank of the Mahawk branch of the Delaware river, 70 miles west-south-west of Albany. The name of the Bihar State in India is likewise borne by a County of Upper Hungary, which bordered on Transylvania, was intersected by the Korosh river and had its headquarters at Groswarden. Similarly, the name of Korea is borne by a well-known country of Eastern Asia as well as by one of India's native states, the headquarters of which (also called Korea, lat. 23° 6′, long. 82° 26′) lay 153 miles north-west of Sambalpur (Orissa) and 135 miles south-west of Sherghati (Gaya District, Bihar).[1]

These are all accidental cases, in which a place has no connection with its namesake or namesakes. There are, however, cases in which the name of one place was purposely applied to another. Thus the Brāhmaṇas of Śrāvastī (modern Set-Mahet on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich Districts, U.P.) and Pāṭaliputra (near modern Patna in Bihar) are believed to have settled in large numbers respectively in the region called Pāhuniyojana in the Hili-Balurghat area of North Bengal and at Cuddalore, headquarters of the South Arcot District of Tamil Nadu. As a result, Pāhuniyojana became famous as Śrāvastī and Cuddalore as Pāṭaliputra.[2]

The geographical names in many of the territories of South-East Asia, where Indian culture spread, exhibit Indian influence very considerably. Because Sanskrit or Pali became the language of administration and culture in the said countries, it is only natural that a large number of localities in them would bear Indian names or would at least have Indian names side by side with indigenous ones. In some cases, the former are mere translations of the latter. The Indian custom of naming a town after a deity or a king or its builder was adopted in the countries concerned. In some cases, as in respect of Campā and Kambuja, the Indian names appear to have been selected because the sound of the indigenous names suggested them. These cases and those indicating deliberate introduction of the names of well-known Indian localities exhibit Indian cultural influence more clearly.

The desire of the colonists to import familiar place names in their land of adoption is very prominent in Burma wherein we have an exceptionally large number of well-known Indian geographical names. The name Maurya applied to Mweyin on the Upper Irawadi is supposed to be the origin of Mareura of Ptolemy's Geography (2nd century A.D.), while Śrīkṣetra (Prome) and Haṁsāvatī (Pegu) are supposed to be older than the 5th or 6th century A.D.[3]

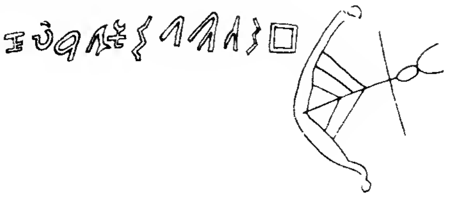
Some important old Indian names in Burma are Aparānta, Avanti, Vārāṇasī, Campānagara, Dvāravatī, Gandhāra, Kāmboja, Kailāsa, Kusumapura, Mithilā, Puṣkara, Puṣkarāvatī, Rājagṛha and others, the names Sāṅkāsya (Tagaung on the upper Irawadi), Utkala (from Rangoon to Pegu) and Vaiśālī (modern Vethali in the Akyab District) also falling in the same category.[4] The name of the celebrated river Irawadi reminds us of the Irāvatī (modern Ravi), one of the great tributaries of the Indus. The list, however, may be multiplied to any length. The legends about the Buddha and even scenes of subsequent episodes in the history of Buddhism and in the lives of the previous Buddhas and of holy men very often been located in Burma. Such a deliberate attempt to create a New India is not found in the other Indian colonies.[5]

Among Sanskrit-Pali names, mention may also be made of Golanagara or Golamṛttikānagara (modern Ayetthema, 20 miles north of Thaton, *Gola* being supposed to stand for *Gauḍa*),[6] Kalasapura (to the south-east of Prome about the mouth of the Sittang river),[7] Rāmapura (Moulmein), Ramaṇyadeśa (Lower Burma)[8] and Śrī (Bhamo or Tagaung).[9] The four principalities of Puṣkarāvatī, Trihakumbha, Asitāñjana and Ramyanagara were situated in the Rangoon area, while Rāmāvatī and Dhānyavatī (modern Raktaingmyu) were situated in Arakan.[10] The city of Śrīkṣetra has been located at Hmawza near Prome, while Sudharmapura is modern Thaton and the city of Arimardanapura is Pagan which was situated in the region of Tattadeśa and the kingdom of Tāmradvīpa.[11] King Kyanzitta (1084–1112 A.D.) of Arimardanapura built the Ānanda temple at Pagan, and this masterpiece of Burmese architecture had been designed on Indian models.[12] Jayasimha (Zeyatheinkta), who died in 1210 A.D., built the Mahābodhi temple in imitation of the celebrated temple at Bodhgaya in the Gaya District of Bihar.[13]

The capital of the Candra dynasty of Arkan was Vaiśālī, mentioned above, though king Ānandacandra is described as the ruler of Tāmrapaṭṭana.[14]

The name of the Kambuja country (Cambodia) reminds us of Kamboja or Kāmboja of Indian literature.[15] There were many cities, bearing Sanskrit names, in this land, such as Tāmrapura, Āḍhyapura, Dhruvapura, Jyeṣṭhapura, Vikramapura, Ugrapura and others.[16] Of these, the name Vikramapura was borne by a celebrated city of Eastern India, which was the capital of the Candra (10th and 11th centuries A.D.) and other dynasties of Bengal and was situated in the present Dacca District of East Pakistan.[17] Many such cities of Kambuja were named after their royal founders, e.g., Śreṣṭhapura, Bhavapura, Īśānapura, etc.[18]

Śreṣṭhapura, capital of Kambuja which was built by Śreṣthavarman (probably the second ruler of that name), was in the vicinity of the Vat Phu Hill near Bassac in Laos, which was known as the Liṅgaparvata. [19] King Īśānavarman (first half of the 7th century A.D.) transferred his capital to Īśānapura (so called after him) which is identified with Sambor-Prei Kuk.[20] In the



Dawe Gala cave inscription BK-11, No 106)

eighth century A.D., we hear of a few kingdoms in Kambuja, such as Śambhupura, Aninditapura and Vyādhapura, the first of which has been satisfactorily identified with Samber on the Mekong.[21]

King Jayavarman II (9th century A.D.) of Kambuja is said to have fixed his capital first at Indrapura and changed it successively to Kuṭi, Hariharālaya and Amarendrapura. For sometime, he is also said to have fixed his abode on the top of the hill called Mahendraparvata.[22] Indrapura has been located in the north-eastern part of Kambuja, while Kuṭi has been identified with Bantay Kdei to the east of Ankor Thom and Hariharālaya with Poluos, 13 miles to the south-east of Battambang, about 100 miles to the north-west of Ankor Thom. The Mahendraparvata has been identified with the Phom Kulen hill to the north-west of Ankor Thom.[23] Yaśovarman (acc. 889 A.D.) built the city of Kambupurī which was later called Yaśodharapura.[24] Īśvarapura (where the temple of Tribhuvanamaheśvara was built in 976 A.D.) has been identified with modern Banteay Srei, while Jayavarman V built Jayendranagarī about 978 A.D., at the centre of which stood the Hemegiri or Hemagiri or Hemaśṛṅgagiri which is the name of Mt. Sumeru so famous in Indian mythology.[25]

The early kings of Campā, like Bhadravarman, ruled from Campāpura over the districts of Amarāvatī, Vijaya and Pāṇḍuraṅga.[26] Among these, Campāpura and Amarāvatī are well-known names of Indian localities. Campāpura was the capital of the ancient Aṅga kingdom and has been located in the suburbs of Bhagalpur in Bihar.[27] The name Amarāvatī borne by the mythical capital of the gods, was also applied to Indian cities, while Vijayapura, Vijayapurī or Vijayanagara were often found among the names of Indian localities.[28] Pāṇḍuraṅga is found in South Indian History as a personal name.[29] After the Kambuja occupation, Campā was divided into two parts, the Northern with its capital at Vijaya and the Southern having the capital at Rājapura (in Panrān).[30]

In Bali, the streams are named after famous Indian rivers, e.g. Gaṅgā, Sindhu, Yamunā, Kāverī, Sarayū and Narmadā, though the people admit that the said rivers really belong to Kling (the same as Indian 'Kaliṅga'), i.e. India.[31]

In Borneo, a locality is given the name of Vaprakeśvara,[32] while, in Java, we have canals named after the Candrabhāgā (modern Chenab, tributary of the Indus) and Gomatī (modern Gomal or Goomti).[33]

The name 'Java' is derived from Sanskrit 'Yava-dvīpa' (the Barley Island) which is transliterated in Greek as 'Iabadios' in the Geography of Ptolemy.[34] The name of Sumatra is said to be derived from the Sanskrit word *samudra* meaning 'ocean' and, in that country, there was the famous city of Śrīvijaya (modern Palembang) which was one of the capitals of the kings of the Śailendra dynasty. The Indragiri was situated in Eastern Sumatra.[35]

The name of the Malay Peninsula reminds us of the same name applied to the *Kulaparvata* identified with the Travancore hills and the southern spurs of the Western Ghāṭs.[36] The territory called Tāmraliṅga was situated on the eastern coast of the Peninsula.[37] One of the capitals of the Śailendras of Indonesia and Malayasia was Kaṭāha (Tamil Kaḍāram, modern Kedah near Penang), the territory around which was the Kaṭāhadvīpa of Sanskrit literature.[38]

The early habitat of the Thai people in Yunnan was called Nan-chao by the Chinese; but it was known in Indo-China as Gandhāra, a part of which was also called Videharājya and the capital of the territory was Mithilā.[39] There were the famous Pippala cave, the Bodhi tree, the sacred hill of Gṛdhrakūṭa and many other localities associated with Buddhism.[40] In the 13th century, the Arab writer Rashīduddīn calls the country Gandhāra and says that its people came from India and China.[41] Among Thai states to the west and south of Yunnan, the Chinese mention a Brāhmaṇa kingdom of Ta-tsin to the east of the mountain ranges bordering Manipur and Assam and another in the east beyond the Chindwin river. A group of Thai states, united in a loose federation and occupying the region between the Irawadi and Salween rivers, was known as Kauśāmbī. Some small States extending from the frontier of Yunnan to those of Cambodia and Thailand included Suvarṇagrāma, Unnārgaśilā, Yonaka-rāṣṭra, Haripuñjaya, etc.[42] According to the chronicles, the first Thai prince to settle on the southern bank of the Mekong was Brahman (Prom) who built the city of Jayaprākāra in the Chieng Rai District in the 9th century A.D.[43]

Many of the geographical names mentioned above, e.g., Gandhāra, Videha, Mithilā and Kauśāmbī, are famous in the ancient history of India. The Gandhāra country had its capitals at Takṣaśilā in the Rawalpindi District and Puṣkarāvatī or Puṣkalāvatī in the Peshawar District, both now in West Pakistan.[44] Videha was roughly identical with Tīrabhukti (modern Tirhut in North Bihar) and had its capital at Mithilā (modern Janakpur in the Nepalese Tarai).[45] Kauśāmbī was the capital of the Vatsa kingdom and has been identified with modern Kosam in the Allahabad District of U.P.[46]

The first Thai kingdom of importance in Siam or Thailand was that of Sukhodaya (Sukhothai) founded by the Chief Indrāditya in the 13th century A.D. King Ram Khamheng (c. 1280–95 A.D.), who ascended the throne a few years after the death of Indrāditya, annexed Haṁsāvatī or Pegu in Lower Burma. Besides the city of Sukhodaya, the said kingdom had a second capital called Sajjanālaya, and the kingdom was therefore called Sajjanālaya-Sukhodaya, One of the States acknowledging the supremacy of Sukhodaya was Lopburi (Lavapurī).[47]

West of Īśānapura, i.e. Cambodia, Hiuen-tsang places the kingdom of Dvāravatī whose memory is preserved in the official names of the Siamese capitals Ayutthaya (Dvāravatī śrī-Ayudhyā, Thawarawadi-Sri-Ayudhya) founded in 1350 A.D. and Bangkok founded in 1782 A.D.[48] According to tradition, the Mons regarded Sudharmavatī (Thaton at the mouth of the Sittaṇg in Burma) as the centre of their race. To the west of Dvāravatī, I-tsing places the kingdom of Śrīkṣetra (Prome in Burma).[49]

The names Lavapurī, Dvāravatī, Ayudhyā and Śrīkṣetra remind us of the Indian place names Lavapura (Lahore),[50] Dvāravatī or Dvārāvatī (Dvārakā, capital of the Yādava-Sātvata-Vṛṣṇis in Gujarat),[51] Ayodhyā (capital of the ancient Ikṣvākus in the Faizabad District)[52] and Śrīkṣetra or Jagannātha-kṣetra (Puri in Orissa).[53] It should, however, be remembered that Jagannātha-kṣetra or Purī might not have attained celebrity before I-tsing visited South-East Asia about the close of the 7th century A.D.

In Ceylon, almost all important geographical names had their Sanskrit forms. Some such names are Abhayagiri, Anurādhapura, Guptaśālā (Guptasāla, Buttala), Puṅkhagrāma, Jarjaranadī, Dīrghavāpī, Gaṅgāśrīpura (Gaṁpala), Giritaṭa, Jambudroṇi, Jayagaṅga, Jayavardhanapura, Jetavanārāma, Kālavāpī, Kalyāṇī, Kāṇavāpī, Laṅkā, Maṇḍalagiri, Rambhāvihāra, Mahātīrtha, Nāgadvīpa, Ratnadvīpa, Ratnapura, Rohaṇa, Siṁhagiri, Siṁhapura, Suvarṇabhūmi, Tāmraparṇī, Tiṣyavāpī, Tiṣyamahāgrāma, Vātagiri, etc. Besides these, there are names like Malaya, Nālandā and Ujjayinī which are particularly borrowed from India.[54]

Malaya (derived from the Dravidian word *malai*, 'a hill' is the name of one of the seven *Kulaparvatas* of Bhāratavarṣa or Kumārīdvīpa.[55] It is the source of the rivers Kṛtamālā (modern Vaigai) and Tāmraparṇī (modern Tambaravari) and has been identified with the Travancore hills together with the southern spurs of the Western Ghāṭs.[56] In Ceylon, the hilly region in the south was called Malaya and, in later times, it was treated as a special province (sometimes including the district of Dakṣiṇadeśa) under an official called Malayarāja who was generally the king's younger son. The Ceylonese chronicles also apply the name Malaya to the mountaineous region of Rāmaṇya or Burma.[57]

Nālandā was one of the foremost Buddhist religious establishments at the site of modern Bargaon near Rajgir (ancient Rājagṛaha) in the Patna District of Bihar. The same name was applied to a village in the Central Province of Ceylon. It is often mentioned in the accounts of the campaign of king Parākramabāhu I.[58]

Ujjayinī is one of the oldest cities of India, situated on the Siprā river in West Malwa. The city is famous for the great temple of the god Mahākāla (Śiva). It was the capital of the ancient Avanti country and people. It is now the headquarters of the District of that name in the old Gwalior State incorporated in Madhya Pradesh. In Ceylon, the name Ujjayinī was applied to a city founded by Vijaya's minister Acyutagāmin.[59]

REFERENCES

1. Cf Souvenir of the Tenth Reunion of AIHC Students, Calcutta University, 1967, p 1
2. See Sircar, *Stud Soc Adm Anc Med Ind*, Vol I, p 20 and note 2
3. R.C Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, 1944, 215–16
4. *Ibid.*, p 216
5. *Loc cit*
6. *Ibid*, p 195
7. *Ibid*, p 197
8. *Ibid.*, p. 196
9. *Ibid*, p. 200
10. Coedès, *The Indianised States in South-East Asia*, pp 329, 143
11. R C. Majumdar, *op cit* p 207
12. *Ibid.*, p. 212
13. *Ibid*, p 218
14. *Ibid*, p 204
15. Sircar, *Cosm. Geog E Ind Lit* p 74.
16. R.C Majumdar, *op. cit*, p 181
17. N.G Majumdar, *Ins Beng*, Vol. III, pp 2,15,59, etc
18. R C Majumdar, *loc. cit*
19. *Ibid*, p 162
20. *Loc cit*
21. *Ibid.*, p 163
22. R C Majumdar, *op. cit* p 166
23. *Loc cit*
24. *Ibid*, p 170
25. Coedes, *op cit*, p. 117 Meru or Sumeru was conceived as a mountain of gold, while *Hemagiri* means 'a golden mountain' and *Hemaśṛṅgagiri* 'a mountain with golden peaks'
26. R.C Majumdar, *op cit*, p 101
27. Sircar, *Cosm Geog E Ind Lit*, p 35, note 6, pp 152, 155
28. One of the old cities named Vijaya is Vijayapurī, capital of the Ikṣvākus (3rd and 4th centuries A.D.) lying in the Nagarjunikonda valley in the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh See Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* p 235, note 3
29. Cf the name of Paṇḍaranga I and II in N Venkataramnayya's *The Eastern Calukyas of Vengi* p 347
30. R C Majumdar, *op cit*, p 123
31. *Ibid*, p. 87
32. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, 1965, p. 499

33 *Ibid.*, pp. 502-03, *Cosm. Geog. E. Ind. Lit.*, pp. 83-84
34 Sircar, *Cosm. Geog. E. Ind. Lit.*, p. 143.
35 R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 66
36 Sircar, *Cosm. Geog. E. Ind. Lit.* pp. 55 (note 88), 70, etc.
37 Coedès, *op. cit.*, p. 39
38 Sircar, *Cosm. Geog. E. Ind. Lit.* pp. 55, 67 (note 114)
39 R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 225
40 *Ibid.*, p. 226
41 *Loc. cit.*
42 *Loc. cit.* Haripuñjaya comprised modern Lamphun and Chieng Mai in Northern Siam (*ibid.*, p. 197).
43 *Loc. cit.*
44 See Sircar, *Cosm. Geog. E. Ind. Lit.*, p. 73.
45 *Ibid.* p. 78
46 *Ibid.* p. 72
47 Majumdar, *op. cit.* p. 229, cf. p. 171
48 Coedès, *The Indianised States of South-East Asia* p. 76
49 *Ibid.* p. 77
50 See Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, 1927, p. 114
51 Cf. Sircar, *Cosm. Geog. E. Ind. Lit.*, pp. 99, 107
52 *Ibid.* p. 72
53 Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 191
54 See C.W. Nicholas and S. Paranavitana, *A Concise History of Ceylon*, pp. 359 ff
55 Sircar, *op. cit.* p. 70
56 *Ibid.* pp. 87-88
57 Malalasekera, *DPPN* s.v. *Malava*.
58 *Ibid.*, s.v. *Nālandā*
59 *Ibid.* s.v. *Ujjenī* B.C. Law confuses the Indian and Ceylonese Ujjayinīs and says that the capital of the Avanti people in Western India was built by Acyutagāmin. See *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 332, *The Age of Imperial Unity* (*History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II), ed. Majumdar, p. 14. Malalasekera (*loc. cit.*) regards the *nigama of* Ujjayinī mentioned in the *Buddhavaṁsa* commentary as a third locality.

India's Contributions to the History of Science

B. V. SUBBARAYAPPA

Introduction

INDIA, AS THE home of one of the earliest civilizations, has played a significant role in the history of scientific ideas and techniques. It is generally recognized that a number of scientific ideas which originated in India not only attracted the attention of thinkers in Greece, Arabia and Central Asia but also influenced in no small measure the growth of different sciences in those regions. There was considerable exchange of ideas too between India and those regions from time to time, resulting in the reformulation or evolution of some of the sciences in India itself. India's pre-eminent geographical position in the ancient world proved to be of pivotal importance in the movement of scientific ideas and technological practices.

The history of science with which we are familiar at present is, by and large, an account of the contributions of the ancient Egyptian and Babylonian civilizations, of the Greeks, Romans and Graeco-Romans, of Arabia and of pre- and post-Renaissance in the West. More recently, the achievements of Chinese science[1] in the ancient and medieval periods have been studied in considerable detail. However, the fact of the matter is, unless systematic studies are undertaken and, as a result, the contributions as well as the part played by India in the ramification and dynamics of scientific ideas particularly in the ancient period are properly assessed, the current history of science cannot but be an incomplete and inaccurate picture.

There is no gainsaying the fact that, historically, a host of Indian scientific ideas influenced the course of the history of science. Among them special mention may be made of the decimal system of place-value notation which has since become universal, other mathematical ideas including the Śulva theorem, solutions to indeterminate equations as found by Brahmagupta and Bhāskara II and the introduction of sine and cosine functions in trignometry, methodological concepts of medicine including the *tridoṣa* theory and surgical practices, the doctrine of five elements, conception of substance and the atomic views, the lunar zodiac, the Great Cosmic Cycle of 10,800 or 4, 3,20,000 years. The list is by no means exhaustive. Of the noted Indian scientific texts, Brahmagupta's *Brahma-Sphuṭa-siddhānta* and *Khaṇḍa-khādyaka* were translated into Arabic at Baghdad as early as the eighth century A.D. The medical classics of Caraka, Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa were also rendered into Arabic. Āryabhaṭa's *Āryabhaṭīya* was translated into Latin in Italy in the thirteenth century A.D. The *Sūryasiddhānta* was well received as an astronomical compendium in Indo-China and Indonesia. More systematic studies would probably bring to light yet others which have shaped the history of science. In this connection, it is refreshing to note that Said al-Andalusi, an astronomer and historian of science, in the eleventh century A.D., accords in his work *Kitab Tabakat al-Umam (The Categories of Nations)* the first place to India among the contemporary nations which had developed sciences by then.

Historians of science generally recognize the scientific elements in older civilizations of Egypt, Mesopotamia and India. Yet they seem to give a special position to the Greeks. There is even a view that with the Greeks, man's attitude to nature and the interpretation of natural phenomena underwent a radical change characterised by an approach which was non-theological and eschewed everything that could not be brought under strict logical reasoning. It has been emphasised that "a sense of wholeness of things is perhaps the most typical feature of the Greek mind. The modern mind divides, specialises, thinks in categories, the Greek instinct was the opposite, to take the widest view, to see things as an organic whole".[2] The Greeks were no doubt great thinkers, had firm faith in reason and an innate sense of taking a comprehensive view of the phenomena, of preferring the whole to its parts. It is equally true that the Greek thinkers, particularly the pre-Socratics, understood the natural phenomena in a spirit of free inquiry, exhibited mental coherence and speculated in terms of principles, roots or elements as an answer to phenomenal origins and manifestations. However, in the history of human thought it would appear that the mental coherence or a rational attempt to find the ultimate principle of all things was first exhibited by the seers or thinkers of the Vedic and post-Vedic period. In the *Ṛgveda*, it is explicitly stated : "Give sight to our eyes, sight to our bodies so that they can see; may we see the world as a whole, may we see it in detail".[3] Total vision in contradistinction to partial views is an important aspect of the Vedic thought. Naturally, such an inclination leads to the enunciation of universal principles.

From the point of view of the history of science one such universal principle found in the *Ṛgveda* is of great relevance. It relates to the conception of the natural law known as *ṛta*. The Vedic seers conceived of this law as the real governing force of the universe. Even the Vedic gods, as expected, are subordinated to this law. The natural phenomena, like the flow of rivers, occurrence of night and dawn, are also explained in terms of this natural law. As Radhakrishnan says : "The world of experience is a shadow or reflection of the *ṛta*, the permanent reality which remains unchanged in all the welter of mutation".[4] As a transcendental and all-pervading principle, *ṛta* is symbolised as the cosmic wheel—a source as well as the governing force of all events in the universe. It would seem that the Vedic Indians believed that the laws that are known, that are yet to be discovered and that remain undiscovered are all aspects of this natural law. How did they come to realise this eternal order? Evidently it was intuitive. They were seers beyond the phenomenal world and gave expression to what they comprehended beyond the sensate world. Science, as mental activity, does believe in the uniformity of nature and in the order of nature. A.N. Whitehead says : "...In the first place there can be no living science unless there is a widespread instinctive conviction in the existence of the order of things, and in particular, of an 'Order of Nature'. I have used the word *instinctive* advisedly. It does not matter what men say in words, so long as their activities are controlled by instincts. The words do not count. This remark is important in respect of the history of scientific thought".[5] The Vedic people had an instinctive conviction in the natural order and the *Ṛgveda* is probably the earliest literary source which has formulated in clear terms such a fundamental conviction.

It is now known that there was among the Babylonians a conception of natural law with reference to divinity. Among the pre-Socratic philosophers, Heraclitus (*c.* 6th cent. B.C.) is believed to have given expression to the idea of natural law as well as a divine law which 'nourishes' all human laws. It would appear that Democritus (*c.* 5th cent. B.C.) who advocated an atomic theory on causal grounds did not think of a natural law. So too was Aristotle, while Plato is stated to have used it only once in his work *Timaeus*. The Greek thinkers, to a great extent, seem to have been concerned with *ananke* (necessity) in nature.[6] However, in the *Ṛgveda* there are references—whose number is legion—to the law of nature in no ambiguous terms. The ideas of cosmic light, sacrifice, truth, action and sin, natural happenings and movements are all delineated in a rational way in terms of *ṛta*, the natural law, in the Vedic literature indeed at a very early stage of human thinking.

As stated already, India's contributions to the growth of scientific ideas need a closer scrutiny than what has been attempted so far. The task is by no means easy, for the Indian literature containing the scientific ideas is as vast as it is varied, and a judicious approach has to be made to separate the grain from the chaff. Till then, we have to rest content with the attempts made so far, bringing to the fore certain aspects of India's contributions to the development of sciences in the ancient period. What follows is but a brief account of some of them in the matrix of the now known history of science.

Mathematics

Even in the ancient period the mathematical knowledge in India was of a high order. *Gaṇita* occupied the pride of place among the different sciences. Numbers seemed to have had a special appeal to the Indians of the Vedic and post-Vedic periods. The *Yajurveda Saṃhitā* has names of numbers up to even (10^{12}) and the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* gives an account of numbers in ascending decimal scale: *eka*, *daśa* (10^1), *śata* (10^2), *sahasra* (10^3), *ayuta* (10^4), *niyuta* (10^5), *prayuta* (10^6), *arbuda* (10^7), *nyarbuda* (10^8), *samudra* (10^9), *madhya* (10^{10}), *anta* (10^{11}), and *parārdha* (10^{12}). In this respect it is interesting to note that the highest terminology of the Greeks (which probably came into use by about the fourth century B.C.) was *myriad* (10^4) and of the Romans was *mille* which denoted a thousand (10^3) only [7]. In the Classical Period the Indians had developed terminology to express numbers as large as (10^{24}) and (10^{53}).

Of great importance from the point of view of history of science is the fact that the development and use of the decimal place-value notation, using nine digits and zero, was already in use in India by about the fifth century A.D. There is a view that the Babylonians developed the place-value notation in their sexagesimal system.[8] Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that the Babylonian system did not accord the rightful place to zero in the same way as the Indian system did. According to Halsted, "this giving to airy nothing not merely a local habitation and a name, a picture, symbol, but helpful power is the characteristic of the Hindu race whence it sprang".[9] Severus Sebokht, a Syrian scholar of the seventh century A.D., referred to the Hindu decimal place-value notation as a 'computing that surpasses description' and was full of praise for the ingenuity with which it was formulated. The Indian decimal place-value notation spread to Indo-China, Indonesia, China and Japan probably in the sixth and the seventh centuries A.D. The Indian numerals (misnamed as Arabic numerals) reached Arabia probably by the seventh or the eighth century A.D. In the ninth century, the Arabic mathematician al-Khwārizmī was the leading exponent of this system. In the twelfth century A.D. Adelard of Bath in England translated into Latin al-Khwārizmī's mathematical works and was thus probably the earliest transmitter of the Indian numerals to Western Europe. During the same period, John of Seville and Abraham Ibn Ezra were the other disseminators of the decimal place-value notation taken from Arabic sources. Nevertheless, in Europe then the use of abacus was wide-spread and the abacists strongly opposed the use of decimal place-value notation. In the very first decade of the thirteenth century A.D. in Italy, Fibonacci expounded the Indian numerical system and his arithmetical work *Liber abaci* was extremely popular. There were others like Villedieu and Sacrobosco in Europe who were the protoganists of this system in Europe. Thus by the thirteenth century A.D. the Indian decimal place-value notation had established itself in Europe and since become universal.[10]

The field of geometry, the *śulva-sūtras* (Rules of the Thread or Measuring Line) which are a part of the *kalpa-sūtras* and which deal with rules of altar constructions, deserve special mention. They are the earliest documents and among them mention may be made of *Baudhāyana, Vādhula, Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin* (belonging to the Taittirīya school), *Mānava* and *Vārāha* (Maitrāyaṇi school) and *Kātyāyana* (Śukla Yajus school). With its 525 sūtras in three chapters, the Baudhāyana Śulva-sūtra is probably the oldest (*c.* seventh cent. B.C.). The geometrical propositions dealt with in the śulva-sūtras relate to the relative positions and spatial magnitudes with reference to the construction of altars. Some like *Mānava* and *Kātyāyana,* give an account of the specifications of the measuring chord, gnomon, etc. Construction of squares and rectangles, relation of the diagonal to the sides, equivalent rectangles and squares, equivalent circles and squares are among the important geometrical notions found in them. Both Āpastamba and Baudhāyana describe a square to the sum of two different squares like, $3^2+4^2=5^2$, $5^2+12^2=13^2$, $8^2+15^2=17^2$, $7^2+24^2=25^2$, $12^2+35^2=37^2$, $15^2+36^2=39^2$. Kātyāyana states to the effect that if the sides of a right angle triangle are a and $a\sqrt{2}$, then the hypotenuse is $a\sqrt{3}$.[11]

Some Western scholars share the view that the origin of the now known Pythagorean problem relating to this can be traced to the Indian śulva-sūtras. According to G. Milhand, the Pythagorean geometry might have been inspired to some extent by the Hindu model.[12]

The bionomial theorem for positive integral exponents, which was discovered in Europe in the sixteenth century A.D., seems to have been known to the Indians much earlier. The triangular array formed by the binomial coefficients (referred to as Pascal triangle in Europe) was known in India as *meru prastāra,* a pyramidal expansion of the number of combinations of 1, 2, etc. syllables formed of short *(laghu)* and long *(guru)* sounds. This has been dealt with in a methodical way by Piṅgala (*c.* 3rd cent. B.C.) in his *Chandas-sūtra.*[13]

In the classical period and later, India was fortunate in having mathematicians of the stature of Āryabhaṭa I (5th or 6th cent. A.D.), Bhāskara I (7th cent. A.D.), Brahmagupta (7th cent. A.D.), Mahāvīra (9th cent. A.D.), Āryabhaṭa II (10th cent. A.D.), Śrīpati (10th cent. A.D.), Śrīdhara (11th cent. A.D.) and Bhāskara II (12th cent. A.D.). Many of them were well versed in astronomy too. Āryabhaṭa I knew the rules for the extraction of square and cube roots, areas of triangles and trapezeum, circles, volumes of sphere and pyramic, arithmetic progression and summation of series, fractions, etc. He developed an alphabetical system for expressing numbers on the decimal place-value model. He gave the value of π correct to four places of decimal (3.1416), though he knew that it was approximate. His greatest work, *Āryabhaṭīya* (in four sections—one on mathematics and the other three on astronomy) was, as stated before, translated into Latin by an Italian mathematician in the thirteenth century A.D. Bhāskara I, who wrote *Mahābhāskarīya* and *Laghubhāskarīya* (commentary on the work of Āryabhaṭa), gives a method for solving indeterminate equations of the first degree.

Brahmagupta was recognised to be an eminent mathematician in the world of his time. He gave a formula for the sum of a n terms of the Arithmetic Progression of which the first term is unity and the common difference is unity. He was able to state succinctly the rules regarding the volume of a prism, area of cyclic quadrilateral and the formula for the length of two diagonals of a cyclic quadrilateral. His rules are still in use. It has been established that "Brahmagupta knew the theory of non-recurring continued fraction and gave the general solution in integers of the indeterminate equations of the first degree in almost the same form in which we find it now in modern standard text books on algebra. He also dealt with the famous indeterimate equation of the second degree $Ny+1=x^2$ which engaged the attention of the Greeks and the later Indians. One of his results on indeterminate equations was rediscovered about a thousand years later by Euler (1707–1783 A.D.) after spending much thought and labour on the theorem which he called the remarkable theorem".[14]

Mahāvīra, known for his work. *Gaṇitasārasaṅgraha*, has dealt with operations using zero and the summation of *n* terms of a Geometrical Progression. Āryabhaṭa II, in the chapter called *Kuṭṭakādhyāya* of his work entitled *Mahāsiddhānta* deals with a number of mathematical problems including zero. Śrīdhara is credited with the discovery of a method of solving quadratic equations in his work *Gaṇitatilaka*.

India's well known mathematician, Bhāskara II has dealt with the problems of arthmetic, geometry and algebra in the two parts—*Līlāvatī* and *Bījagaṇita* of his now famous work *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi*. He gives a correct assessment of the division of a finite number by zero. Letters are used to denote unknown quantities in algebraic operations. Indeterminate equations of the first and second degree have been dealt with by him. It has been stated that the rules given by him with regard to these are in effect the same as those rediscovered by European mathematicians like Fermat, Euler, and Lagrange in the 17th century. Bhāskara II developed a method known as a *cakravāla* or cyclic method, for rational integral solutions of the indeterminate equation ($Ny^2+1=x^2$). It is on record that "the glory of having invented the general methods in indeterminate analysis belongs to the Indians. Bhāskara's cyclic method of solving the indeterminate quadratic equations constitutes the greatest invention in the theory of numbers before the time of Lagrange". There is a view that Bhāskara almost hit upon the root idea of the differential calculus, but as he did not conceive of the idea of limit, he was unable to evolve the notions of modern calculus which owes its development to Newton (1642–1727) and Leibnitz (1646–1716).[15]

Astronomical Knowledge

In the *Ṛgveda* are certain symbolic passages and references which unmistakably give an insight into the astronomical knowledge in the Vedic period. The Vedic Indians were indeed very keen observers of the celestial bodies. The course of the sun, the path and phases of the moon, the bright wandering objects or the planets, the starry firmament, occurrence of eclipses or comets and the like must have been observed by them constantly and their intuitive minds have woven out a thought pattern concerning the movement of astronomical objects.

In the Vedic period, the moon became a measure of the month and, in fact, moon was referred to as *māsakṛt* ('maker of month') similar to the modern word 'month' being derived from the word 'mooneth'. The course of the moon through nakṣatras or asterisms was also carefully observed. The asterisms were called 'lunar mansions'. Brennand rightly says 'asterisms or nakṣatras do not find any place in Greecian astronomy, and that they are characteristically of the Hindus'.[16] According to Max Muller : The Babylonian Zodiac was solar, and in spite of repeated researches, no trace of a lunar zodiac has been found, where so many things have been found, in the cuneiform inscriptions. But supposing even that a lunar zodiac has been discovered in Babylon, no one acquainted with the Vedic literature, and with the ancient Vedic ceremonial, would easily allow himself to be persuaded that the Hindus borrowed that simple division of the sky from the Babylonians".[17] The moon was imagined by the Vedic people to pay a visit to 27 'lunar mansions' and the asterisms were thought of as moon's consorts. In each asterism, the brightest star was called *yoga-tārā* a star which was connected with the first point on the Ecliptic of the division or near it, north or south, but always capable of being occultated by the moon or in conjunction with the moon or planets. It may be noted, however, that the nakṣatras were also utilized to follow the motion of the sun. In respect of *yoga-tārās* Brennand surmises as follows: "The well-known *yoga-tārās* among the fixed stars, and which the planets pass on their way, form so many immovable points, and like milestones on a road, furnish him with his means of observation. The relative times of passing such points suggested methods of calculation somewhat similar to those employed by ourselves, in solving simple questions, such, for instance, as the determination of the time when two hands of a clock in conjunction will be together again after any number of revolutions of either of them, or when seek for the synodic periods of the planets, the times of new and full moon, and other problems of a like nature, *data for the solution of which were well known in India many centuries before they were known in Europe....*"[18]

Jyotiṣa vedāṅga is perhaps the earliest record of Indian astronomical ideas. It must, however, be admitted that the astronomical knowledge contained in the *Jyotiṣa vedāṅga* is but appreciable and there have been in it some enigmatic passages which have not been understood yet properly. The text in terms of syllables representing either the name of the *nakṣatra* or its presiding divinity, gives an account of the twenty-seven *nakṣatras*. It also describes a cycle of 5 years called one *yuga*. The method of intercalation was also in vogue in the Vedic period; and at the middle as well as end of the quinquennial period, two extra months were reckoned, thus accounting for 62 synodical months in five years. The *yuga* was also reckoned in terms of 61 months of 30 days each (60 months + one intercalary month). The calendars of the Vedic period were obviously luni-solar. The Vedic priests were experts in the correlation of phases of the moon with the positions of the sun, although they generally mapped the sky with reference to the phases of the moon instead of the heliacal rising or settings of certain stars as was the case generally in the West.[19]

In Indian astronomy, the concept of cosmic cycle in terms of 10,800 or 4,32,000 years is very important. We have an account of these numbers in relation to astronomical periods as early as in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. The figure 4,32,000 also found favour in the Siddhāntic astronomy later in India and even in Babylonia. Berossus, the Babylonian astronomer (*c.* 4th cent. B.C.) speaks of a cosmic cycle of 4,32,000 years. The Greek thinker, Heraclitus (*c.* 5th cent. B.C.) conceived of a great year in terms of 10,800 years. It is now known that some of the Greek and the Babylonian astronomers were influenced by this Indian concept.[20]

The Indian astronomical works, called the *siddhāntas* are considered to be eighteen in number. Varāhamihira (*c.* 6th cent. A.D.) in his *Pañcasiddhāntikā* has dealt with only the five *siddhāntas* viz. *Saura, Vāsiṣṭha, Pauliśa, Romaka* and *Paitāmaha*. The *Sūryasiddhānta* occupies the pride of place among the eighteen *siddhāntas*. Its date is uncertain and the present form of the *Siddhānta* presumably contains different layers of astronomical ideas, some of them very old and others comparatively recent. It is very likely that the divisions of time, the concept of the *mahāyuga* (Great Age), cosmology, observations on *nakṣatras*, eclipses, etc. as found in the *Sūryasiddhānta* are among the ancient ideas, while possibly the epicyclic theory and the associated views might have been later accretions, even so before the time of Varāhamihira. According to Al-Biruni, the *Sūryasiddhānta* might have been formulated by one named Lata, as a record of the revelation of a solar divinity to an asura named Maya. There is a view that the *Sūryasiddhānta* is probably Babylonian in origin, equating asura to some one Babylonian. There is yet another view that the asura Maya is an outlandish form of Turamaya (the Sanskrit form for Ptolemy of Egypt).[21]

The *Sūryasiddhānta* deals with measurement of time, sine-tables and cosine functions, meridians, equinoxes, solstices, eclipses of the moon and the sun, planetary motions, inclination of the *nakṣatras* to the ecliptic, heliacal risings and settings of stars, relative motions of the moon and the sun, some astronomical instruments, and calendar computations. While some of the astronomical ideas are related to Alexandrian or Greek sources, in the text there are also ideas which are characteristically Indian.

Mention has already been made of the cosmic cycle. According to the Indian tradition, a *mahāyuga* (Great Age) is of 12,000 divine years, a divine year being equivalent to 360 solar years. The number 12,000 is arrived at by fixing the number of divine years to each of the *yugas (Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara* and *Kali)* in the ratio of 4 :3 :2 :1 and reckoning 1/10 of each of the periods at the commencement and also at the end of the respective period. (*Kṛta* 400+4000+400; *Tretā* 300+3000+300; *Dvāpara* 200+2000+200; and *Kali* 100+1000+100=12,000). The number of solar years in the *mahāyuga* is equivalent to 12,000 × 360=43,20,000 years. Even a bigger cosmic period than this has been thought of in the form of *kalpa* which is equivalent to a thousand *mahāyugas*, i.e. 43,20,000,000 years. The *mahāyuga* has great astronomical significance according to the Indian astronomers inasmuch as that all the moving celestial bodies including the stars are considered to return to their original positions, after having completed a whole number of revolutions. It is interesting to recall in this connection that Plato is regarded as having thought of 36,000 years at the end of which the eight revolutions, i.e. those of the seven planets as well as that of the starry sphere come back to the same relative position.[22] Hipparachus (*c.* 2nd cent. B.C.) who worked at Rhodes of course calculated that in 26,000 years the equinoctial points would make one complete revolution.[23]

The astronomical significance of the *mahāyuga* lies in the assumption by the Indian astronomers that the sun, the moon, the moon's apsides and nodes, were reckoned to be in conjunction in the line joining the first point of *Aśvini* or *Meṣa,* with the centre of the earth. It is further assumed that at the Creation, the sun, the moon and the planets began their motions together from nearly the same position. The *Sūryasiddhānta* has given an account of the number of revolutions of the planets, etc. in a *mahāyuga*. The French astronomer, Laplace, while commenting on the epochs used by the Indians for purposes of calculation says : "Nevertheless, the ancient reputation of the Indians does not permit us to doubt that they have always cultivated astronomy, and the remarkable exactness of the mean motions which they assign to the sun and the moon necessarily required very ancient observations".[24] The point worthy of note is that in India astronomical periods were regarded as successive parts of the great cosmic cycle.

Among the noted Indian astronomers, Āryabhaṭa I developed the theory of the rotation of the earth as well as that of epicycles. Brahmagupta, who opposed the theory of Āryabhaṭa regarding the rotation of the earth, was an accredited astronomer not only in India but also in Arabia. His two astronomical treatises, *Brahma-Sphuṭa-siddhānta* and *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* were translated into Arabic respectively by Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Fazari and Ya`qub ibn Tariq (late eighth century A.D.) under the Arabic titles of *Sindhind* and *Arkand*.[25] Later, al-Khwārizmī prepared an abridged version of the former. Brahmagupta's works produced deep impact upon the astronomical thinking of the Arabs. It is believed that an Indian astronomer paid a visit to the court of the Abbasid Caliph, al-Mansur, taking with him the tables of the equations of planets and other astronomical data.[26]

The Indian astronomers knew that the equinoctial and solstitial points do not remain stationary. To account for this, they generally thought of a libratory motion instead of the rotatory precession of equinoxes. They assumed the limits of the libratory movement in terms of both *pratyaggati* or *paścādgati* (precession) and *prāggati* (forward movement). In the *Sūrya-siddhānta*, it is stated that in a *mahāyuga* (43,20,000 years), the circle of asterism falls back eastward by thirty score (30 × 20 = 600) revolutions. Thus the time of a complete libration is 600th part of the period 43,20,000 years, i.e. 7,200 years. If the limits of the libratory movement from the fixed point to be 27° in either direction, it gives the annual rate of motion of equinox as 54 seconds, which is a remarkable approximation to the modern value of about 50 seconds per year.[27] Muñjala (*c.* 10th cent. A.D.) propounded that in the *kalpa* or 1000 *mahāyugas* the equinoxes revolve 199,666 times and on this basis, the annual precession rate works out to be 59.9 seconds. It is interesting to know in this connection that Hipparachus estimated the precession of equinoxes to be thirty six seconds or arc a year which was far lower than the modern value. A proper assessment of the Indian astronomical ideas in relation to the Greek or the Babylonian ones is yet to be done on a rational basis.

Āyurveda

In the history of medicine, the methodological concepts of Āyurveda and the systematic therapeutic practices have a distinct place. They not only developed into a full fledged 'Science of Life' in India but also appear to have exercised profound influence, as will be seen later, on the growth of medical knowledge in other culture-areas. The prime object of Āyurveda is the preservation of human life, of animals and even of plants. Life and life processes do not take place to the total exclusion of the environment. In man, according to Āyurveda, life is the manifestation of body, senses, mind and the spirit. In its doctrinaire approach, Āyurveda leans heavily on the philosophies of the Sāṃkhya, Yoga and the Vaiśeṣika. It adopts the Vaiśeṣika principles insofar as the *dravya-guṇa vijñāna*, the *tridoṣa* theory and the *saptadhātus* are concerned and the Sāṃkhya principles regarding the pāñcabhautic body and its relation to *puruṣa-prakrti*.

It is explicitly stated that the world consisting of the inorganic as well as the organic (*sthāvara-jaṅgama-rūpa*) is formed out of the five gross elements—*pṛthvī, ap, tejas, vāyu* and *ākāśa*.[28] All the substances which are used for medicinal purposes are, without exception, composed of these five gross elements. Even the *indriya* or the sensory organ has within it the five elements, only it has in it a particular element in greater proportion, e.g., nose has *pṛthvī* element in it in a very great proportion, and the other four elements in relatively small proportions.[29] The five types of gross bodies are referred to as *ākāśīya dravya, vāyavīya dravya, taijasa dravya, āpya dravya* and *pārthiva dravya*.[30] In the Suśruta Saṃhitā, there is a clear exposition of the way in which the five elements constitute the human body (*śarīra*) from its very inception.[31]

The origin of the Āyurveda is considered to be divine and is traced to *Svayambhū* or *Brahmā*.[32] A detailed discussion about this may not be necessary in this short account. Of particular significance are the eight divisions or limbs (*aṣṭāṅgas*) of Āyurveda. They are: (i) *śalya* (surgery), (ii) *śalākya* (iii) *kāya-cikitsā* (internal medicine); (iv) *bhūta-vidyā* (demonology); (v) *kaumāra bhṛtya* (pediatrics). (vi) *aganda* (toxicology); (vii) *rasāyana* (rejuvenation composition); and *vājīkaraṇa* (virilification).[33]

The two most important classical texts of Āyurveda are the *Caraka Saṃhitā* and the

Suśruta Saṃhitā. In the former importance is given to internal medicine and in the later surgery enjoys a special position. It should be noted that medicine and surgery were in vogue together, although a particular school emphasised either surgery or medicine. Indian surgery was both an art and a science and the Indian surgeons had attained a high degree of perfection in surgery. To this aspect we shall return later.

The doctrine of *tridhātus* or *tridoṣas* is central to the diagnosis as well as the treatment of diseases according to Āyurveda. The orderly functions as well as the morbid and pathological states of the body are explained in terms of the three principal factors—*vāta, pitta* and *kapha*. They are referred to as *tridhātus* (fundamental supporting factors) when they are in their normal states, supporting the bodily functions. They are called *tridoṣas* or the vitiating agencies, if they are deranged and are thus in a state of imbalance. Though *rakta* (blood) is not included as the fourth factor of fundamental significance, Āyurveda recognises the role of *rakta* along with the *tridhātus* in the maintenance of the bodily function. The *tridhātus* are also recognised in terms of the five elements thus: *ākāśa*+ *vāyu*→*vāta; agni*→*pitta* and *ap*+*pṛthvī*→*kapha*.

The *tridoṣas* are held to be all pervasive in the body. Nevertheless, there is a certain area as cardinal seat for each of them. The area below the umbilicus, the region between the umbilicus and the heart, and that above the heart are respectively the seats of *vāta, pitta* and *kapha*.[34] Further, it is stated that the natural potentional of each of them takes on maximum effect at certain periods during the span of life, the day, the night and also during the processes of digestion. Generally, *vāta* is predominant towards the close, *pitta* during the middle and *kapha* at the beginning. The congenital state is also an important factor governing the harmony among the *tridhātus* and in this sense there will be different *prakṛtis* (temperament or personality), the basis for which is already laid in the embryo. The concept of *tridoṣas* is aptly summed up as follows: "It will be safe to assume, for the sake of clarity and proper comprehension, that the *tridoṣas*, viz. *vāta, pitta* and *kapha*, represent a grouping of multinomous events which take place in the living body, under three broad-based headings, or properly speaking, they represent a broad-based generalization of life processes and vital activities, classified under three main headings. It is undoubtedly true that these functions are ultimately referable to different structures, organs, systems and substances with which our body works as an integrated whole. In a way, we may say this method of classification of the manifold events that take place in a living body, under three broad-based headings, represents the concepts of *sāmānya*, while the *viśeṣas* are represented by the innumerable details under each *sāmānya* group . . ."[35]

Each of the *tridoṣas* is recognized as of five kinds: *vāta: prāṇa* (governing respiration), *udāna* (for uttering sounds and speaking), *samāna* (for separating the digested juice), *vyāna* (carrying the fluid including blood to all parts of the body) and *apāna* (expelling faeces, urine etc.); *pitta:—pācaka* (aids digestion and imparts heat), *rañjaka* (imparts redness to the chyle which ultimately becomes blood), *sādhaka* (increases the brain power), *ālocaka* (aids vision) and *bhrājaka* (improves complexion): *kapha:—kledaka* (moistens food), *avalambaka* (imparts energy and strength), *bodhaka* (enables tasting), *tarpaka* (governs the functioning of eye and other sensory organs) and *śleśmaka* (acts as a lubricant).

According to Āyurveda, every substance—animal, vegetable or mineral—is a repository of five properties viz. *rasa, guṇa, vīrya, vipāka* and *prabhāva*. Everything including the human body as well as its requirements is a *dravya*. The growth and maintenance of the body and setting right the derangement of bodily functions are thought of in terms of bhautika principles. *Dravya* or substance is the substratum for *guṇa* (attributes) and *karma* (action), and these two cannot have separate existence apart from *dravya*. The term *guṇa* refers to *śārirakaguṇas* which are found to be twenty in number as follows : *guru, laghu, śīta, uṣṇa, snigdha, rūkṣa, manda, tīkṣṇa, sthira, sāra, mṛdu, kaṭhina, viśada, picchila, ślakṣṇa, kṣāra, sthūla, sūkṣma, sāndra* and *drava*.[36] It is evident that the opposites are placed together. *Āhāra* and *auṣadha dravyas* (i.e. foodstuffs and drugs) are understood in terms of these *guṇas*. Substances are taken in for the growth as well as the maintenance of the body taking into consideration these *guṇas*.

Of the twenty *guṇas* enumerated above. Āyurveda seems to consider *uṣṇa* (hot) and *śīta* (cold) to be the prominent ones experienced by the human body as effects. Hence substances possessing these two *guṇas* are held to be potent in their states. *Vīrya* has been recognised generally as of two kinds : *uṣṇa* and *śīta*,[37] though there are other attributes. *Uṣṇa vīrya* causes giddiness (*bhramaṇa*), thirst, bodily exhaustion, sweating, etc., but is effective against *vāta* and *kapha*. *Śīta vīrya* is causative of cheerfulness, sustenance as well as strength, and is effective against the diseased states of *rakta* and *pitta*.

Vipāka may be understood as the biochemical processing of food while *prabhāva* is the overall effect beyond perception. The Āyurvedic concept, *vipāka*, is indeed scientific. The theoretical basis for the way in which the food gets digested and assimilated into the body is the doctrine of the *pañcabhūtas*. The body is composed of the five *bhūtas* and the food stuffs are, in turn, regarded as comprising of five *bhūtas*, of course in different proportions. The food, as a result of the biochemical transformation in the body, gets converted into the rasas viz. *madhura* (sweet), *āmla* (sour) and *kaṭu* (acid). The agency which brings about this transformation is referred to as '*jāṭharāgni*'. The word '*jāṭharāgni*' means 'fire in the stomach'. However, it seems to connote a wealth of meaning inclusive of all digestive processes in the stomach as well as in the intestines.

Rasas, according to Āyurveda, are principally six in number—*madhura, āmla, lavaṇa, tikta, kaṭu* and *kaṣāya*.[38] Each *rasa* is regarded as being composed of two *bhūtas* as follows : *pṛthvī* cum *ap*→*madhura*; *tejas* cum *pṛthvī*→*āmla*; *ap* cum *tejas*→*lavaṇa*; *ākāśa* cum *vāyu*→ *tikta*; *tejas* cum *vāyu*→*kaṭu*; and *pṛthvī* cum *vāyu*→*kaṣāya*.[39] It should be noted that each of the six *rasas* is recognised by the taste and such other simple qualities and it should not be understood that an attempt was made to divide them along those lines. Further the corresponding two *bhūtas* alone do not, it is stated, constitute a particular *rasa*, only the two are said to be predominant in it. There is a detailed account of the properties and effects of each of the *rasas* in the Āyurvedic classics. Their knowledge is considered essential in therapeutics. The first three *rasas* are regarded as effective against *vāta, madhura, tikta* and *kaṣāya* against *pitta*, and *kaṭu* and *kaṣāya* against *kapha*.[40] The classics have given also a list of substances rich in these *rasas*.

In the Āyurvedic parlance, the chyle is also *rasa* which is white and sweet, i.e. a nutritive fluid in a refined state. The food taken in is rendered into *rasa* by *vipāka* with the help of *jāṭharāgni* as stated before. The food from the mouth according to the Āyurvedic texts, enters the *āmāśaya* (corresponding to stomach) and passes through *grahaṇī* (deuodenum) into *pakvāśaya* (corresponding to the small intestines). After digestion and bodily absorption of the nutritive fluid, the waste products (*mala*) get into *malāśaya* (the large intestines). *Jāṭharāgni* brings about the disintegration of complex substances into simple and assimilable ones. The word *agni* is significant. It actually cooks (*pāka*) and cooks specially (*vipāka*) the food for absorption by the bodily tissues. Further, *pitta* corresponding to bile and its associates is *agni* in content and hence is one of the main agencies for bringing about *pāka* of the food.

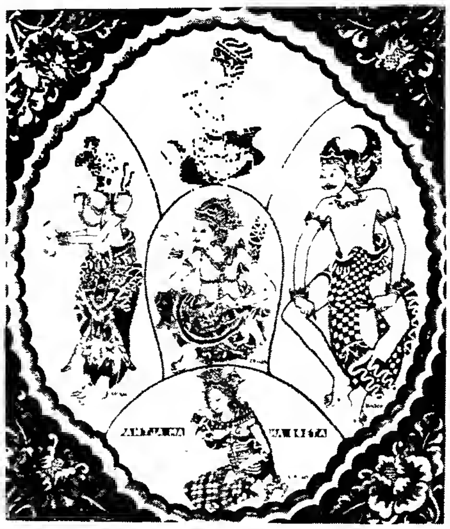
The chyle or *rasa*, in its sojourn in the body, gets transformed into *rakta* (blood), *māṃsa* (muscle), *medas* (fat), *asthi* (bone) *majjā* (marrow) and *śukra* (semen) in the order stated.[41] The *rasa* and the six mentioned above are referred to as *saptadhātus* which maintain the body. *Rasadhātu* nourishes the blood, refreshes as well as preserves the body; *raktadhātu* is responsible for tactile sensation, contributes sturdiness and produces sweat; *asthi* supports the body and gives form to it; *majjā* fills up the bones and nourishes; *śukra* gives strength to the body and creates sense of fondness.[42] At each stage of the above transformation the causative agent is called *dhātv-agni*. Thus there are seven *dhātv-agnis*.

Each *dhātu* is stated to have three manifestations viz. *sthūla* (the gross), *sūkṣma* (the fire) and *kiṭṭa* (refuse). The first is in the nature of the concerned *dhātu* and the second possesses potentially the character of the subsequent *dhātu*. *Dhatvagni* produces *prasāda* and *kiṭṭa*.

According to Āyurveda, the principal seat of *rasa* is the heart.[43] The *rasa* proceeds through 24 tubular vessels called *dhamanīs*, the motivating agent being *vyānavāyu*. In Āyurvedic terms, the channels which carry bodily fluid including blood fall under three main heads, viz., *dhamanī*, *srotas*, and *śirā*.[44] *Dhamanīs* pulsate; *śirās* are vessels or as they branch out, small vessels and generally do not pulsate. They lie parallel to the *dhamanis*, *srotas* are stated to be in between smaller *dhamanīs* and *śirās*. According to Āyurveda, the circulation of the *rasa* takes place continuously from the beginning of life to its end.

Mention has been made already of the importance given to surgery in the *Suśruta Saṃhitā*. Suśruta describes surgery (*śastrakarma*) under eight heads: *chedya* (excision), *lekhya* (scarification), *vedhya* (punctur wing), *esya* (exploration), *āhārya* (extraction), *viśrāvya* (evacuation) and *sīvya* (suturing).[45] The surgical instruments described include hundred and one varieties of blunt instruments and twenty kinds of sharp instruments, such as forceps, tongs, scalpels, catheters, bougies, trocare, syringes, speculums, needles, saws, scissors, lances, hooks, and probes.[46] A number of them resembled the mouths or the beaks of birds, beasts or some other types of animals. Details are given of how they should be made from metals, of their dimensions, handles, etc.[47] It would appear that even as early as the sixth or the seventh century B.C., the Indian surgeons had attained high proficiency in such surgical procedures as excising, incising, scarifying, puncturing, etc.[48] Suśruta gives a clear account of cataract—crouching with which even the surgeons of ancient Greece and Egypt were not familiar.[49] The surgical treatment for curing an affection of the eyelid was well known to the Indian surgeons.[50] They were also experienced in cranitomy[51] and anal fistula operation,[52] bestowing careful attention to pre- and post-operative treatments.[53] The Indian surgeons were aware of how the blood vessels should be ligated and cautery was often used. They laid stress on practical training to attain proficiency in surgery. Incisions were practised on fruits, scarification on stretched skins of deer, goat or sheep with the hair still on them, puncturing on distended bags, venesection on blood vessels of dead cattle or the hollow stalks of lotus plants, cauterization on meats, suturing on thick cloth and so on. The marrow of jack fruits and similar types of pulps and the teeth of dead animals provided the practising ground for extraction.[54] The suturing material employed generally

The Somatocosmic symbol of Ayurvedic medicine in the fan shaped Bali island of Indonesia



A painting from Bali Island of Indonesia depicting the Pañchamahābhūta or the five gross elements which forms the body

was made from flax, hemp and bark fibres.[55] D. Guthrie rightly observes. "It was in surgery above all that the ancient Hindus excelled. Suśruta described more than a hundred instruments. This was their greatest contribution to the art of healing and the work was bold and distinctive. It is not unlikely, though difficult to prove that some of it was of Greek origin. Some, indeed state that the Greek drew much of their knowledge from the Hindus".[56] As Neuberger says, "the outstanding feats of ancient Indian surgery related to laparotomy, lithotomy and plastic surgery and plastic operations".[57] *Suśruta saṃhitā* is regarded as the earliest document which gives a detailed account of rhinoplasty.[58] Another feat related to the joining of the lips of the wound by causing them to be bitten by ants and then cutting off the body of the ants, leaving behind the mandibles which would clamp the wound. The Arabs adopted this method later.[59]

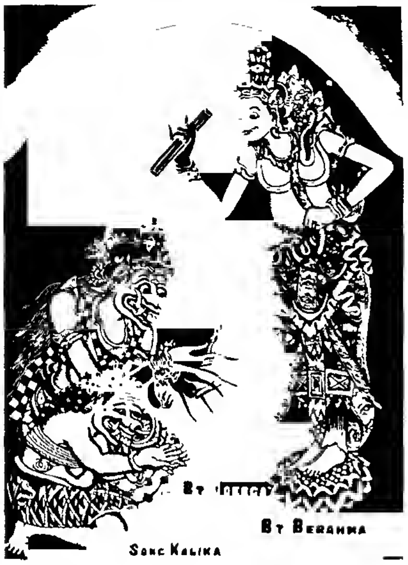
Indian medical knowledge and surgical practices influenced, in no small way, those in Greece and Arabia. The Hippocratic treatise, *On Breath,* deals in much the same way with its pneumatic system as we find in the Indian concept of *vāyu* or *prāṇa*. Plato in his *Timaeos,* strangely enough, discusses pathology in almost the same manner as the doctrine of the *tridoṣa*. J. Filiozat says : "India may very well have influenced the Hippocratic Collection and *Timaeos* particularly, since Plato failed to mention his sources and since, moreover, his doctrine is closer to the Indian than to that of any contemporary Greek school. The influence of Indian ideas on certain aspects of Greek medicine during Plato's time is further supported by the mention of Indian medicaments, including pepper, in the *diseases of Women,* part of the Hippocratic Collection. Indian medical knowledge must have seeped through the Parthian empire, then the overlord of parts of India and Greece alike, along the trade routes described by Strabo and Pliny.[60] The Roman Celsus (*c.* Ist cent. A.D.) gave a graphic account in his medical works, of lithotomy which was practised in India much earlier, Galen (131–201 A.D.) of Pergamum who spent most of his life in Rome makes no secret of his borrowing from the Indian sources, material relating to ointment for the eyes and the Indian plaster.[61] It is well known that the Indian herbals were sought after in the Roman world.

Later in Arabia the Indian medical classics which were translated into Arabic, were held in high esteem. The Absassid Caliphs gave great encouragement to the translation of Indian medical texts. It is reported that Khalid, the Vazir of the Caliph al-Mansur, was the son of the chief priest of a Buddhist monastery in Balkh. The chief priest was called a Barmak. When Balkh was conquered by the Caliphs, Khalid's mother was also captured and the son was converted to Islam. He became the founder of the Barmaki family. It is recognised that the Barmaki family was responsible to a great extent for introducing Indian medicine, arithmetic and astronomy into Arabia. Under its direction, the medical, pharmacological and toxicological texts in Sanskrit were among the Indian scientific texts which were rendered into Arabic.[62] Later, al-Razi or Rhazes (865–925 A.D.), incorporated the Indian medical knowledge in his comprehensive book known to medieval Europe as *Liber continess (Kitab al-hawi).* The Latin translation by Moses Farachi (*c.* 13th cent. A.D.) became a standard work.[63]

Physical Concepts

The Indian physical concepts—both orthodox and heterodox—in their origin and ramification have been an integral part of the Indian religio-philosophical systems. The Indian thinkers believed that special knowledge as contained in different sciences was relatively real and gave only a glimpse of the Absolute. Real knowledge, they thought, was necessary to realise the Absolute. Obviously, towards this end they speculated on what may be called the inter-relatedness of things and the thought-processes associated with them.

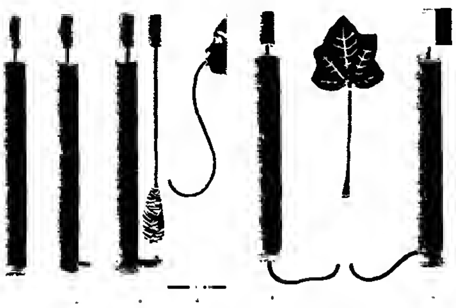
In the history of the evolution of physical ideas, the Indian Vaiśeṣika system deserves special mention. This system, which is supposed to have been propounded by a sage called Kaṇāda, Kaṇabhuj or Kaṇabhakṣa (which means one who eats particle or grain indicating probably the atomic particles, for he enunciated an atomic theory), even in its sūtra form seems to be very old, probably pre-Buddhistic.[64] In ten chapters, the Vaiśeṣika sūtras deal with a number of physical concepts, such as those concerning substance, the five elements, motion, attributes, space, time and atomism. The point worthy of note is that the system had assumed a definite shape by about the sixth century B.C. when even the pre-Socractic thinkers were gradually generating their views on the physical world. There is considerable resemblance between the ideas contained in a cryptic form in the Vaiśeṣika sūtras and those later propounded by some of the leading Greek thinkers including Aristotle. The concepts of substance, element-theory of matter and the atomism are cases in point. It is not unlikely that the Vaiśeṣika school with its systematic formulations might have attracted and stimulated the attention of like-minded people from far and wide including the Greek thinkers.[65]



Lord Brahmā imparts the secrets of Pangiwa or psychosomatic medicine to Durgā and Kālika. Lord Brahmā holds a Lonter or palmleaf manuscript in his hand The painting is according to the Balinese tradition of Indonesia

Of particular interest are the Indian doctrine of five elements and the atomism. Upaniṣadic in origin, the former known as the *pañcabhūta* theory, was an ingenious formulation to account for the apparently unordered, diverse world of matter and attributes. From its simple beginnings in the *Ṛgveda,* where primeval water is recognized as the first element,[66] the five-fold character of the doctrine emerged out in a coherent way in the Upaniṣads, like the *Chāndogya,*[67] *Taittirīya* [68] and *Maitrī.*[69] The *pañcabhūtas* are *pṛthvī, ap, tejas, vāyu* and *ākāśa.* These may, for purposes of understanding, be designated as earth, water, fire, air and a non-material ubiquitous substance. But it is essential to note that the five elements have wider connotation and significance than the familiar earth, water, etc. Each element has to be understood in relation to the other four. In other words, the doctrine of the five elements should be viewed in its totality. Gradually the *pañcabhūta* theory became an integrated component of the orthodox systems particularly the Sāṃkhya, Nyāya and the Vaiśeṣika. The Jain, Buddhist and the Cārvāka schools also were concerned with the elements in one way or the other. In the Sāṃkhya system, associated with the gross five elements and the five corresponding *tanmātras* which seem to have the characteristics of both mind and matter. They appear to be the finest states of the elements. The Vaiśeṣika and the Nyāya deal rather elaborately with the five elements and their attributes. In an elaborate way all the knowledge and phenomenal objects are categorized in terms of these elements.

In the history of scientific ideas what is more important is the way in which the *pañcabhūtas* are regarded as a part of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika conception of substance. In the history of science the conception of substance is very important. Even to this day modern physics has not been able to steer clear of the conceptual inadequacies concerning substances. A.S. Eddington rightly says : "In the scientific world the conception of substance is wholly lacking, and that which most nearly replaces it viz. electric charge, is not exalted as a star performer above the other entities of physics. For this reason, the scientific world often shocks us by its appearance of unreality".[70] As the scientific world is admittedly inclusive of the 'observables' and the associated causal mechanism, the (subjective) 'unobservables' which, to be sure, are effective participants in the observational procedure, viz. the complex involving the notion of 'I', mind, senses and nerve impulses, the conception of substance, of necessity, is to be an intrinsic integration of all the conceivable elements of the observational procedure. The Indian Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya schools have evolved even at an early period of history a conception of substance by such an integration. The substance or *dravya* is generically conceived in terms of the five elements, space, time, mind and the self.[71] This seems to point to a possible solution of the intriguing incoherence in the modern scientific view of substance. Another aspect which deserves mention of this connection is that thinkers in ancient Greece and medieval Europe attempted in no small way to give a coherent account of substance. Nevertheless one does not see in these attempts such an integrated view as that of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, which included the material, the non-material, the senses, the activator and the knower, all in the most rational way.



Bamboo syringe for the Lumbar region (no. 1), syringe for the alimentary canal (no. 2), hollow lotus stem to insufflate air or water into the intestines (no 4), bamboo squirt for injecting medicaments into the urethra (nos. 5, 7) and a leaf of Jatropha curcus

Another rational explanation of the basic stuff of the gross world relates to the atomism as developed by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and some of the Buddhist and the Jain schools. As already mentioned, the atomic view of matter is stated succinctly in the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra,* which, it would appear, was historically earlier than the Greek atomism. The Greek atomism of Leucippus and Democritus has found its way into the history of science. But the Indian atomism has gone almost unnoticed by historians of science for reasons more than one, even though the atomism became one of the most favourite frames of protracted discussion among the Indian thinkers in the ancient as well as the medieval periods. The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika texts[72] [73] describe in detail and in a logical way the formation of gross bodies from atoms through dyads *(dvyaṇuka)* and triads *(tryaṇuka* or *trasareṇu)*. The conceptual scheme is explained on the basis of the principle of causality. Each occurrence must have a cause and the effect is absolutely a new event. However, the effect cannot exist apart from the cause; it inheres in the latter. The atoms are the material cause for the coming into being of a dyad which is an effect. Three dyads are the cause for producing a triad which is again an effect. The atoms lose their causal function as soon as the dyad is produced and the dyads, in turn, lose their causal efficiency after the triad is brought into existence. The causal function of the triads is also exhausted with the formation of gross bodies. The cause, thus, brings about the effect, but immediately is absorbed into the latter which now assumes the role of a cause to continue the sequence.

The verso and recto of the first two leaves of a palm leaf manuscript of Usada Pangiwa. Usada is the Balinese variant of the Sanskrit word auṣadha 'medicine'. In Bali manuscripts are written on palm-leaf whence their name lonter (lon = leaf + tar = skt. tāla palm).

According to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika two like atoms unite only in the presence of another type of atoms, the latter functioning as an accessory cause. This explains conclusively the presence of different qualities in a single substance. Besides there is also an account of structural arrangement *(vyūha)* of the dyads in a triad—a concept that the quality of a substance owes its origin to the spatial placement of the constituents. Such a profound concept, which can bear scrutiny even from the modern chemical point of view, is not to be found in the Greek atomism.

In other ways, too, Greek atomism differs from Indian atomism. The Greek atomists hold that atoms and void constitute the universe and that atoms are in perpetual motion. Further, atoms are considered to be homogeneous by the Greek atomists while they are reckoned as heterogenean and principally of four types, each type having different attributes. The Vaiśeṣika considers free atoms at the time of creation as being in motion. While the Greek atomists admitted void as a necessary concommitance of postulation of discrete, minute units of matter, the Vaiśeṣika thinks of a *dravya* or substance viz. *ākāśa*—which is of unlimited magnitude and with which all finite substances are presumed to be in direct contact. *Ākāśa* stands on a different footing from space in this respect.

In the West, the atomic views of the pre-Socratic thinkers found an able exponent in Lucretius in the first century B.C. and later appear to recede to the background for over 1600 years, for only in the seventeenth century A.D. Gassendi, Boyle, Newton, Huygens and Voltaire revived them with certain modifications, of course, in a speculative way.

In India, the Vaiśeṣika atomism found a number of exponents for over two thousand years, as a plausible process of thinking to find a solution to the problem of matter. Though sometimes bordering on polemics atomism continued to attract into its fold the intellectuals of the time either as adherents or as opponents over a long period, while atomism in the West was lying dormant for a considerable period.

Now we should mention yet another Indian physical concept which has considerable relevance in the history of science. This is the theory of impetus as developed by the followers of the Vaiśeṣika school.[74] The question relating to the continued motion of a body was a fascinating one and demanded an explanation. According to the Vaiśeṣika, when the body experiences the first unit of its motion, a quality of impetus *(vega)* is possessed by it: and on account of it the body continues to move in the same direction. The impetus can produce the effect to the same extent and in the same direction as the cause by which it is itself produced. However, when the moving body comes into contact with an obstacle which would neutralise the quality of impetus, the body comes to rest. If, instead, the obstacle cannot neutralise the quality of impetus in full, the motion continues of course with decreased strength. The Vaiśeṣika has dealt with in a rational way the motion of bodies like arrow, javelin and pestle, and described the relation between the extent of motion and the effort brought into play. The roots of the impetus theory, which was developed in all its intricacies at a later period, are to be found in the *Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha* by *Praśastapāda* (*c.* 5th cent. A.D.) and *Vyomavatī* by Vyomaśivācārya (*c.* 7th cent. A.D.).

In the West, however, it was not before the fourteenth century A.D. that we come across a theory of impetus to describe continued motion of a projectile. Till then the Aristotelian view about the motion of a projectile in terms of the projector transferring to the immediate layer of air (medium) the 'power' to thrust the projectile, the layer of air transferring its impulse to the next layer of air and so forth, held the field. Though in the sixth century A.D. John Philoponos of Alexandria did not concur with the Aristotelian view and suggested instead that the projector imparted a motive power to the projectile itself, he did not develop the theory in all its details and in such a causal manner as the followers of the Vaiśeṣika system did earlier. In the fourteenth century A.D. as a result of the efforts of Thomas Bradwardine, Magister Claius, William of Ockham, Nicholas of Autrecourt and finally Jean Buridan, a mathematical understanding of the motion of a projectile in terms of the motive power impressed on to the projectile by the agent which sets it in motion became a possibility leading to the enunciation of the impetus theory.[75] Of course, the Vaiśeṣika theory of impetus did not proceed along mathematical lines. Even then it is a distinct forerunner of what was developed later in the West.

Alchemy

In the history of human thought and practices alchemy has doubtless its claims for special recognition. In its twin objectives viz., the transmutation of base metals into gold or silver and the preparation of the elixir of life to attain immortality, alchemy attracted the attention of the people of almost all the culture-areas indeed for over two thousand years in the ancient and medieval periods. In the twilight of history alchemy may appear as ludicrous and fantastic, but few could disbelieve that what happened in the dim past for over two thousand years laid the foundations for iatro-chemistry (which appeared in the West in the fifteenth century A.D.), it can be said that alchemy in India evolved itself into iatro-chemical practices much earlier, probably in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. This aspect will be considered later.

It would seem that alchemy in its twin aspects made its appearance in India by about the sixth or the seventh century A.D. The Sanskrit equivalent of the term alchemy is *rasa-vidyā* and that of the alchemist, *rasasiddha*. The word *rasa* as used in the alchemical literature means generally mercury which, together with sulphur and mica, is central to the whole of Indian chemical thought. The Indian alchemical ideas seem to have grown around male-female symbolism in an indigenous imagery. Mercury is regarded as Śiva's principle and sulphur that of his consort.[76] There are in the chemical texts passages which speak of initiation and ritual practices similar to those found in Tantric texts. There is ample evidence to believe that alchemy was adopted possibly as a mystic cult by certain sections of Tantrics in India. As in the West, mystical methods, astrology and allegory influenced not inconsiderably the alchemical ideas and practices in India.

The beginnings of Indian alchemy are obscure. Though ideas of rejuvenation and methods of bodily treatment to live for a long time in youthful state are to be found in the classical texts of Āyurveda,[77] the alchemical ideas characterised by the twin aspects and esoteric ways based on mercury and male-female symbolism, might have had its roots elsewhere. It is not unlikely that the Indian alchemy obtained its seed ideas possibly from the southern regions of China where similar type of alchemical thought and practices were in vogue much earlier. However it should be emphasised that in a century or two, the followers of alchemy in India formulated their practices into a methodical knowledge, characteristically Indian. The result was that alchemy became to be recognised as *Rasaśāstra* and even *Raseśvaradarśana*. The *Rasaśāstra* texts are noted for their presentation of a wide variety of alchemical knowledge possessed by the Indian *rasavādins*, including the *mahārasas, uparasas, navaratnas, dhātus*[78] and a number of medicinal plants and substance used in alchemical preparations in general and the *elixir of life* in particular. The Indian alchemists were skilled in performing a number of purificatory processes in order to remove the deleterious effects of metals. They had evolved many apparatus for this purpose and some of them were of a complicated type. In them they used to prepare alchemical compositions of far-reaching effects.

The role of Indian alchemy in influencing the alchemical ideas in Arabia and subsequently in the West is still to be understood. The possibility of interaction between Arabian alchemy and Indian alchemy in the early medieval period cannot be ruled out, even though evidence to this effect, as now known, is scanty. It is significant that some of the purification processes and substances of alchemical significance are common to both Arabic and Indian alchemy. In this connection it is interesting to note that there are a number of alchemical texts in the Tamil language and probably a careful study of them will be of value. For, one of the reputed alchemists of Tamilnadu by name Rāmadevar says in one of his works that he visited Arabia, assumed the name of Yākub[79] and taught alchemy there. The Tamilian alchemy has as its central theme the preparation of what is known as *muppu* (generally recognised as the union of three salts) which is in the nature of the Philosopher's Stone—a concept which appeared in Europe much later. In the fifteenth century A.D., Paracelsus in Rome gave a new meaning and direction to alchemy. Instead of the two fundamental alchemical principles—mercury and sulphur-Paracelsus enunciated three—including salt. Mercury, sulphur and salt constituted the *tria prima* of Paracelsus.[80] Salt is recognised to be of prime importance in Tamilian alchemy which also accords place to mercury and sulphur in its scheme. Perhaps protracted studies in this direction may throw ample light on this aspect. In the history of movement of alchemical ideas this link may be of great interest.

However, it seems to be fairly certain that the use of alchemy for bringing succour to the disease—afflicted humanity was recognised in India much earlier than the iatro-chemists of the West led by Paracelsus. Paracelsus thought that the human body was to be recognised as a chemical system composed of mercury, sulphur and salt, and a derangement among them would give rise to pathological states. The exposition of Paracelsus led eventually to the use of mineral medicines more and more. According to Paracelsus, alchemy was to enagge itself in the noble task of transforming the naturally occurring minerals into products which would be beneficial to humanity. It is interesting to note that mineral medicines using mercury, sulphur and salt were in use in India even in the eleventh or the twelfth century A.D. The reason is not far to seek. Alchemy in India was concerned more with life-prolonging compositions than with transmutation of base metals into noble ones.

Chemical Practices

It is now known that the craftsmen of the Harappa civilization had an intimate knowledge of the processing and properties of the naturally occurring minerals and were well versed in the art of pottery-making and metal-working. E. Mackay is of the view that the glazed pottery found at Mohenjo-daro was probably the earliest specimen.[81] It is interesting to note that the practice of glazing pottery appeared in Mesopotania about 1500 years later than in the Harappa civilization. The Harappan metalsmiths knew the technique of making beads, soldering, sheet-making, rivetting, coiling and *cire perdue* casting (wax metal-casting process). There was then a flourishing trade in metals and metallic ores between India and neighbouring countries like Afghanistan, Persia and Mesopotamia.

The advent of iron technology in India is of special significance. It is generally believed that Asia Minor or the Caucassus was the region where probably the first smelting operations of iron were carried out and the Hittites knew the smelting of iron between 1800–1200 B.C. By about 1000 B.C. there was extensive use of iron in the Near East, even though it could not replace copper and bronze which had established themselves as metals in the service of man. Possibly, the Indian iron metal-workers might have become familiar with the iron metallurgical practices of the Near East and adopted them so as to suit the local conditions and the nature of the indigenous ore. But, historically of great significance is the fact that even though the iron-smelting operations were just in vogue in India by about 1000–800 B.C., in the course of four to five centuries the Indian iron and steel objects earned the admiration of the people in other parts of the then known world. The Greek historian Herodotus (5th cent. B.C.) indicates that the Indians in the Persian army used arrows tipped with iron. Ktesias (5th cent. B.C.) speaks of two swords of Indian steel presented to him in the Persian Court. It has been recorded that in the gifts which Alexander the Great received from Porus of Taxila (320 B.C.) were thirty pounds of steel. Later, the Indian iron and steel had become very famous in Rome for fashioning them into fancy culteries and armours.[82]

It must, however, be mentioned that there is practically no recorded information of value to the understanding as well as the evaluation of the metallurgical practices of India. Nevertheless, the historic vestiges like the Iron Pillar at Delhi and the copper statue of the Buddha found at Sultanganj in Bihar (now in the Burmingham Museum in England) bear eloquent testimony to the metallurgical practices in the Classical Age of India. The Iron Pillar has a height of 24′ (with 1′ 8″ below ground), its diameter diminishes from 16.4″ below to 12.05″ above. The specific gravity of the metal is over 7.6 and the Pillar weighs more than six tons. It is made of wrought or malleable iron (99.72%) and is still without any signs of rust on it even though it is about 1500 years old.[83] As V. Ball says : "It is not many years since the production of such a pillar would be an impossibility in the largest foundries of the world, and even now there are comparatively few places where a similar mass of metals could be turned out."[84] In addition to this Pillar, a colossal iron pillar of a later date (about 12th cent. A.D.) in two pieces has been found at Dhar in Malwa region.

The huge statue of the Buddha—about seven feet six inches in height and nearly a ton in weight—probably belonging to the fifth century A.D. has been cast in two layers, the outer-layer by the *cire perdue* process and the inner layer in segments on a mould composed of sand, clay, charcoal and paddy husk using iron bands for holding the segments together.[85]

Apart from the excellent metallurgical skill for which India was well known in the ancient period, the chemical knowledge which the Indians possessed in respect of the use of alkalis, acids and salts, preparation of cosmetics and perfumes, pyrotechnics and the like was undoubtedly at a high level. However, the chemical practices remained more as useful arts than as branches of a developing chemical knowledge.

The foregoing is a brief sketch of some of the contributions made by India in the perspective of history. As stated at the beginning, more studies are necessary to understand the important role played by India in the development of scientific ideas and practices in the ancient and medieval periods. Happily, in over hundred centres of learning in India the source materials for such studies are available.

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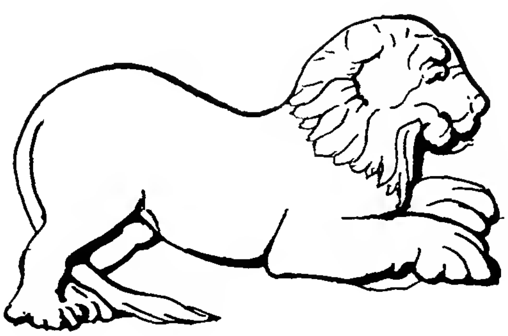


The Expansion of Indian Medicine Abroad

JEAN FILLIOZAT

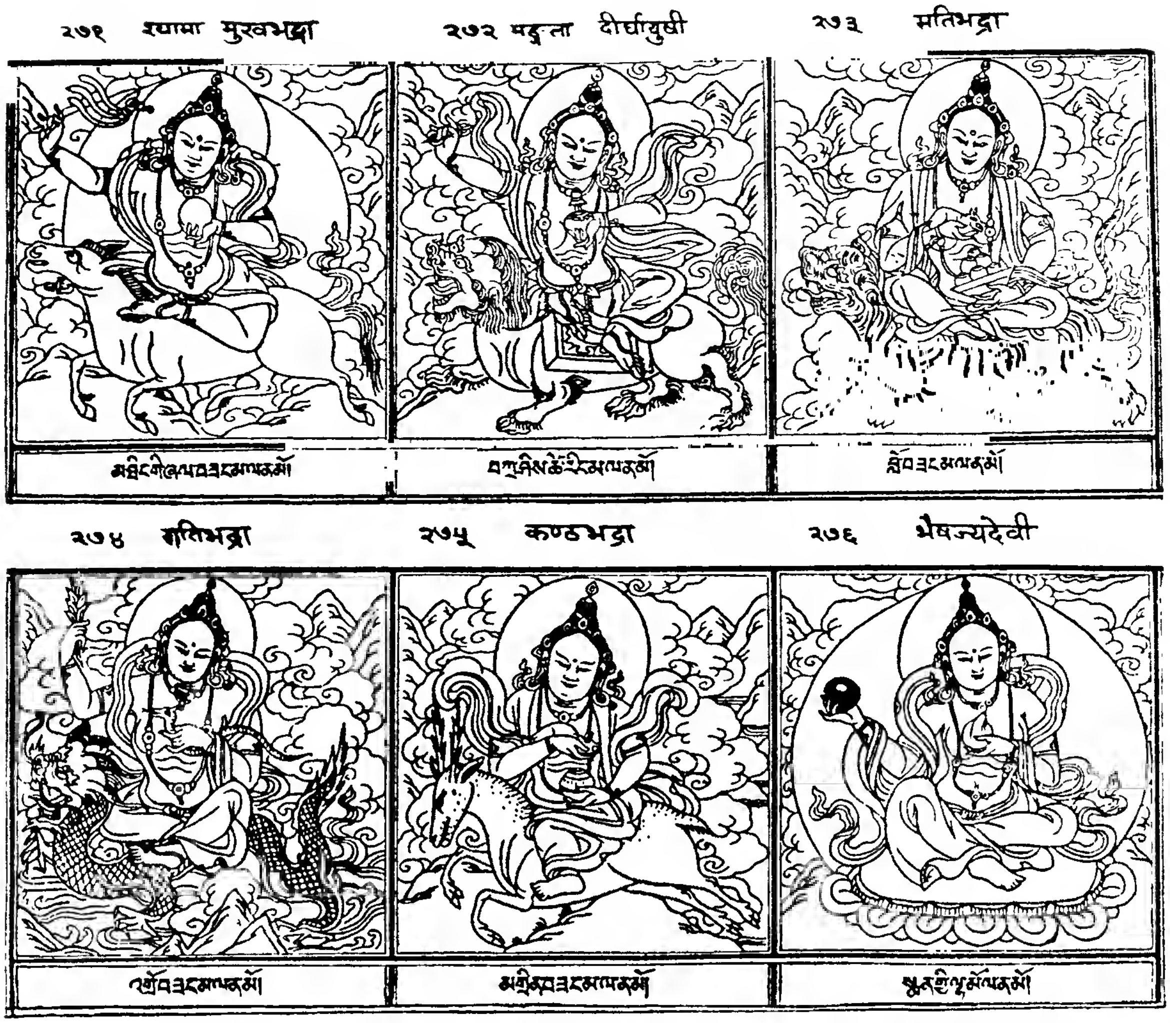
AMONG THE GREAT civilisations in antiquity only three have developed full systems of representation of physiology and pathology: Greece, India and China. There were also very rich medical works in Ancient Egypt and Ancient Mesopotamia. But, according to the numerous documents we have now recovered, the medicine in these countries was chiefly practical and we are not aware of a great development of rational attempts to understand the functions of the body and the causes of diseases.

Chinese have elaborated an original system of medicine of their own. Greeks and Indians have also established original medical theories. These theories are sometimes very near to each other. For example we find both in the Hippocratic Collection and in the Ayurvedic treatises, the idea of breath (*pneuma* in Greek, and *prāṇa* in Sanskrit) pervading throughout the body in order to produce all movements and changes and also being a form of the wind in nature. The cosmic wind is also considered as the agent of all movements and changes in the sky and on the earth. This theory on the Greek side is emphasized in the treatise "On the Winds" in the Hippocratic Collection. There are also elsewhere in the Greek medical literature similar views on the *pneuma*. In India the various *prāṇas* circulating in the body are already known in the *Atharvaveda*. We cannot decide if Greeks and Indians conceived independently similar theories or if some communication of the old Vedic conception of *prāṇa* had been received in the Hellenic countries from India.

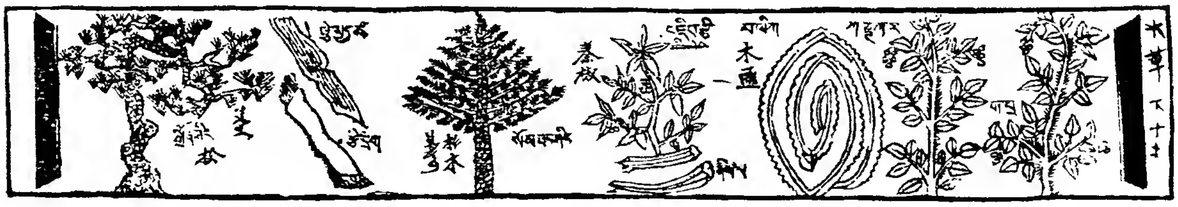
Another example is the similarity of a general theory explained in Plato's *Timaeus* with the famous *tridoṣa* theory of classical Ayurveda. Conceptions referred to by Plato, without any indication of origin, are isolated in the Greek tradition. Health rests upon correct association between three elements: *pneuma* which represents the wind, *chole*, the gall, which represents the fire and *phlegma* which is a form of water. These respectively correspond to *prāṇa*, *pitta* and *kapha* or *śleṣman*, the *tridoṣa* of the Sanskrit tradition. As these *doṣas*, and especially the association between the gall and the fire are already known in Vedic literature, the *tridoṣa* theory cannot have been borrowed in India from Plato. On the contrary, as during the Persian domination on Greek Asian Countries and on a part of India, scientific intercourses have been easy, an influence of the Ayurvedic theories on those described by Plato is quite probable.

In any way, we have several direct references in the Hippocratic Collection to the borrowing of some Indian drugs and Indian medical formulas in Greece.

In the period of the expansion of Indian toward Central Asia and China, and toward Indo-China and Indonesia beyond the seas, Indian Ayurvedic medicine has been one of the main matter of export, along with astronomy, religions and arts.



In Tibet's atmosphere of common visions, in her magic aura, gods are born as by a miracle. Concepts take on aspect, the offerings with which deities are honoured are symbolised In this fantastic world, it is no wonder that preventive medicine has its own epiphany in the form of The Five Goddesses of Long Life and the synergic Bhaiṣajyadevī. The illustration is from a xylographic edition of Lalitavajra, the Imperial Preceptor at the Manchu Court of Ch'ien-lung



A Tibetan manuscript illustrating the herbs of the Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya-saṃhitā, originating from the Kumbum Monastery in Sinkiang. The original manuscript was discovered by Prof. Raghu Vīra during his expedition to Central Asia.

We have recovered from the sands of Central Asia not only Buddhistic texts and documents of archives in Sanskrit, or Prakrit, but also medical manuscripts in Sanskrit, or translated from Sanskrit into regional language, like Kuchean or Khotanese. The Bower Manuscript is a collection of several Sanskrit therapeutical texts. The Weber Manuscript is a translation into Kuchean of a collection of Sanskrit medical receipts. We have also a part of a bilingual manuscript of the *Yogaśataka,* ascribed in India either to Nāgārjuna or to Vararuci. The Sanskrit text in the manuscript is intermixed with its literal translation into Kuchean language. The text is a summary of the *aṣṭāṅga* of Ayurveda and thus exactly corresponds to a text described as famous in the 7th century by the Chinese pilgrim Yi-tsing. It has been later translated into Tibetan and was still in use in Ceylon at the end of the last century.

In China, Korea and Japan the influence of Indian medicine was not important like the influence of Buddhism because other medical traditions were there already established long before the beginnings of the Buddhist propagation. Nevertheless Indian drugs were accepted, if not the doctrines. A number of drugs, together with their Indian names, have been preserved in the famous Japanese Imperial Treasury, the Shôsô-In, since the 8th century.

In Cambodia, where the name of Suśtuta occurs in the Sanskrit epigraphy, several inscriptions give Sanskrit lists of drugs presented to temples under the king Jayavarman VII around 1200 A.D.

But it is in Tibet that the Indian medicine got its greatest popularity. It has been fully adopted in this country. In the 8th century, a big work in four parts (*catustantra,* in Tibetan : *Rgyud bzhi*) entitled *Amṛtahṛdaya,* is said to have been translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan. The teaching embodied in this text is ascribed to Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru. The original Sanskrit is unknown and some scholars have supposed it never existed. But a number of passages are clearly literal translations of quotations from Caraka or Suśruta. So, if the compilation of the work has been done in Sanskrit before the translation in Tibetan or, if it has been done by the Tibetan translators, in both cases it is a faithful translation from the original Ayurvedic tradition.

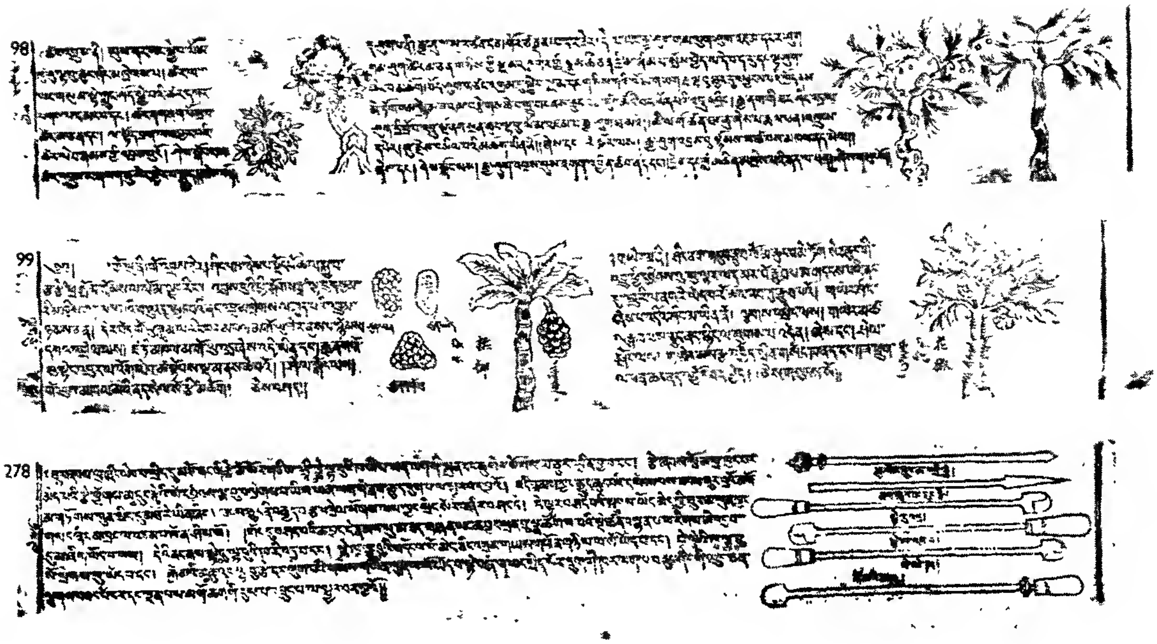
This work has been commented upon in Tibet and translated from Tibetan into Mongolian. From Mongolia it was brought to Russia at the end of the last century and there also got a great popularity. The Mongolian version together with a Russian translation has been partly published by Pozdnevev.

Several other Āyurvedic treatises have been translated into Tibetan and are included in the big collection of the Tibetan *Tanjur.* The first one is the *Yogaśataka* already referred to. The most extensive is the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa, together with two compendious commentaries. Indian veterinary medicine is also included in the Tibetan *Tanjur,* with a full translation of the *Aśvāyurveda* by Śālihotra.

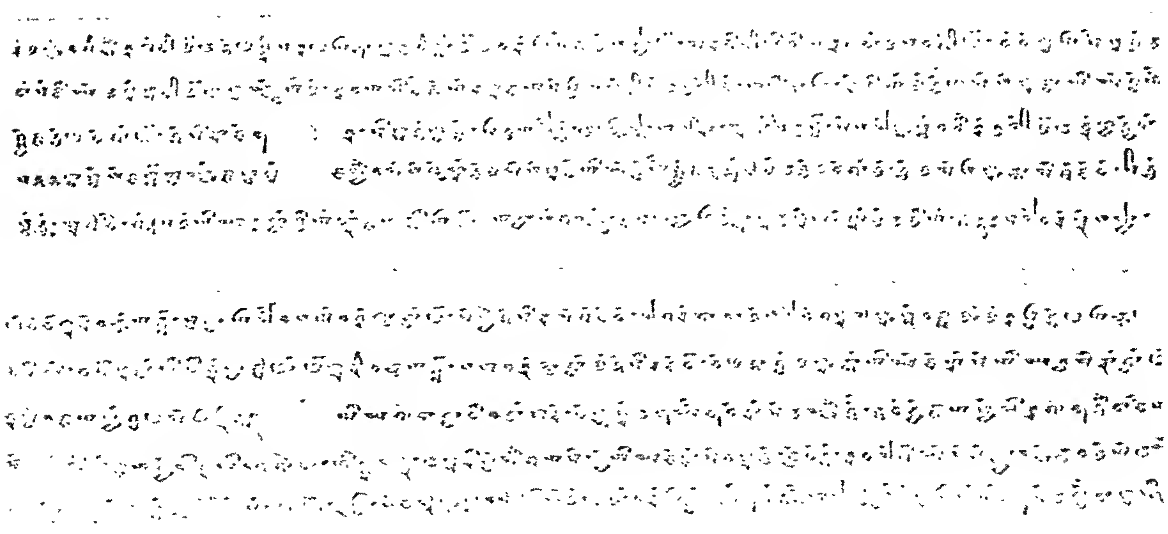
From Tibetan these works have also been translated into the Mongolian language as parts of the *Tanjur.*

On the other side, Indian medicine has been known in Persia and Arabic countries through Arabic versions or reports from Āyurvedic texts, chiefly in the initial period of the development of sciences among the Muslims. In 850 A.D. the Persian physician Ali ibn Rabbun at Tabari has written a treatise, the *Firdaus ul hikmat* in which is included detailed information about Indian medicine.

In these different ways Indian medicine has got an immense expansion throughout Asia, like other Indian sciences. We first find its influence in some Greek works of antiquity. Later it was exported throughout the Asian mainland and beyond the seas toward South-East Asia.



A page from an illustrated pharmaceutical manuscript



A page from one of the oldest medical manuscript dating back to the 6th-7th century

Ancient Indian Maritime Ventures

K. S. RAMACHANDRAN

THE INDIAN OCEAN with the two seas, the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal opening into it, has, from the remote past, been the hub of seafaring activities.[1] India, owing to her geographical situation, with thousands of kilometre-long shore-line protruding into this vast expanse of water, has had no mean part in seafaring.

On the west, the Arabian Sea separates India from the Arabian Peninsula, while the Bay of Bengal on the east, intervenes between Burma, the Malay Peninsula and the Archipelago.

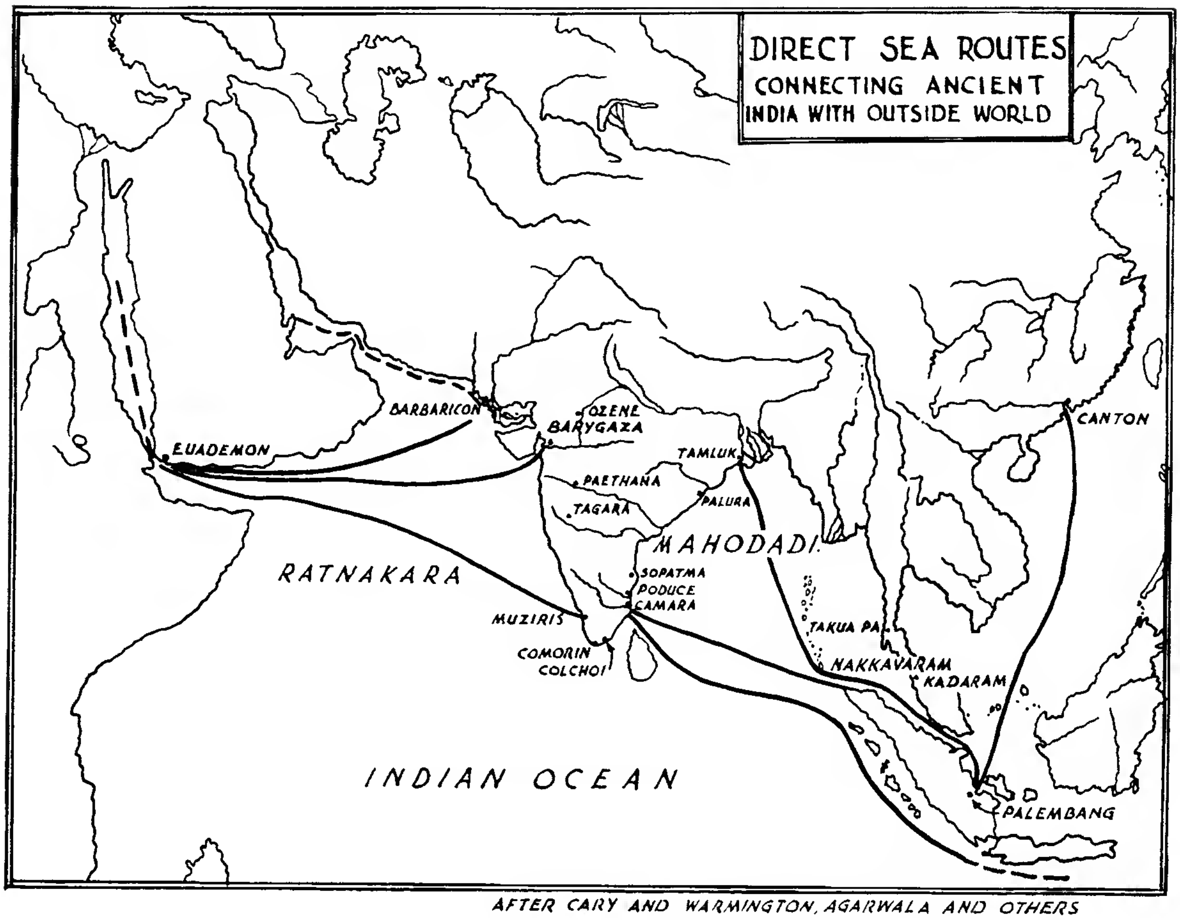
The Arabian Sea, *Ratnākara* of the ancient Indians, had been the main centre of maritime activities. For ages the Indian, Phoenician and Arab vessels crossed and recrossed this tumultuous sea in the past. It is this sea that brought the westerners into contact with India. Most of the trade of India with the west was over this sea, either through Palmyra or Petra and the Persian Gulf or through Berenice and other Red Sea ports. At Clysma, near the Suez, a Byzantine official was stationed, who was obliged to visit India annually and to report on trade and political conditions.[2] On the other hand, across the Bay, the early Indian settlers and adventurers spread their culture in the South-East Asian countries. The history of Burma, Malaya, Indonesia and Indo-China begins with these people. In fact, 'a few years before William the Conqueror impressed Europe with the organizing ability displayed in crossing the English channel, the fleets of the Choḷa kingdom of Madras and the equally Indian kingdom of Śailendra or Śrīvijaya in Sumatra entered upon a century-long struggle across 1000 miles of open sea.'[3]

Monsoon winds were already known to these seafarers. This, coupled with the early growth of civilization—Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Indus, etc.—in this area, put the Indian Ocean in an enviable position of being the first ocean in maritime ventures. That India could be a maritime nation has been slighted and dismissed through overgeneralization of harbourless coasts. But, 'for the small craft the West coast at least is not lacking in harbourage, nor should the delta creeks of Bay of Bengal be overlooked. Portugese keels were far from the first to plough the Indian seas. It is true that until the coming of European seamen, no considerable power was founded in India: but some were found from India'.[4]

In this paper it is proposed to survey the seafaring activities of the Indians from the historical times onwards up to the eleventh century.

Boats and ships, ship-building, etc.

Ships and boats of India were built of wooden planks *(dāru-phalakāni)* bound together with ropes *(yottāni)* and were manipulated with oars and rudders *(phiyaritāni)*. Some of them had masts *(kūpaka)* carrying sails *(sitāni)*.[4] In Tamil the ship is known as *kalam* (vessel),


DIRECT SEA ROUTES
CONNECTING ANCIENT
INDIA WITH OUTSIDE WORLD
BARBARICON
OZENE
BARYGAZA
EUADEMON
TAMLUK
PAETHANA
TAGARA
PALURA
MAHODADI
RATNAKARA
SOPATMA
PODUCE
CAMARA
MUZIRIS
COMORIN
COLCHOI
TAKUA PA
NAKKAVARAM
KADARAM
CANTON
PALEMBANG
INDIAN OCEAN

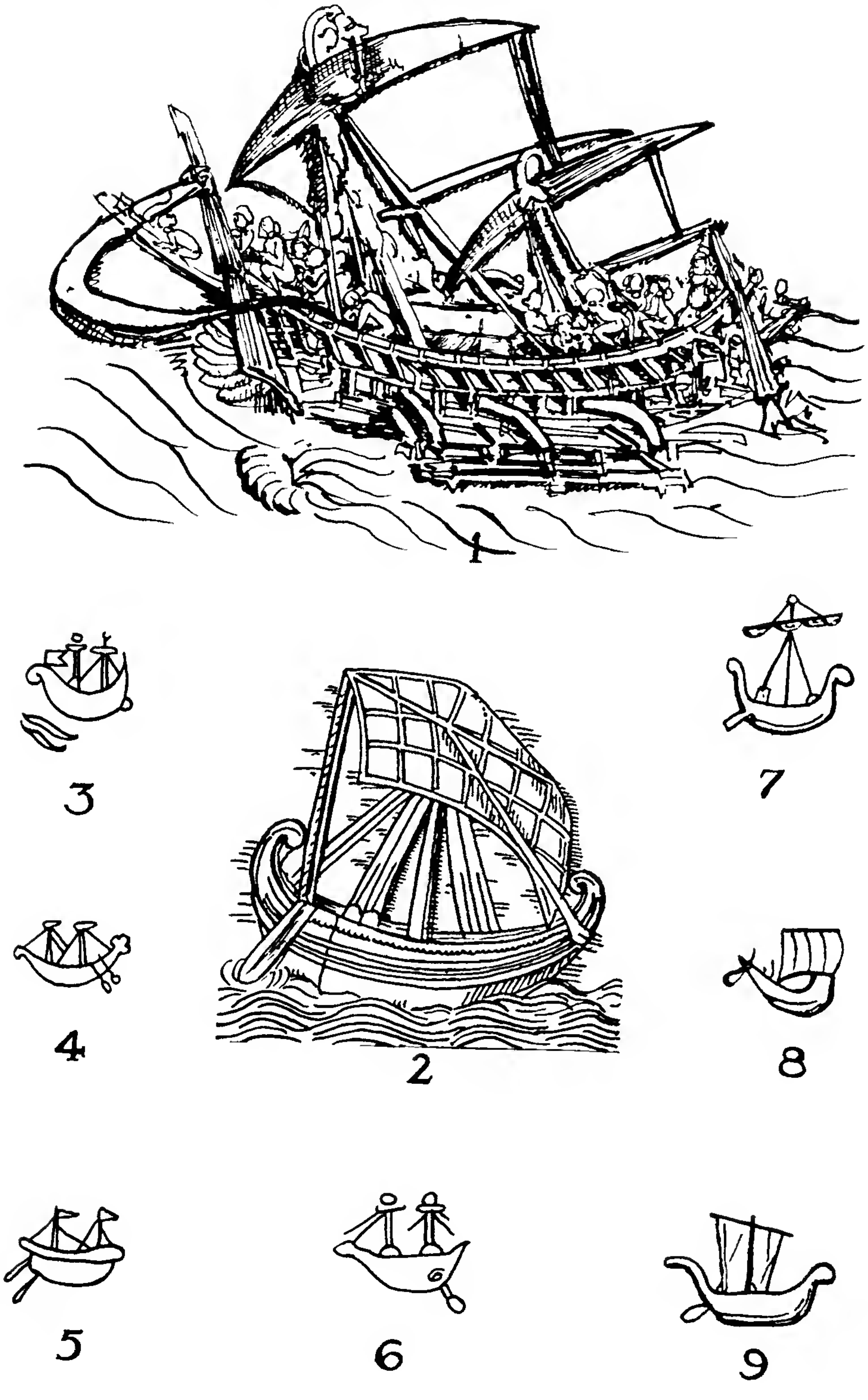
AFTER CARY AND WARMINGTON, AGARWALA AND OTHERS

Map showing direct sea routes from India with outside world

more often *mara-kalam* (*mara* = wood and *kalam* = vessel). We also get an idea of ship-building from a description of the vessel carrying the tooth-relic of the Buddha to Ceylon.[5] It refers to a ship, 'firmly constructed with planks, sewed together with ropes, having a well-rigged lofty mast with a spacious sail and commanded by a skilful navigator'[6] This simple but ancient technique still survives in India. The catamaran of the Madras Coast used solely by the fisherman of the region is nothing but a small float consisting of three or more shaped-logs bound tightly together with ropes and propelled by oars.

Literature concerning ship-building in India is significantly lacking, excepting for a solitary work, *Yuktikalpataru*, a treatise by Bhoja, the famous king of Dhāra. He is very particular about the selection of wood to be used in constructing a ship. According to him, only a certain class *viz., kṣatriya* class of wood, noted for its lightness and hardness, should be utilized. Ships built of this wood would bring wealth and happiness. Further, he prohibits the use of iron nails in the joinery of the bottom planks, especially in ocean-going vessels, for iron would be attracted by magnetic reefs and expose the ships to danger.

The vessels have been broadly divided into two classes, ordinary (sāmānya) and special (viśeṣa), mainly on the basis of dimensions—length, breadth and height.[7] The ordinary class was further divided into ten sub-classes. The special class was classified into *dīrgha* and *unnata*; the former being further sub-divided into ten sub-classes and the latter into five. Again the divi-



Representation of ships in Ancient Times: (See Text.)

sion is based on dimensions.

In size, the *sāmānya* class varied from 16 x 4 x 4 cubits to 120 x 60 x 60 cubits.[8] The *dīrgha* variety varied between 32 x 4 x $3\frac{1}{5}$ and 176 x 22 x $17\frac{3}{5}$ cubits and the *unnata* between 32 x 16 x 16 and 96 x 48 x 48 cubits. The ordinary or *sāmānya* ships were intended for riverine traffic while the special or *viśēṣa* for trans-oceanic voyages. Some varieties of ships are prohibited as they are supposed to be bringing ill-luck.

The same authority mentions how a ship could be decorated and furnished. In this a few selected metals are also recommended. The prows had a variety of shapes: heads of lion, buffalo, serpent, elephant, bird and men, etc.

The masts of ships numbered from one to four and each variety *viz.*, single-, double-masted ships, etc., was painted with a definite colour scheme, perhaps for easy identification. The ships were provided with cabins also. Accordingly there were *sarvamandira, madhyamandira* and *agramandira* vessels; with the cabins extending from end to end, being only in the middle or at the end respectively. The first type is recommended for transport of royal treasures, horses and women, the second for pleasure trips and the last for dry days or for naval engagements.

In the Tamil Śangam works also several classes of ships and boats are mentioned. They are *ambi, pahri, odam, paḍagu* and *timil.*[9] Of these *ambi* and *paḍagu* are small crafts mainly for river navigation. *Timil* was a small fishing boat. Besides, there were vessels for sea-navigation. *Periplus* mentions that two varieties of large ships were used for seafaring; the first, *sangara,* constructed of huge logs of wood fastened together and the second *colandia.*[10]

Literary references

Buddhist literature, the *Mahāvaṃsa,* the *Piṭakas,* the *Nikāyas,* and the *Jātakas,* particularly the *Janaka, Vālahassa, Samudda-vanija* and *Śaṅkha jātakas,* besides the *Avadānas,* refer to ocean-going carries capable of accommodating hundreds of passengers and crew. Jain works, especially *Āvaśyakacūrṇī* and *Bṛihatkalpasūtrabhāṣya* are full of incidents concerning voyages over the sea and contain nautical jargon for moving forwards or backwards, to push, etc. Equipment necessary for rowing, the oars, rudders, poles, etc., are also mentioned. Further, several classes of winds, sixteen in number, conducive for navigation are also listed. The epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas viz., Matsya, Varāha, Mārkaṇḍeya,* etc. also refer to voyages. Besides, the *kāvyas, nāṭakas* and prose works of classical Sanskrit literature, such as the *Raghuvaṁśa, Ratnāvalī, Daśakumāracarita, Kathāsaritsāgara, Pañcatantra, Rājataraṅgiṇī,* etc., also indicate navigational ventures. The *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* contains indirect reference to this aspect.

The Śangam works, especially, the *Śilappadikāram Maṇimekalai, Paṭṭinappālai, Madurai-kkānji, Ahanānūrū, Puranānūrū,* etc., are replete with references to the shipping activities of the Tamils. Besides, they give us a vivid description of the ports, emporia, articles of trade, etc.

Apart from the Indian sources, several foreign travellers and geographers viz., Megasthenes, Pliny, the unknown author of the *Periplus of the Erythraen Sea,* Strabo, Ptolemy, Cosmos Indikopleustes, Fa-hien, Yuan-Chwang, I-tsing and many Arab writers have recorded their observations which are of immense historical value in the assessment of the maritime activities of the Indians. Of these the *Periplus* is of utmost importance, for, 'its author had doubtless visited the seats of commerce on the western coast of India, and his account is invaluable for the directness and accuracy that generally characterize it.'[11]

The crew : From the above literary sources we come to know of the various members of the crew and their duties. The *Avadānaśataka* mentions that big ships were manned by different kinds of navigators, such as the *āhāra, nāvika, kaivarta,* and *karṇadhāra. Āhāra* was perhaps the person who piloted the vessel towards the shore, *kaivarta* was the navigator in the river, *karṇadhāra* was operating the rudder and steered the boat, and *nāvika* was an ordinary sailor. From other sources it is understood that, apart form the above there were other grades of sailors as well. Thus *kukṣidhara* propelled the vessel with the aid of a long bamboo or pole. The ordinary rating or seaman was known as *kammakara* and *garbhajakkah; niryamaka* represents a sailor. From one of the jātakas it is gathered that the crew were under the overall control of *jalaniryamaka* or *jettaka,* terms denoting the captainof the vessel.

According to the *Arthaśāstra,* the crew were of the following categories:[12] *Śāsaka, niyāmaka, datraraśmigrāhaka* and *utsecaka. Śāsaka* was the captain of the ship; *niyāmaka* was a steersman or the pilot; *datraraśmigrāhaka* was a manipulator of the cutter and ropes, perhaps a person engaged in rigging or bringing down the sails. It may also be possible that he was employed to drop the anchor as well. *Utsecaka's* duty was to bail out the seepage water and keep the boat dry. The same work also mentions that the leader of a fleet of ships was known as *mahāsārtha.*

Again, the *Arthaśāstra* is the only work known to us laying the rules and regulations for navigation.[13] The Navigation Department was under the charge of a *Nāvādhyakṣa,* the controller of shipping, with specific duties enjoined upon him. He had to obey the rules and restrictions imposed by the *paṭṭanādhyakṣa,* an officer of the state comparable to the Commissioner of Ports of modern times. He was the overall controller of ships and its crew. He regulated the traffic over water and kept the vessels in good repair or condemned the unserviceable ones.

Representation of ships and boats in Indian art : Although ships and boats are not profusely depicted in Indian art yet a few available examples enable us to obtain a fair idea of this mode of transport. Figures of ships, barges or boats are to be found at Bharhut, Sanchi, Bodhgaya, Ajanta, Amaravati, in the Museum at Goa, etc. A few *viragals* erected in honour of those who lost their lives in naval encounters have also been found near Bomaby.[14] Besides, a few coins of the Andhra kings bore replicas of ships.[15]

By far the earliest representation of a boat of historical times is to be found on a medallion from Bharhut[16] and is datable to the second century B.C. It shows two boats, with three sailors in each; one of which together with its crew is being swallowed by a big fish with rows of serrated teeth, possibly representing a sea-monster. The crew of the other boat look stunned by this calamity and have stopped rowing, as evidenced by the idle oars seen on the starboard side. But for the big fish and the depiction of the calamity that has befallen the boat, it is hardly conceivable that these boats could be ocean-worthy. The boats seem to have been made of planks joined with dowels. Of these two, one is deep and short and the other long and low. The prow of the latter is high.

Two examples from Sanchi could be cited. The first one, on the front face of the south pillar in the lower panels of the eastern gateway is an ordinary river boat[17] carrying on board a bearded ascetic and is being manned by two men. The other one is seen in the upper panels of the south face of the north pillar in the western gateway.[18] Unfortunately the lower portion is missing, but from an earlier drawing[19] the entire shape can be reconstructed. The boat is elaborately fashioned with the bow in the form of a winged and prancing *śārdūla* with a beaked nose. The stern ends in a fish-tail. In the middle, there is a cabin. This would fall under the class of *madhyamandira* vessels of *Yuktakalpataru.* Curiously only one sailor is to be seen.

Amaravati provides us with another variety.[20] The barge has an oblong or rectangular shape with a flat bottom and has an empty throne in the centre. Facing the throne is a suppliant figure with folded hands. On the river bank are to be seen devotees, male and female. A seal from Basarh[21] depicts a vessel resembling a canoe. In the middle is to be seen a goddess in a standing posture. The Bodhgaya specimen[22] is very interesting. The boat is seen floating in a pond full of lotus flowers. Three men, one at each end and the third in the middle of the boat, are seen. The man at the bow is on his knees in the act of gathering something, while the other one at the stern, in a standing position, holds something in one of his hands. The man in the middle of the vessel, also in a standing posture, is manoeuvring the boat with a long pole held in his both hands. This is certainly a fishing craft.

In the Ajanta paintings, three examples are to be found. The first one, in cave no. 2, portraying the legend of Pūrṇa, bears the representation of a three-masted vessel.[23] All the three masts carry oblong sails. Besides there is also a stay sail. There is a cabin at one end of the vessel; this would fall under the *agramandira* type of ships. The other representations, depicting *Siṁhalāvadāna* and *Mahājanaka Jātaka* are found in cave nos. 17 and 1 respectively. The *Siṁhalāvadāna* example[24] shows boats engaged in transporting mounted horsemen and elephant-riders. They are shallow and their bows are decorated with *makara-mukhas*. The ship found in the *Mahājanaka jātaka* penel[25] has a central cabin or *maṇḍapa* within which is to be seen a royal personality. An attendant is holding an umbrella over his head. The boat is manned by two sailors, one with an oar at the bow and the other at the stern, standing high on a ladder and steering the vessel with a long oar.

A representation of a naval battle is depicted in a sculptural panel in the Goa Museum (Pl. 18). In the encounter two boats are involved; one above and the other below and overlapping the former. The smaller, upper one has four oars on the starboard side. The lower larger one is rowed by six oars shown on the port side. The central figures in both are combatants; the one in the lower boat fighting with bow and arrow.

An interesting sidelight is thrown by a panel in another sculptural relief also from Goa Museum (Pl. 19). Here, a completed boat with a cabin at one end is being transported on a wheeled carriage for launching.

Lastly, we have the coins of the Sātavāhana ruler Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi where two types of ships figure on the obverse. The first type is the usual segment-shaped vessel while the other is bowl-shaped. Both the types are double-masted and carry sails.

Now, except for the ships portrayed in the *Pūrṇāvadāna* panel at Ajanta and those found on the coins of Sātavāhana ruler none of the specimens described have mast or sail. This would perhaps warrant a conclusion that those types were mainly intended for plying in the rivers or in calm waters and were propelled by oars or poles and other types are ocean-going argosies.

There are quite a few sculptural reliefs of ships, real ocean-going vessels—at Borobudur. The ships are multi-ribbed and with planks strongly fastened together. They fall under two classes; the one with a convex profile and other with an oblong profile. The former has a high prow. Again the ships are single- or double-masted. In these masts are seen projecting cross-rods, which served the purpose of a ladder for the sailor to climb the mast-head. The sails were fastened with thick ropes. In a few ships there was an additional stay-sail. Almost all the ships had an out-rigger, made of heavy logs and connected through poles or spars to the main ship. This appears to be a necessity for keeping the ship stable in high and rough seas.

(ii) **Routes, ports of call, emporia, etc.**

Ships from the Red Sea or Persian Gulf ports reached India by three direct routes : they could sail (1) to Barbaricon at the mouth of the Indus; (2) to Barygaza (modern Broach) on the Narmada; and (3) to Tyndis and then to Muziris on the western coast in Kerala.

Skylax of Caryanda, under the orders of Darius, sailed down the Indus to the sea.[26] It is said that Alexander cut huge trees from *Emodoi* mountains for building a fleet of ships with which he crossed the Hydaspes to reach the country of Poros.[27] Again, Nearchos, his Admiral of the Hydaspes-fleet sailed down the Indus into the sea and to the Persian Gulf.[28]

Barygaza of the Westerners has been identified with the ancient Bhṛgukaccha (modern Broach). The *Jātakas* mention it as an important port-town (*paṭṭanagāma*). Overland routes from both directions, north and south, touched this town. Commodities intended for overseas trade from the interior trading centres were loaded from this port in large ships. Likewise articles from overseas were unloaded here for onward transport to interior markets. Important trading centres like Ujjain (*Ozene* of *Periplus*) and Pratiṣṭhāna (Paethana of *Periplus*, modern Paithan) and Tagara (modern Ter) were linked up with this port.

Beyond Barygaza, as one sailed southwards, the ports of call[29] were Suppara (Śūrpāraka, modern Sopara), Calliena (Kālyaṇa), Semylla (Chaul), Mandagora (perhaps Bankot), Palaepatamae (Dabhol), Melizigara (Rajapur), Byzantium (corruption of Vizadrog—Vaijayanti?), Togarum (Deogarh), Aurannobas (Malvan), Aegidii (Goa), in Gujarat and Kanara coasts; Naura (Cannanore), Tyndis (Ponnani), Muziris (Cranganore), Nelcynda (very near Kottayam), Bacare (Barkare of Ptolemy), and Balita (Varkkalai) in the Kerala coast; and Comari (Cape Comorin—Kanyakumari) at the tip. On the eastern coast, were Colchi (Korkei, noted for its pearls), Camara (Khaberis of Ptolemy, Kaverippattinam), Poduca (Arikamedu near Pondicherry), Sopatma (Markanam, ancient So-pattinam of the Tamils), Nikam (Ptolemy, Nagappattinam) and Masalia (Maisolia of Ptolemy, Masulipatam). The *Periplus* also mentions Dosarne (Orissan coast) and Ganges; the latter was also a market town, on the mouth of the same river. Perhaps he meant Tāmralipti (modern Tamluk).

Sailings to South-East Asia and China: Ships to the South-East Asian countries and to China set sail from the following ports; Barygaza, Masolia, Polura and Tāmralipti. But most frequently sailings were from Taprabone (Ceylon). Barygaza was the solitary port of embarkation on the west coast. Chinese travellers arrived at Nagappattinam as well.

We know that the early settlers from Gujarat area in the S.E. Asia embarked at Barygaza. Fa-hien (A.D. 401–10) sailed from Tāmralipti to Ceylon from whence he proceeded to Yavadvīpa (Java).[30] Guṇavarman (A.D. 367–431), a scion of the Kashmir princely line went to Ceylon and from there embarked a ship sailing to Cho-po (Java). From Java he reached Konang-te Cheon (Canton).[31]

The *Mahāniddesa* tells us that ships from Tāmralipti and Polura (near Gopalpur in Orissa) called at Sada, anchoring *en route* at Gumpa. The most important port of call in this route was Takkola, from where ships sailed to Siam, Cambodia, Annam, etc.[32] From Takkola the vessels reached Yavadvīpa and Champa. Beyond Champa, the route to China was direct.

I-tsing (633–713 A.D.), the Chinese traveller recounting his itinerary says that from Canton he arrived at Palembang. Onwards his route lay *via* Malayu, on river Jambi, Kedah, on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, Nicobar Islands and finally he finished his journey at Tāmralipti. Two other travellers from China of about the same date followed I-tsing up to Kedah. From there they reached Nagappattinam on the east coast in the Choḷa country. From Nagappattinam they sailed to Ceylon.[33]

Barygaza was an important emporium. Elsewhere, its importance as a port of embarkation and trade-centre has been clearly brought out. Main exports from this port consisted of spikenard, costus, bdellium, ivory, agate, carnelian, lycium, cotton cloth of all kinds, silk, long pepper etc., while the ships from foreign countries brought wine, copper, tin, lead, coral, topaz, bright coloured girdles, storax, sweet clover, flint glass, realgar, antimony and gold and silver coins.

Restricted excavations at the Broach town-site near the river Narmada by the Archaeological Survey of India revealed a mud rampart in the earlier period which in historical times was heavily revetted with large-sized bricks of the early historical period. The ceramic contents consisted of Red Polished Ware, plain red and grey wares associated with historical period. The occupation here continued without any break till seventh-eighth century A.D. Unfortunately, however, no vestiges of structures were unearthed.[34]

Other important emporia were Śūrpāraka, Muziris, Camara, Poduca and Tāmralipti.

That the ships calling at Śūrpāraka were forcibly escorted under armed guards to Barygaza would by itself indicate the importance of Śūrpāraka as also the latent fear that this port would rob the trade of Barygaza.[35]

Ships from the Red Sea ports sailed direct to Muziris and this was an important trading-post in the west coast. Exports from here comprised pepper from the neighbouring areas, fine pearls in large quantities, silk, spikenard from Ganges, malabathrum, transparent stones, sapphires, tortoise shells from Chryse and nearby islands, etc. Muziris imported coins in great quantity, topaz, some thin clothing, figured linens, antimony, coral, crude glass, copper, tin, lead, realgar, orpiment, a little wine and wheat according to the requirements of the sailors.[36]

Camara of the *Periplus* has been identified with the ancient Puhār (modern Kaverippattinam) on the banks of the river Cauvery at its confluence with the Bay. This was the capital of the Choḷa monarchs of the Śangam Age. Sangam works like the *Śilappadikāram, Maṇimekalai* and *Paṭṭinappālai* abound in references glorifying this sea-port. Ships entered this port without slackening the sails and the large quantities of precious goods carried by these lay stacked along the beach.[37] The market place abounded in palatial abodes built on high podiums[38] and flags fluttered over them. Perhaps some were werehouses. The goods here were stamped with the Choḷa insignia, the tiger.[39] A curious custom prevalent in this city was to make offerings of rice and sugar to the packages of merchandise.

The city was divided into two parts, Maruvurpakkam and Pattinappakkam, separated by a garden of trees.[40] In Maruvurpakkam, near the sea, were residences and warehouses. Here the foreigners vending a variety of merchandise lived in a spirit of *camaraderie*. Again the *Paṭṭinappālai* describes these foreigners as a large throng on a festive day. It looked as though, they, speaking different languages, have settled down here on mutual friendship.[41] The same work refers to the high sense of honesty and code of ethics of the merchant class.[42]

In the harbour high-masted ships with fluttering flags swayed like the elephants fretting and fuming and rubbing against the posts to which they are tied.[43] The *Śilappadikāram* also refers to the existence of lighthouses to guide the shore-bound ships.[44]

Horses from other countires, black pepper, gems and gold, sandal and *agil*, pearls, coral and articles from Kadaram were some of the merchandise on sale at this port-town.

Recent excavations in and around Kaverippattinam have confirmed that this place was an emporium. At Kilayur a massive structure akin to a platform measuring 18.28 x 7.6 m., with vestiges of two wooden posts driven into the earth close to the structure, has been brought to light. This might perhaps represent a wharf and to the wooden posts were tied the ships unloading their cargo.[45] At Vanagiri, a semi-circular water tank was found; while at Pallavaneesvaram a Buddhist *vihāra*, with five square rooms and a common verandah was unearthed.

Besides, vestiges of an apsidal structure, *caitya,* contiguous with the *vihāra* complex was also exposed.[46] Vanagiri and Manigramam yielded sherds of Rouletted Ware which provide with a definite evidence of Roman contact.[47]

Poduca on the eastern coast has been identified with Arikamedu, a suburb of Pondicherry in Tamilnadu. Excavations conducted there[48] in 1945 revealed a huge and massive structure about 150 feet (45·72 m.) long, oblong in shape and with a single partition wall, which the excavator has surmised to be a warehouse. This was built some time about 50 A.D. In another area vestiges of other buildings were also found. Important among the finds witnessing Roman contact are : two gems—carved *intaglios,* datable to the first centuries B.C.–A.D.; two handled amphorae, Mediterranean wine-jars; Arretine Wares, belonging to the class *terra sigillata* and of indubitable Roman origin, and Rouletted Wares, also of Roman origin; and Roman lamp. The excavator says that this was a 'treaty port' where foreign traders lived permanently and received goods from the seasonal 'deep-sea merchantmen' calling on this port.[49] Hoards of Roman coins found in the interior were in all probability due to these settled traders going to the interior vending their wares.

Tāmralipti on the mouth of the Ganga was an important trading centre on the east coast. It was the terminal port for east-bound ships. The *Vinaya* texts and the *Jātakas* inform us that merchants from Sahajati, Kauśāmbī, Vārāṇasī, Pāṭaliputra and Campā brought their goods to Tāmralipti for being exported to South-East Asia.

Excavation on this site by the Archaeological Survey of India revealed a sequence of four periods ranging in time from the neolithic to eighteenth-nineteenth century. In Period III, assignable to *circa* first-second centuries, were found Rouletted Ware sherds, an evidence of Roman contact.[50]

(iii) Settlements and naval expeditions

There is abundant evidence, both literary and otherwise, regarding the early Indian settlements in the South-East Asian countries. The settlers here had no political allegience to their motherland. Nor was there any mass movement of population from India to these countries. All the same, the impact of the Indian culture, religion, political and social ideas, etc., has been so great and so effective as to persist even today, though in a metamorphosed manner. What really happened was that the local population assimilated a superior culture to the best advantage with local variations. This process began very early, during the first few centuries of the Christian era in the Malay Peninsula and eventually spread to other areas. It would hardly be possible to recapitulate the entire process of acculturation of the region in this paper. But at the same time it would be worthwhile to indicate broadly the factors involved in the expansion of the Indian culture across the sea in the South-East Asian lands.[51]

Some of the factors responsible for this are :

(i) Indian oversea merchantmen getting settled there and acquiring a local family;
(ii) adventurous spirit dominant among a few settlers;
(iii) religious and massionary zeal of the Hindu, including Buddhist, teachers;
(iv) navigational expertise of the Indians serving as a means to achieve this end; and
(v) outcome of military expeditions.

Indian cultural impact is reflected in the following :

(i) All the epigraphs found in this region are in Sanskrit, the earlier ones being in the Pallava Grantha and pre-Devanāgarī scripts;
(ii) the use of the Śaka era;
(iii) the names of royalty are mostly in Sanskrit ending in *varman,* as exemplified by

Buddhavarman, Aśvavarman, Pūrṇavarman, etc.;

(iv) the prevalence of Sanskritic topographical names, some of which still survive, though in a much corrupted form;

(v) prevalence of Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and the cult of Agastya—the last undoubtedly of south Indian origin and influence. Strangely, this cult is extinct in its land of origin: and

(vi) the influence of Indian art and architecture in the Far East.[52]

Naval engagements and expeditions

That naval warfare is not an uncommon incident is amply evidenced in literature and inscriptions. The Śangam work, *Perumapānāṟṟupaḍai* mentions that Imayavaramban Nedunjeralatan defeated his enemy in naval engagement.[53] That the vessels of other kings had not the courage to come in the way of the fleet of Cheran Senguttuvan is known from *Puranānūru*.[54] Again, the same king won a naval battle at Mohur over an ally of the Pāṇḍyan monarch.[55] He also assumed the title *Kaḍalpirakkoṭṭiya Veḷkeḷukuṭṭuvan*. *Maduraikkānji*, one among the *Pattupāttu* anthology of the Sangam Age, mentions that the Pāṇḍyan king Nedunjeḷiyan as having captured huge ships anchored at Salaiyur.[56]

In Pallava times, Mahendravarman I's father Siṁhaviṣṇu defeated the king of Ceylon.[57] Narasiṁhavarman I, better known as Māmalla, sent two naval expeditions in support of Mānavammā of Ceylon.[58] There is a vivid description of this in the *Mahāvaṁsa*. Nṛipatuṅga, another Pallava ruler went in aid in the naval expedition of the Pāṇḍya Śrī Māra against Ceylon.[59] There is an indirect reference to the conquest of the Laccadive islands by Rājasiṁha in his Vaylur inscription.[60]

But by far the most important evidence of naval expedition and conquest pertains to the Imperial Choḷas. In A.D. 983 Rāja Rāja I led a successful naval expedition against the Ceylon ruler Mahinda V.[61] Again, his illustrious son Rajendra invaded this island during the reign of the same ruler. Rāja Rāja also led a naval expedition and conquered the old islands of the sea numbering 12000, perhaps the Maldives.[62] Rāja Rāja's title *Kandaḷurśalai Kalamaruttaruḷiyā* is indicative of his victory over the Cheras.

The most outstanding achievement of the Choḷas was the conquest of Kadaram (Kedah in the Malay Peninsula) by Rājendra. The incident is mentioned in his inscription dated in his fourteenth regnal year. It would be most appropriate to reproduce the *praśasti* for its details and narrative significance. It runs thus :

'(who) having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Sangrāma-vijayōttunavarman, the king of Kaḍāram, together with the elephants in his glorious army, (took) the large heap of treasures which (that king) had rightfully accumulated; (captured) with noise the (arch called) Vidyādhara-toraṇa at the "war-gate" of his extensive city; Śrīvijaya with the "jewelled wicket-gate" adorned with great splendour and the "gate of large jewel"; Pannai with water in its bathing ghats; the ancient Malaiyūr with strong mountain for its rampart; Māyiruḍingam surrounded by the deep sea (as) by a moat; Ilangāśoka (i.e., Lankāśōka) undaunted (in) fierce battles; Mapappalam having abundant (deep) water as defence; Meviḷimbangam having fine walls as defence; Vaḷaippandūru having Viḷappandūru (?); Talaitakkōlam praised by great men (versed in) the sciences; Māḍamālingam, in great and fierce battles; Ilāmuridēśam, whose fierce strength rose in war; Mānakkavaram in whose extensive flower gardens honey was collecting; and Kaḍāram, of fierce strength, which was protected by the deep sea".[63]

Commenting upon this achievement of Rājendra and the subsequent efforts of the kings of Sumatra to regain supremacy and their unsuccessful expedition against Ceylon which weakened their sea-power, Spate remarks, 'These armadas (of the warring countries) presuppose high standard not only of navigation, in both sides of the 1200–mile wide waters between Coromandal and Sumatra. Certainly no European Power of the day could have dreamt of oceanic adventure : only the Viking voyages are as impressive; while the crusading fleets were in comparison mere forays. On the terraces of Borobudur the carved ships of Śrīvijaya still sail, immobile and endlessly over their seas of stones.[64]

To conclude, 'the race which carried civilization by the sea, to Burma, to Siam, to Cambodia, Indo-China and Java, and Madagascar, was a race of navigators.[65]

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40 *Śilappadikāram*. V. lines 7–58. The description of Puhar with its several streets in Maruvurpakkam. each recognized by the vocations practised by the residents therein and the palatial buildings in Pattinappakkam is picturesque and complete in detail.

41 *Paṭṭinappālai*. lines 213–17

42 *Ibid* . lines 199–212

43 *Ibid*., lines 172–74.

44 *Śilappadikāram*. VI. line 141 : *Perumpāṇarruppaḍai*. lines 346–50

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46 *Ibid*., 1964–65 (in the press)

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Shipping in Ancient India

(from the earliest times to 600 A.D.)

S. R. RAO

THE GREAT LAND-MASS of the Indian subcontinent is sea-girt on the east, west and south and has a large number of sheltered harbours situated all along its 5,700 km-long indented coastline. It is generally believed that the inhabitants of this land-mass lived in isolation and were afraid of undertaking sea-voyages. This belief has arisen because of the religious injunctions against *samudrayātrā* (sea voyage) in the case of certain sections of the Hindu society. But a careful examination of the passages in the *Ṛgveda*, confirms that the Indians went into the open sea boldly. Recent archaelogical discoveries have also brought to light the actual remains of brick-built docks, wharfs, jetties (landing platforms) and warehouses ranging in date from 2300 B.C. to 300 A.D. These structural remains bear ample testimony to the skill of the Indian seamen and engineers in building ships and docks and corroborate tradition and literary evidence.

Before attempting a survey of the archaeological evidence, it is necessary to know what the vedic texts have to say about sea-voyages. The Vedic texts themselves do not discourage sea-voyage. On the other hand the references in the *Ṛgveda*, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and other texts clearly show that our ancients did undertake naval expeditions and travelled to distant places by sea-routes well known to them. In the *Ṛgvedā* for example, God Varuna is credited with the knowledge of the sea-routes followed by ships (1.25.7). The same text further adds that merchants used to send out ships to foreign countries (2.48.3). A naval expedition is also said to have been sent out by the Ṛiṣi-King Tugra under the command of his son Bhujyu. The ship was, however, wrecked in a storm, but some of the occupants including King Tugra and his followers were rescued by the Aśvins, the twin brothers, who came in their hundred-oared galley. Another passage in the *Ṛgveda* addressed to Agni says : "do thou convey us in a ship across the sea for our welfare". Three things emerge from these references. First, ships were sent to foreign countries for purposes of trade; second, multi-oared boats were used in expeditions, and third, sea-routes were known to the Vedic Aryans. We shall examine each one of them in the light of archaeological evidence obtained recently.

In this article we confine ourselves to the history of shipping in India from the days of the Indus Valley Civilization to 600 A.D. covering roughly three thousand years. For purposes of convenience this period is divided into two sub-periods, viz., the Protohistoric (2500 B.C. to 500 B.C.) and the Early Historic (500 B.C. to 600 A.D.) with further subdivisions in each sub-period. At the end we shall also refer to the ship-building industry and the organization of commerce in ancient India. The sources of information are extremely limited for the Protohistoric period. The archaeological evidence so far obtained consists of the actual remains of a dock at Lothal and a number of trade-mechanisms, tools and ornaments exchanged between the Indus and Sumerian Civilizations. So far as literary evidence is concerned we are very much handicapped by the non-decipherment of the Indus script and the failure to identify the authors of the Indus Civilization. The references in the Vedic texts and the Epics to the Aryan and non-Aryan sections of the population and their maritime activities are limited in nature, and still remain to be corroborated by archaeological finds. On the other hand we are flooded with literary references to shipping and maritime trade of the Indians in the early historical period. The Buddhist Jātaka stories, the Jain canons, the *Arthaśāstra*, a highly valuable treatise on political economy in the Mauryan period, the mariners' guide-book known as the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (50 A.D.), and the works of the early Greek writers such as Pliny (Ist century A.D.) and Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.) furnish valuable information regarding sea-borne trade, the types of ships in use and the cargo handled at various ports. Overseas and inland trade-routes and the trading centres are graphically described in the works of foreigners. Unfortunately very little work has been done archaeologically to unearth the remains of ancient ports on the Indian coast and to salvage ship-wrecks, if any, in the Arabian sea and the Indian ocean. Much scientific progress has been made by American universities in under-water archaeology and ship-wrecks of the Bronze Age and Roman period have been salvaged in recent years near the Turkish coast. If similar expeditions are undertaken in India there is little doubt that thrilling discoveries can be made and a chain of port-installations all along the western and eastern sea board ranging in date from 2200 B.C. to 1500 A.D. can be identified.

2. Protohistoric Period

Maritime activities of the Harappans

(i) *The Port-city of Lothal:* For reconstructing the history of India from the earliest times one has to begin with the Indus Civilization, but unfortunately as a sequel to the partition of India all the important sites of this civilization went over to Pakistan. Hence arose the necessity of finding Harappan (Indus Civilization) sites within the present borders of India. A systematic survey of the Ghaggar (Sarasvatī) valley in the north and the Kathiawar peninsula in the south was undertaken by the Archaeological Survey of India between 1953 and 1958. The exploration resulted in locating more than two dozen Harappan sites by A. Ghosh in the Bikaner division of Rajasthan and nearly 100 sites by the present writer and late P.P. Pandya in Gujarat (including Kutch and Kathiawar). Among them Lothal is the most important, especially because it was a port-city contemporary with Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. The site was discovered in 1954 and excavated on most scientific lines between 1955 and 1962. Lothal is situated at the head of the Gulf of Cambay at a distance of 80 kms. southwest of Ahmadabad (Fig. 1). Here was a well-planned city with neatly laid-out streets (Pl. I), underground drains and a large artificial dock built for berthing ships. The city was divided into two parts namely the Acropolis and the Lower Town (Fig. 2), the former being occupied by the ruler and the latter by wealthy merchants, artisans and other common people. Houses were built on 1 to 4 metre-high platforms of mud-bricks as a precaution against recurring floods in the river. The inhabitants were prosperous not only because of the abundance of agricultural, forest and marine products but also due to the fast-increasing overseas trade. Lothal developed several local industries to fulfil the needs of the Egyptian and Mesopotamian cities. For example, semiprecious stones imported from the Narmada valley were turned into beautiful beads in the factories at Lothal and exported to South Arabian ports and Sumerian cities, which gave in return the baser metals, wool and cosmetics needed by the Harappans. While ivory was another luxury article exported by Lothal, cotton goods and timber accounted for the bulk of exports. The whole process of packing, storing and inspecting cargo handled by Lothal port has also come to light as a result of the excavations. Positive evidence of commerce with the West Asian ports in the Bronze Age is provided by a Persian Gulf seal found at Lothal and the Indus-type seals recovered in Mesopotamia. Let us see how a small village that Lothal was in 2450 B.C. grew into a major port-city by 2200 B.C.

Between 2450 and 2350 B.C. only small boats could call at Lothal. Although the volume of foreign trade increased after the arrival of the Harappans, as the authors of the Indus Civilization are known, the berthing facilities did not improve immediately. Ships had to be moored along the river-quay on the western flank of the village. However, the inhabitants soon found an opportunity to remodel their village in 2350 B.C. when it was destroyed by a flood. While planning the new town, or rather the new city, they added an artificial dock for berthing larger ships and in greater number than was hitherto possible. The engineers took care to build the dock away from the main stream but close to the city so that the ships could be safely berthed even during the storms. In the first instance a trapezoid basin, 214×36 metres, was excavated on the eastern margin of the city and enclosed with massive brick walls (Pl. II). The excavated earth was used for making bricks needed for constructing the wharf, warehouse and private dwelling. The designing of the structure reveals that all problems relating to dockyard-engineering such as the rate of silting, the velocity of the current and the thrust of water in the basin were carefully considered. First class kiln-fired bricks were used in the construction of the embankment wall which is gradually reduced by stages from 1·78 metres to 1·04 metres in width by providing offsets on the exterior to counteract the water-thrust. The perfect verticality of the inner face of the walls enabled ships to reach upto the edge of the basin (Pl. III). The masonry work is of the highest standard known to the Bronze Age World. It may be noted here that the Harappans had developed four thousand years ago what now goes by the name of 'English bond' and used headers and stretchers in alternate courses or in the same course of masonry to break the verticality of the joints and to achieve the required thickness of the wall without causing wastage of bricks. The length of the embankment wall is 212.4 m. on the west, 209.3 m. on the east, 34.7 m.

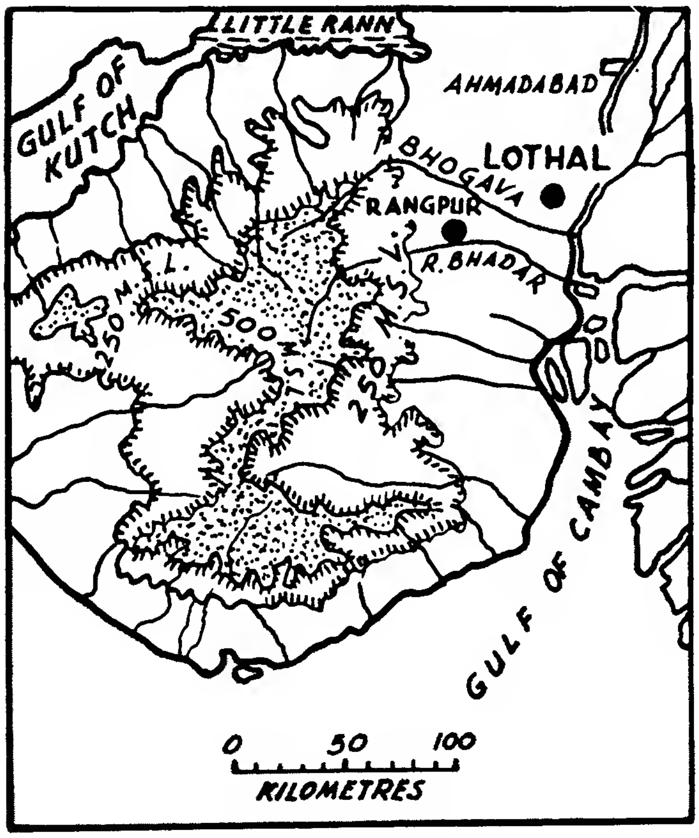


FIG. 1 *Map showing the position of Lothal*

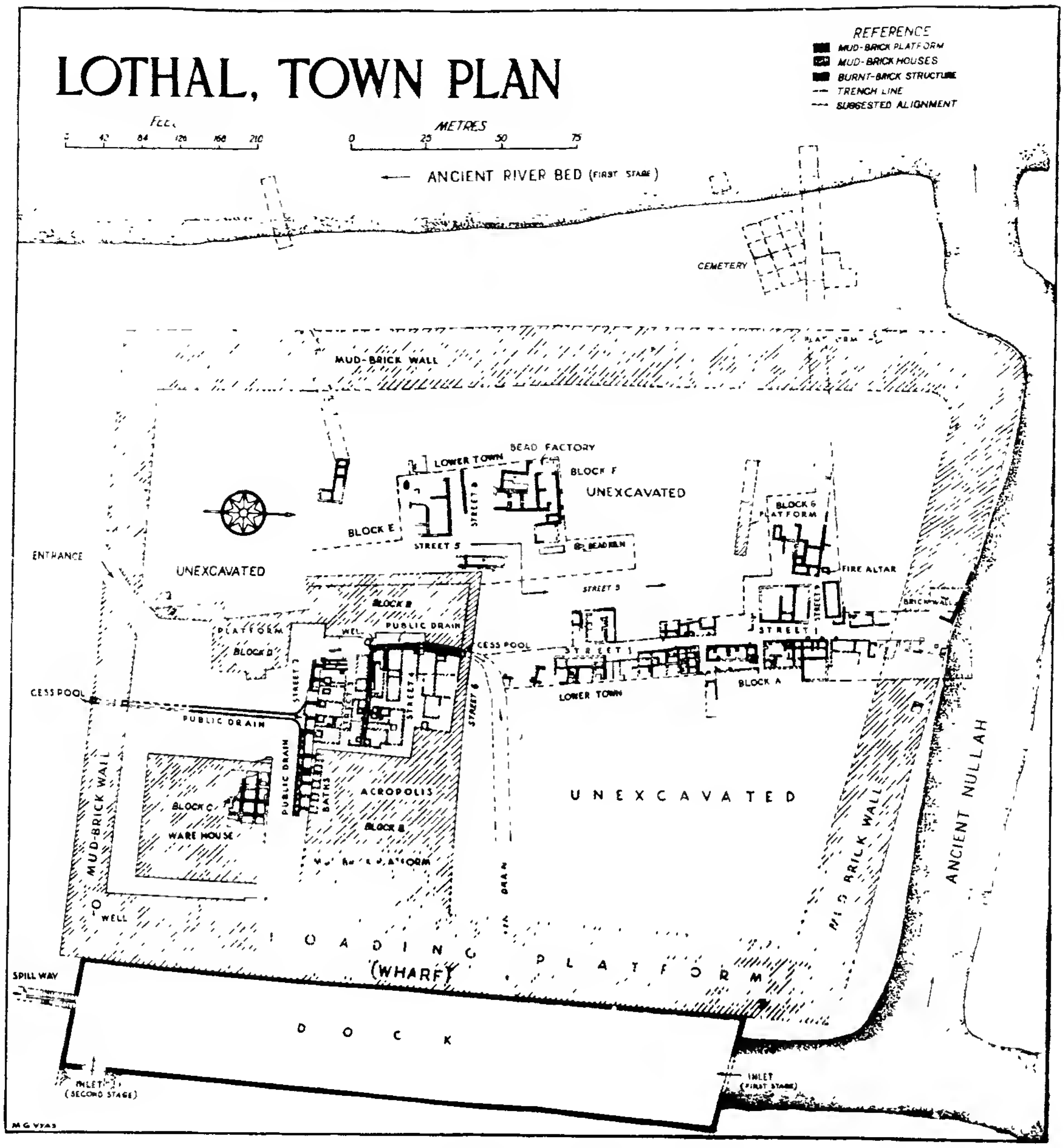

LOTHAL, TOWN PLAN
REFERENCE
MUD-BRICK PLATFORM
MUD-BRICK HOUSES
BURNT-BRICK STRUCTURE
TRENCH LINE
SUGGESTED ALIGNMENT
Feet
0 42 84 126 168 210
METRES
0 25 50 75
ANCIENT RIVER BED (FIRST STAGE)
CEMETERY
MUD-BRICK WALL
PLATFORM
BEAD FACTORY
LOWER TOWN
BLOCK F
UNEXCAVATED
BLOCK G
PLATFORM
BLOCK E
STREET 8
STREET 5
BEAD KILN
FIRE ALTAR
ENTRANCE
UNEXCAVATED
STREET 3
BRICK WALL
BLOCK B
PLATFORM
WELL
PUBLIC DRAIN
BLOCK D
CESS POOL
STREET 1
STREET 1
BLOCK A
LOWER TOWN
CESS POOL
PUBLIC DRAIN
STREET 2
STREET 4
STREET 6
MUD-BRICK WALL
BLOCK C
WARE HOUSE
PUBLIC DRAIN
BATHS
ACROPOLIS
BLOCK B
MUD-BRICK PLATFORM
DRAIN
UNEXCAVATED
MUD BRICK WALL
ANCIENT NULLAH
WELL
LOADING PLATFORM
(WHARF)
SPILL WAY
DOCK
INLET
(SECOND STAGE)
INLET
(FIRST STAGE)
M G VYAS

FIG 2 *Lothal Town plan*

on the south and 36·4 m. on the north, the original height being 4·15 metres. The maximum extant height is however 3·3 metres only. To facilitate loading and unloading cargo a mud-brick wharf, 240 metres long, was built adjoining the western embankment wall of the dock at the northern end of which stood the quarters for the dock-workers. Judged even by modern standards it can be said that the Lothal dock was most scientifically designed for desilting the basin and ensuring floatation of ships. An inlet, 12 metres wide, was built in the northern embankment wall to enable large ships (of 20 to 25 metres length) to enter the basin at high tide and to have easy manouverability (Fig. 2). At the opposite end a spill-way with 1·5 metre-thick wall was built at right angles to the southern embankment wall to allow excess water to escape. The easy flow of water at high tide ensured desilting of the basin. In low tide however the spill-way was closed by inserting a wooden shutter in the grooves (Pl. IV) in order to maintain the minimum level of water in the basin and thus facilitate floatation of ships. Apart from the structural evidence unearthed here, remains of logs of wood used as door-rests in the spill-way have also been found in the course of the excavation. Other interesting finds from the dock consist of three distinct types of perforated stone anchors (Pl. V). Postholes in the embankment suggest that some boats were secured to wooden posts.

Some significant technical details about the Lothal dock may be noted here. The minimum water-column in the basin was about 2 metres at low tide, the maximum being 3.5 metres at high tide. It is observed that boats of 60 to 75 tons capacity and 20 to 25 metres in length could enter the Lothal dock. The basin could accommodate at least 30 ships at a time. Mr. Lele has observed that the Lothal dockyard compares favourably with the modern dockyards of Bombay and Visakhapatnam which receive ocean-going steamers. Some details are given below:—

Name of the port	*Name of the dock-yard*	*Length*	*Width*	*Depth*	*Remarks*
1. Lothal	—	209.3 m(E) 224 m(W)	34.7 m(S) 36.4 m(N)	4.15 m at high tide; 2 m. at low tide	Minimum depth over silt
2. Bombay	(a) Mere Weather	152.4 m	19.96 m	6.71 m	—do—
	(b) Hughes (divisible in 2 compartments of varying length)	304.8 m	30.48 m	10.06 m	—do—
3. Visakhapatnam	—	111.46 m	18.29 m	4.27 m	Below L.W.

The Lothal dock was in excellent condition for nearly 350 years (2350–2000 B.C.). After a major damage was caused to the structure by a great flood in 2000 B.C. it was repaired quickly and berthing facilities were restored soon, but this was possible only after a great struggle. As a sequel to the flood the river silted up its mouth and took a sudden swing to the east of the town thus cutting off access to the ships from the Gulf of Cambay to the dock. The inhabitants were therefore forced to dig a new channel, 2 metre-deep and 2 km. long, to connect the dock with the sea through the river.They also provided a new inlet-gap, 6.5 metres wide, in the eastern embankment-wall (Pl. VI) for entry of ships, but this measure reduced manouverability and also kept away the larger boats owing to the shallowness of the new channel. The ocean-going ships had to be moored in the estuary about 2 kms. away from Lothal, the hauling of cargo being done by smaller boats. The flood not only damaged the dock, but also scared away some of the inhabitants of the city. After 2000 B.C. there was a marked decline in the material prosperity and urban discipline of the citizens. Trade too suffered a great setback. But the worse was yet to come. Another flood, nay a deluge, in 1900 B.C. swept out of existence Lothal and several other Harappan settlements in Kathiawar, and the Indus Valley. Even Harappa and Mohenjo-daro seem to have suffered the same fate. At Lothal the dock was completely buried under a thick mantle of flood-debris. The panic-stricken citizens ran for safety to the villages in the interior. This natural calamity brought to an end a period of great prosperity of the Lothal port. With the decline in trade smaller and fewer ships called at Lothal after 1900 B.C. The town shrank in size and finally ceased to exist after 1600 B.C. but Lothal has continued to be the seat of the Sea Goddesses. Until 1957 the warehouse mound was considered to be sacred for the goddess, Vāṇuvatī Sikotarīmātā, and the devotees, mostly sailors, offered worship here.

(ii) *Post-Harappa Period:* After the fall of Lothal in 1900 B.C. its place as a major port on the west coast was taken by Prabhāsa (Somnāth), a place considered holy right from the Mahābhārata times to the present day. When the Late Harappans occupied it in 1900 B.C. it was developed into an estuarine port to serve as a trade-emporium as well as refuelling station. Dwārakā, the identification of which is still in dispute, was another important port of the Mahābhārata period on the Kathiawar coast.

The Lothal dock could not have been a solitary instance of building artificial basins for berthing ships. There must have been at least a few more on the Gujarat-Makran and Kokan-Malabar coast wherefrom the Harappans received gemstones, timber, gold, steatite, etc. More than a dozen Harappan (2450–1900 B.C.) and post-Harappan (1900–1500 B.C.) ports have been discovered during the last thirteen years. Recently Sutkagen-dor and and Sotka-Koh on the Pakistan Makran coast have been identified as Harappan ports. Further south Todio and Navinal served as fuelling stations on the Kutch coast, while Lakhabawal, Kindarkhera, Somnath, Kanjetar and Hathab on the Kathiawar coast and Mehgam, and Bhagatrav in the Narmada and Kim estuaries served as entrepots. To this list must be added Lakhapar, Pabhu Math and Surkotda situated on the northern border of Kutch, as they indicate the ancient coastline when the Rann was an open sea.

The end of the Indus Empire caused great turmoil in the subcontinent. The Harappans who lived in the upper Indus basin sought shelter in the Ghaggar (Sarasvatī) and Chautang (Dṛiṣadvatī) valleys and still later in the Gangā-Yamunā doab. Those who lived in the lower reaches of the Indus came in several waves to settle down at the estuarine ports in Kutch, Kathiawar and south Gujarat. Thus came into existence a large number of small Late Harappan ports at the river mouths in the southern peninsulas. Amra, Lakhabawal, Prabhāsa (Somnāth), and Mehgam are some of Late Harappan ports excavated in recent years but all of them lack the grandeur of Lothal as a major port-town. For almost seven to eight centuries after the fall of the mature Harappan ports like Lothal, Bhagatrav, Sutkagen-dor and Sotka-koh, we find that India had lost its position as a major partner in overseas trade with the western countries. Until we come to the Mauryan period we have very little archaeological evidence to bridge the gap in the history of overseas trade between the end of the Indus cities and the rise of the Mauryan Empire. Some indirect reference to maritime activities is available in the epics and the *Purāṇas*. Our main source of information for the post-Harappan period is the *Mahābhārata* which recounts the exploits of its heroes in the distant past. Let us see to what extent we can rely on the information supplied by the *Mahābhārata*, the *Harivaṃśa* and other texts. According to *Harivaṃśa* the sage Sāndīpinī, and his disciples including Kṛṣṇa, the hero of the *Mahābhārata*, are said to have gone in six boats from Bhṛgutīrtha, modern Broach, situated at the mouth of the Narmadā river, to Prabhāsa (near Veraval) on the Kathiawar coast by sea. We know from the archaeological excavations at Prabhās that it was a Late Harappan port in 1900 B.C. and was in continuous occupation upto 300 A.D. According to K.M. Munshi, Prabhāsa was the abode of the early Aryans as well as the non-Aryans.

According to *Harivaṃśa* again, Punardatta, son of Muni Sandīpinī was kidnapped and taken away by Puṇyajana Rakṣasas who used to come to Prabhāsa for trade. These Rākṣasas condemned by Aryans as barbarians and nicknamed as demons captured Kuśasthalī, which is identified with modern Dwaraka by some scholars. The Pañchajana ship in which Kṛṣṇa and his friend Uddhava entered stealthily at night sailed from Prabhasa. It was bound for Vaivasvatapurī which appears to be an Egyptian port where, according to legends, the Divine Mother ruled. Punardatta had been sold away by Puṇyajana Rākṣasas for a high price and was married to the princess of Vaivasvatapurī. The names of the persons working on the ship, namely, Bhikku, Kukkura, Radda, Hukku and Hullu bear close resemblance to those mentioned in the Sumerian texts relating to Dilmun trade. The *Harivaṃśa* says that Vaivasvatapurī, or the city of the Sun, was situated in Nāgaloka near Pātāla and was ruled by Nāgakanyās or snake-maidens. As the story goes, Kṛṣṇa rescued Punardatta after a fierce battle with the king of Vaivasvatapurī. According to Lenormant the Theban bas reliefs depict loading of Pharaoh's ships with booty after the conquest of Punt. The booty included among other things, animals, ivory and precious stones for which India was famous. Some scholars have suggested that Punt was the Nāgaloka of Mahābhārata times.

The archaeological evidence from Lothal shows that the Saurashtran ports had trade contacts with Egypt too in the early part of the second millennium B.C. The Puṇyajana Rākṣasas might have belonged to Dilmun, where the Harappan merchants had established their colonies. Prof. Kramer identifies Dilmun with the Indus cities, while Prof. Bibby is inclined to identify it with Bahrain island. Whatever be the identification of Dilmun, one thing is certain : by 1700 B.C. Dilmun merchants had the monopoly of trade with India, and Kuśasthalī (Dwārakā) situated at the tip of the Kathiawar peninsula seems to have come under their sway. Prabhāsa, Dwārakā and Sabarakaccha are three great ports mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. About the high antiquity of Prabhāsa and its identification with Somnāth (near Veraval) there is no dispute. As regards the identification of Dwārakā of Mahābhārata fame with modern Dwarka convincing archaeological evidence is yet to be found. The excavations have yielded evidence of occupation from 200 B.C. onwards, but no finds of earlier date could be recovered here. It is said that the city of the Mahābhārata period was swallowed by the sea. To prove or disprove the traditional belief we will have to resort to underwater exploration near Dwārakā. There is another claimant for the honour of being identified as Kṛṣṇa's Dwārakā. It is situated near Kodinar and is known as Mūla Dwārakā (original Dwārakā). Its claim to high antiquity can be justified on the ground that a Late Harappan settlement has been discovered very near Kodinar, at the village of Kanjetar, which must have been an estuarine port in the protohistoric period. Next comes the question of the identification of Sabarakaccha. The very name suggests that it was situated in the Sabarmati estuary, and apparently there cannot be a better claimant than Lothal for this honour. But it must be noted that Lothal had ceased to be a port of any consequence by 1200 B.C., the generally proposed date of the Mahābhārata war. It is, however, true that Sabarakaccha too does not loom large as a port in the Mahābhārata period. Another port often associated with Kṛṣṇa and his friend Sudāmā is Kindarkhera traditionally known as Sudāmāpurī. It is situated on the southwest coast of Saurashtra. The earliest occupation of Kindarkhera goes back to the 1900–1800 B.C. period.

Bhṛgutīrtha or Bhṛgu-Kaccha, an important port mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* is identified with modern Broach. It was no doubt a great trade emporium and was known to the Greeks as Barygaza, but the excavations conducted by K.V. Soundara Rajan do not establish its claim for high antiquity. Perhaps the port of the Mahābhārata period lies elsewhere buried under a thick layer of silt. Mehgam, situated very near the sea, has a better claim for being identified as Bhṛgukaccha since archaeological remains datable to 1900–1600 B.C. have been found at the ancient site. It is not unlikely that Bhṛgutīrtha was originally situated at Mehgām, and was destroyed by one of the later floods in the Narmadā forcing the inhabitants to build a new township near modern Broach, which continued to be called as Bhṛgukaccha. The first occupation of Broach cannot be dated earlier than 600 B.C. according to the ceramic evidence from the excavations. It would be worthwhile excavating both Mehgam and Broach on a larger scale than has been possible so far to find out traces of a dock-yard, if any.

Further south of Broach is a port presently known as Bhagatrav. It was established by the Harappan merchants in *circa* 2000 B.C. to collect gemstones quarried in the agate-bearing hills of Rājpipla. It continued to be an important outlet for the mineral and forest products of the Narmada-Tapti valleys until its functions were taken over by Mehgam in the north. Telod is another Late Harappan port situated in the Narmada estuary.

We are not certain whether Suppara, the modern Sopārā and Colliena (Kaliena) or Kalyān both situated near Bombay served as ports in the Late Harappa period (1900–1600 B.C.) or as for that matter, any time before the 6th cent. B.C. Gomantakapura or Gomantapura or modern Goa has been referred to in the *Mahābhārata*. A rapid survey of Goa area undertaken by the author in October-November, 1968 yielded ceramic wares of the Sātavāhana period at Chandour, the ancient Candrapura. According to *Harivaṃśa* Kṛṣṇa is credited with the discovery of the technique of smelting iron during his stay at Gomantakapura, but the tribal chiefs with whom he stayed produced weapons made of copper only. Archaeological explorations in Belgaum district have indicated that a chalcolithic culture with possible Harappan (of a very late date) affinities datable to 1500 B.C. flourished in this region. The copper-using folk seem to have been succeeded by the early iron-users of the Megalithic culture who built a unique type of graves known as 'passage graves' for burying the dead. All these evidences go to suggest that Goa had a longer history than is indicated by the evidence so far collected. Goa must have been an important outlet for the mineral products of the Deccan plateau and the forest products of the Western Ghats.

The Bible itself mentions trade with Ophir or Sophir, i.e., Sovīrā. Book I, Kings, says that ships of Solomon (1015 B.C.) brought from Ophir gold, precious stones, etc. The book of Ezekiel is said to refer to Indian products brought to Tyre. Ivory, ebony and precious stones were exported from Gujarat ports in those days too. Furthermore, in the Hebrew text of the Book of Kings and Chronicles of the *Old Testament* the words used for peacock and fragrant wood are *tuki* and *ahalotu* respectively. They are of Tamil origin suggesting trade between south India and Jerusalem through Ophir in 1000 B.C. Caldwell and T. Foulkes are of the opinion that spices carried into Egypt by the Midiantist merchants of *Genesis* (XXVII.25.28) and by the sons of the patriarch Jacob (Gen. XIII.II) had their starting place in the sea ports of the Deccan.

(iii) *Pre-Buddhist Period:* As we step into the first millennium B.C. we come across more and more literary references to the maritime expeditions and sea-borne trade undertaken by merchant princes and Captains of ships. The earliest of the Buddhist texts which refers to the sea-voyages undertaken in the pre-Buddhist period is the *Bāveru Jātaka*. Although this Jātaka (story relating to the earlier births of the Buddha) is assigned to the 4th century B.C. the folk tales on which it is based have a much earlier origin, some of them going back to the 7th century B.C. The overseas trade with the western countries notably with Egypt, Punt, southeast Arabia and Bahrain emanated at first from Sovīrā (Sophir) and later on from Sopparaka and Bhrukaccha. In the days of King Solomon Indian exports to Babylon included almug trees, gold and peacock. However, at the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to give any comprehensive list of the items of export.

3. Early Historical Period

A. Mauryan Period

For an account of the overseas trade between India and other countries we have to rely mostly on the Jātaka stories. The facts mentioned therein are often corroborated by the writings of the Greek writers The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya also furnishes valuable information on the administration of the navy and ports. Very recently the archaeological excavations at Kāveripaṭṭinam and Dharaṇīkoṭā on the east coast have added to our knowlege of the port-installations in the early Buddhist period. A brief mention of the maritime activities of the Indians as noted in the various texts is made below. A Buddhist text known as *Siṁhalāvadāna* mentions that Prince Vijaya and his seven hundred followers banished by Siṁhabāhu, king of Bengal set sail from the mouth of the Ganga and came to Ceylon on the day of the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha. This great event became a fit theme for some of the paintings at Ajanta. According to *Mahāvaṁsa* Prince Vijaya took for his wife a Pāṇḍyan Princess who travelled along with several officers of State and servants in a large ship which must have set sail from Kaveripoompatinam. Apparently, large ships carrying hundreds of men must have been in use as early as the sixth-fifth centuries B.C. Another important text referring to commerce by sea is the *Bāveru Jātaka*. Bāveru is said to refer to Babylon, but some scholars think that Bāveru should be identified with Bahrain. Be that as it may, archaeology has now supplied sufficient evidence to prove that India traded with Babylon as well as the Bahrain islands from 2000 B.C. onwards perhaps upto the 5th cent. B.C. Some of the *Jātakas* mention that merchants from Vārāṇasī and Rājagṛha sailed down the Gangā and then went westwards to reach the ports on the seaboard of Sobīra (Sophir) in the Gulf of Kutch and others to Bharukaccha. From Sobīra and Bharukaccha goods used to be sent to Bāveru. The merchants going eastwards used to sail from Banaras or lower down at Champā. After moving down the Gangā, the ships would go to Siṃhaladvīpa (Ceylon) or to Suvarṇabhūmi (*Chryse Chresonesus*) which probably included Burma and other countries to the east of India.

Mauryan kings not only encouraged sea-trade but also streamlined the administration of the navy. The *Arthaśāstra* vividly describes the duties of the head of the naval department and of the port-officers. The administrative aspect shall be dealt with later. Important port-installations belonging to this period have been found recently at Kāveripaṭṭinam on the east coast, and Udyāvara on the west coast. There must have been many more such ones on the seaboard of India during the Mauryan period as is evident from the literary references, but they are yet to be uncovered by the spade of the archaeologist. Herodotus (450 B.C.) and other Greek writers have also referred to a number of Indian products reaching the markets of Greece.

B. Āndhra-Sātavāhana period

(i) *Sources:* Overseas trade encouraged by the Mauryan Emperors received further impetus under the Āndhra-Sātavāhana kings and the rulers of the Chola-Pāṇḍyan kingdoms. Before the days of King Augustus India traded chiefly with Egypt since the Egyptian Greeks were the principal carriers of Indian goods via Ophir and Punt. Yemen played an important role as an intermediary. This led Aśoka to establish contacts with Ptolemy Philadelphus, the founder of Alexandria. The Yavanas referred to in the Buddhist *Jātakas* and Aśokan inscriptions are none other than the Ionian Greeks. Later on, however, all foreigners including Graeco-Romans came to be known as Yavanas. In the days of Agatharcides of Alexandria (177 B.C.) Sabia (Yemen) was considered to be the centre of commerce between Asia and Europe.

Its importance increased tremendously because of the monopoly of trade with India. A number of indigenous sources especially the *Jātakas* such as the *Śaṅkha*, *Valahassa*, *Mahā-Ummagga*, *Supparaka*, *Mahājanaka*, *Samuddha Vaṇiya*, *Silanisamsa*, *Sussondi*, etc., furnish valuable information regarding sea-voyages, construction of ships and the dangers to which navigators and passengers were subjected. But the evidence is mostly indirect. For direct evidence we have to depend upon foreign writers notably Strabo, Arrian, Pliny, Ptolemy and the author of the *Periplus*. While the last-mentioned writer was himself a navigator and produced a guide book for navigators, others depended for their information mostly on the Indian and Greek merchants who came to Alexandria. Ptolemy has recorded much useful data about Indian sea-ports, inland routes and trading stations, but he did not have a correct idea of the geography of the country. Besides literary references we have also numismatic evidence, both Indian and foreign, which confirm that trade between India and the Roman Empire had increased tremendously during the 1st–4th cent. A.D. The most important source of information concerning the seaports of India is the author of the *Periplus* who hailed from Alexandria. He navigated the Red-Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Makran and Coromandel coast. The *Periplus* mentions that ships from India went as far as Socotoro near the African coast and to Arabia and the Persian Gulf ports. In this connection the name *Sikotarīmātā* given to the sea Goddess in Gujarat may have a reference to the African island. There are temples dedicated to Sikotarīmātā at Kūḍa near Gogha on the Kathiawar coast, at Mithli near Cambay, and at Hajira near Surat. Hathab, the ancient *Hastabra* situated near Gogha was a port in the Late Harappan and Roman periods.

(ii) *West coast ports :* According to the *Periplus* the great Rann of Kutch was an open sea and ships could go round the island, but the unwary sailors would get into trouble in the shallow water. Ptolemy's *Geography* mentions Monoglosson (Mongrol on the west Kathiawar coast) and Syrastra (Surat?) on the south Gujarat coast. Besides these two, as said above Hathab near Gogha, identified as ancient Hastabra, was an important port on the Kathiawar coast. This ancient port is used even now by large country crafts bringing timber from Konkan-Malabar coast (Pl. IX). The *Periplus* refers to Suppara (Sopāra) and Colliena or Kalliena (Kalyāṇa), both situated near Bombay, Semylla or Somulla (Cheul), Mandagor (Mandad) and Palaepatmae (Pal near Mahad south of Bombay). Among the ports on the west coast mentioned in the *Periplus*, Tyndis, Muziris (Cranganore) and Nelkynda (Nileshwar) are important, but the last mentioned site appears to have been an inland trading centre near the Malabar coast. On the east coast Camara (Khaberis of Kaveripattinam) south of Madras, Maisalia (Mosulipatnam or Macchalīpaṭṭinam) and Kainapara (Konarak) find mention by Ptolemy. To the above list must be added a few more discoveries as a result of the exploration of the west coast between Goa and Udipi (Mangalore district, Mysore State) undertaken by the author in 1968 with a view to ascertain if the ancient ports mentioned by the Greek writers could be identified on the basis of archaeological evidence. Goa received our first attention. The ancient site in Goa Velha where the Pilar Ceremony stands marks the ancient capital of the later Kadambas (of Goa) and is datable on the basis of sculptures and pottery to the 11th cent. A.D. The Portuguese are said to have first landed here, attacked the capital and destroyed the temples etc. A few sculptures recovered during the excavation are housed in a museum in the Seminary.

Next our attention was drawn to Chandour in Salsete situated at a distance of 18 kms. from Madgaon. It was known as Chandrapura and finds mention in the Shiroda copperplate grant of King Bhoja which is dated 4th cent. A.D. Remnants of a brick temple, a citadel with a mud fortification wall and several other structures were laid bare by late Henry Heras during the excavations conducted by him in the early thirties. But the present exploration has brought to light pottery assignable to the Sātavāhana period. Thus it is evident that Chandour was an important town in the beginning of the Christian era. Goa is often identified with Gomantapura mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, but the exact location of the city of the epic period is yet to be ascertained.

To the south of Goa lies the ancient port of Tadari near Gokarṇa which must have been an important port-town trading in spices and timber. Exploration at the foot of the rock-shelters around Gokarṇa especially at Rāmatīrtha yielded a few sherds of gritty red and grey wares. Further south Honavar yielded a fragmentary polished stone axe, both suggesting contact with the Neolithic folk. Honavar is situated at the mouth of the Sharavati river and serves as an important outlet for the forest and mineral products of the west coast. In view of the recent discovery of a neolithic stttlement by A. Sundara at Shimoga in Mysore state where the river Sharavati takes it rise, it can be safely assumed that the Neolithic folk moved down the escarpment of the Western Ghats to the small rock-shelters around Gokarṇa perhaps bringing with them gold which they mined in the Shimoga-Dharwar region for export purposes. The Sharavati river is navigable from Honavar upto Gersoppa which was a flourishing commercial centre known for its spices and timber. Situated as it is at the foot of the thickly-forested hills it must have served as an important emporium of trade during the 10th-15th century period, if not earlier. Traces of a large township with neatly laid-out streets and remnants of large temples built by the wealthy Jain merchants are still visible here. Further interior is Banavāsī the great capital of the Kadambas. Known as Vaijayantī, it was one of the wealthiest cities of India in the time of Aśoka, when several Buddhist stūpas and Vihāras came to be built here. A thorough exploration and systematic excavation may bring to light a proto-historic settlement also. A preliminary survey by the writer has yielded ceramic wares datable to the 3rd cent. B.C. confirming the literary reference to Banavāsī as a flourishing city in the time of Aśoka. A Sātavāhana lead coin found here clearly proves that the Sātavāhanas too had trade contacts with it.

The most important port discovered during the present survey of the west coast is the one at Udyāvara mentioned as *Odāra* in the *Oxhyrinchus papyrus*. It is a small village 6 kms. south of Udipi, wherefrom the great saint Madhvācārya hailed. Even now country crafts from Gujarat ports call at Udyāvara for buying timber. The mound known as Baleragudda marks the citadel of this ancient port-city. The lower mound extending over more than 20 acres has yielded large quantities of black-and-red and black polished ware, both assignable to the 3rd cent. B.C., but the occurrence of a chert blade suggests a much earlier date than the black-and-red ware does. However, the citadel with its mud rampart pierced by gateways may not be earlier than the 3rd–4th cent. A.D., but it is interesting to find that Udyāvara was a well planned town in the early centuries of the Christian Era. The local gentry have collected from the mound small circular foils of gold which might have served as coins in ancient times. When fully examined they may throw valuable light on the commercial ties of Udyāvara with Rome.

We now pass on to the Malabar coast. The author of the *Periplus* and other Greek writers mention Muziris, which is identified with Cranganore on the Malabar coast. The site excavated has yielded ceramic and numismatic evidences thus confirming its occupation in the 1st-2nd cent. A.D., but a systematic excavation, than has been hitherto possible, may throw more light on its history in the pre-Christian era. Nelkynda (Nelcynda) identified with Nileshwar is another port known to the Roman traders for spices and timber.

(ii) *East coast ports* : So far as the east coast is concerned we have reliable literary evidence. The early Tamil works of the 1st century A.D. such as the *Paddinappālai* and *Chilappathikāram* have described at length the port establishments and the markets of Poompohar. i.e., Kāveri-poompattinam, the chief port of the Chola Kingdom on the east coast. Two other ports which are significant from the point of view of commerce during the first few centuries of the Christian era are Arikamedu near Pondicherry now identified as Poduke or Poduca and Kainapara or Konarak in Orissa. While referring to the expansion of overseas trade in India we will have occasion to mention the part played by the kings of Kalinga (Orissa). South of Madras but slightly north of Kāraikal is an ancient port known as Nāgapattinam where a brick-built wharf existed in the 5th cent. A.D. In the course of the pile-driving operations near the present harbour some brick structures had come to notice but no systematic excavation was carried out subsequently. The famous Buddhist bronzes found at Nāgapattinam are also assignable to the 5th cent. A.D. Thus it is evident that at least during the early Chola period Nāgapattinam was a fairly busy port.

The most important port of the early Cholas is Kāveripattinam, also known as Puhar in Tamil literature and mentioned as Kaberi by the author of the *Periplus*. This ancient port-city has been destroyed beyond recognition partly by agricultural operations and partly due to encroachment by sea. The Tamil works *Maṇimekhalai* and *Paddinappali* assignable to 2nd–5th cent. A.D. refer to the destruction of the city as a result of the curse of Kannagi, the celebrated heroine of the epic *Maṇimekhalai*. The site was surveyed carefully by the author and trial pits were sunk in selected areas during the years 1963 and 1964. As a result of these operations a large water-reservoir of the early historical period, a Buddhist vihāra (monastery) assignable to the 4th–5th century A.D. and a brick-built jetty detable to 300 B.C. have come to light. At the zenith of its prosperity this port-city extended over an area of 9 square kms. and could boast of a number of wharfs and warehouses built to handle cargo brought from distant lands. The Tamil works refer to the colony of Roman merchants established at Kāveripattinam. The low-lying area in a locality known as Kilaiyur which indicated a silted-up channel or creek flanked by sand dunes was excavated. The brick structures laid bare here conform to the description of wharfs mentioned in the *Paddinappālai*, which says that several brick-platforms were built near the harbour for haulage of cargo. Fortunately, one such platform (Pl. VII) measuring 18.28 x 7.62 metres with a centrally-built channel for excess water to escape at high tide has been laid bare. The channel and brick platform must have been covered with wooden planks supported by thick wooden posts embedded along the inner edges of the channel. As many as eight postholes and stumps of wooden posts (Pl. VIII) noticed along the channel throw some light on the nature of platforms built for loading and unloading cargo. The date assigned to the wooden posts by Carbon-14 method is 300 B.C. Obviously Kāveripattinam must have been a flourishing port centuries before the author of the *Periplus* visited the port. According to the *Paddinappalai* the Kaveri was a broad and deep stream into which large ships, laden with cargo used to enter from the sea without slackening of the sails. The town (Puhar) 'Kāvirī-paddinam', as was then known stood on the northern bank of the river, a fact confirmed by archaeological excavations. It was divided into two parts. One of them, known as Maruvar-Pakkam was the harbour area where cargo used to be stored in warehouses and on brick platforms. One of the platforms laid bare in the excavations answers to the description given in Tamil works. The discovery of square copper coins bearing a tiger motif on one side reminds us of the fact that goods landing at Kāveripattinam used to be stamped with seals bearing the royal emblem of the Chola Kings, namely the tiger.

Arikamedu or Podovake Emporium of Greek writers was one of the treaty ports where permanent lodges of Roman traders were settled under formal agreements with the rulers. It is now a small village near Pondicherry situated on the bank of the river Ariyankuppam which is landlocked and forms a lagoon. The ancient site was first excavated by French archaeologists in 1941. Two notable features of the 1945 excavation by Wheeler are the discovery on Indian soil of Roman pottery definitely datable to the second quarter of the first century A.D. and the identification of the warehouse and dye-vats at Pondicherry. The 'warehouse', 135 metres long and 8 metres wide, laid bare in the northern sector of the port is oblong in plan and opens into the river (Pl. 12). The side chamber appears to be a later addition and the partition wall itself may be earlier in date than the construction of the warehouse since it underlies the floor level of the latter structure. In view of the fact that the basin formed by the brick walls opens into the river (Pl. 12) the structure could have served as a dock too. As the excavator has designated it as warehouse, we may take it as such, since warehouses were common in those days. It is interesting to note that the main walls of the warehouse were built on rough foundations of bricks sunk on rubble soling. The occurrence of abundant pottery and cut-timber below the sea level may indicate remains of ships and their cargo. Pondicherry, like many other Indian ports, imported Roman wine in amphorase some of which have been found in the excavation. Roman glass and stamped pottery emanating from some well-known ceramic centres in Italy are among other finds from Pondicherry. In the southern sector of the town industrial establishments were noticed, the chief among them being brick-built tanks used as cisterns or vats for dyeing muslin which was an important item of export from southern India. There were regular drains to permit constant flow of water into and out of the vats. In brief it can be said that archaeology has confirmed literary evidence and established that Poduca of *Periplus* was a busy emporium of trade on the east coast of India.

Further north of Kaveripattinam two important ports have been mentioned by Ptolemy namely Masalia (Masulipatam) and Kainapara (Konarak) but we have little archaeological evidence to further our knowledge of the port-establishments at these places. On the other hand, the existence of a river-port in the early centuries of the Christian era has been brought to light by late Venkataramiah and Shri Raghavachari at the Buddhist site known as Dhānyakaṭaka or Dharaṇīkoṭā near Amarāvatī in the Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh. An embankment-cum-wharf abutting a navigational channel was built here in phase I of the occupation. In phase II a huge wharf was raised upon wooden posts which are indicated by rows of postholes encountered in the excavation. In phase III a brick wharf was built along the inner side of the channel and the embankment wall was also raised in height. During this phase the navigational channel was repaired and the embankment walls were reinforced in subsequent phases. The excavation at Dharaṇīkoṭā has yielded Rouletted Ware and Sātavāhana coins. The first phase of occupation when the channel was cut is dated to 200 B.C. by the excavator and the wharf built in phase II is said to be slightly later in date. The evidence from Dharaṇīkoṭā proves beyond doubt that even at minor river-ports wharfs of timber and brick were built to facilitate haulage of goods as early as the 2nd cent. B.C. We have seen earlier at Lothal that the practice of constructing wharfs and dockyards goes back to 2350 B.C. It follows, therefore, that at almost all the sea-ports mentioned by the author of the *Periplus* and by Ptolemy some kind of a dockyard for anchoring ships and wharfs for haulage of goods must have existed.

Tāmlūk or Tāmralipti referred to as Tāmalipta in the Buddhist *Jātakas* was a great emporium in the first few centuries of the Christian era. It was an estuarine port, and the literary reference to its overseas trade with the Roman world has been confirmed by the archaeological finds from the excavations conducted by M.N. Deshpande in 1954–55. Cast copper coins and terracotta figures characteristic of Śuṅga art found in the early levels help to assign Period II to the third century B.C. Still earlier, however, the Neolithic folk had occupied the site. It is in Period III that pottery and other objects of foreign origin attributable to overseas trade have been found. Rouletted Ware was one of the ceramic wares which had their origin in the Roman world. Among the significant structural remains of the 2nd–3rd cent. A.D. laid bare at Tāmlūk mention may be made of a brick-built tank which indicates days of prosperity.

C. Gupta Period and later

The Gupta Emperors also encouraged inland and overseas trade, but unfortunately we have no direct literary or inscriptional evidence from India to gain an idea of the size of ships, the nature of merchant-guilds engaged in sea trade, the commodities traded in and the countries where Indian merchants had established their colonies. For this information we have to depend on foreign sources mostly. In the 5th century A.D. Hamza of Isahan writes (Yule: *Cathay and the Way Thither* I, xxviii) that Indian ships used to be moored at Hīra near Kufa on the Euphrates river, the major role in sea trade being played by the merchants from Sind and Gujarat. Mention has already been made of the fact that it is the seafaring merchants of Gujarat who colonized Java. Cosmas mentions in his *Christian Topography*, (I, c. xxviii) that in the first quarter of the 6th century A.D. Debal (Sind) and Orhat (Sorata, i.e., Veraval) took active part in trading with Ceylon. The pressure of the White Hūṇas drove the Jats to Bahrain island from Sind and Kutch. Thus the Persian Gulf island came to be colonized once again by the Indians. Hiuen Tsang (630 A.D.) who visited Valabhīpura, a renowned Buddhist centre in Saurashtra, observes that the people of the peninsula were a great commercial people and earned their livelihood by engaging themselves in sea trade. According to Beal (*The Buddhist Records* II, p. 269) the Hindu merchants had settled down in the major towns of Persia and carried on trade in the beginning of the 7th century A.D. without fear of being persecuted. However, the frequent attacks of the Mohammadans against Gujarat and Sind in the 7th-8th centuries forced some of the merchants from Gujarat to migrate to Java and Cambodia, where they established large colonies. Hindu kingdoms came to be established here. Throughout history except in recent years Cambodia and Java imported the costly silk sarees from south India and Gujarat. The famous Pāṭana Paṭolas (sarees) produced (in tie-and-die method) by the silk-weavers of Gujarat who are referred to in the Mandasor stone inscription of the Gupta King were exported to Cambodia as late as 1935 A.D. The silk itself came from Mysore wherefrom some of the silk-weavers had migrated to Gujarat. The Gurjjars of the Chāvḍa (Chāpotkaṭa) class who rose to power in Aṇahilvādā Pāṭana put down the piracy of the Jats along the Kathiawar coast in the 8th cent. A.D. Let us see how maritime trade developed in south India during the Chola rule.

After the decline of trade with Rome the Chālukyan and Chola Kings encouraged sea trade with the eastern countries especially Burma (Savarṇabhūmi), Sumatra, Java, Borneo and the island of Bali. I-Tsing, the Chinese traveller who visited India in 673 A.D., says that at all the busy ports of the east coast from Burma to China and those in Malayan arhipelago, the colonies of Indian merchants could be seen. Sanskrit learning and Hindu including Buddhist religious practices flourished in Java and at Mahasin in Borneo. The islands of Bali and Bhogapara had been Indianized.

The ports of Burma, Java and China served not only as fuelling stations but also as centres of trade and learning. Buddhist monks from China came to India by sea, the chief among them being Tao-lin who visited Tāmlūk (Tamralipti) in Bengal. He came by way of Java and Nicobar islands. Among the Indian Buddhist monks who went to China mention may be made of Vajrabodhi who became the founder of esoteric Buddhism in China. Bodhidharma of south India went to Japan and met Prince Shotoku (573–621 A.D.). Bodhisena who had gone to China to see Mañjuśrī visited Japan in 736 A.D. These exchanges of Buddhist evangelists between China and Japan on the one hand and India on the other was possible because of establishment of Indian trading stations on the sea coast of Burma, Malaya, China and Japan and the Hindu kingdoms in Java, Bali, etc. We need not go into the details of the remarkable outburst of naval activity under the Vijayanagara and Maratha powers on the west coast and of the later Chola Kings on the east coast as it falls outside the scope of this paper.

4. Ship-Building in Ancient India

A. Material

Wood is an important requirement for boat-building and a few good varieties of it are available in India. Teak was used for this purpose at Lothal in 2200 B.C. as can be judged from the charred wood specimens found in the dockyard. According to Ramesh Rao and others teak grew in abundance in the Panchmahals district of Gujarat in the protohistoric period. It is not known whether acacia and sisoo available in Gujarat were also used for boat-building at Lothal. Perhaps other varieties were imported from the west coast ports of south India. In this connection it may be noted that according to Pāṇini (5th cent. B.C.) *Śiṃśapā (Delbergia sisoo), Āmra (Mangifera indica), Śāmali (Bombax malabaricum)* and *Khadirā (Acacia catechu)* were used for ship-building. Strabo (60 B.C.–19 A.D.) says that Alexander constructed a fleet from pine, cedar and other trees cut from the forests in the territory of King Poros. India appears to have exported timber suitable for shipbuilding to Mesopatamia in the time of King Nebuchadnezzar (604–562 B.C.), for, the teak wood found in his palace is said to have come from India. According to the author of the *Periplus* Barygaza exported teakwood and ebony to the ports of Apologues (Obollah) and Ommana (Oman) on the south Arabian coast. In the early historical period most of the teak needed for building ships at the Indian and Persian Gulf ports must have come from Honāvar, Kārwār, Gokarṇa (Tadarī), Malpe, Udyāvara, Muziris (Cranganore) and Nelcynda (Nīleśwara). Even now the Machwas from Gujarat carry timber from Konkan and Malabar ports to Ratnagiri, Sopāra, Bulsār, Broach, Verāval, Porbandar, Māndvī and Anjār (Kutch) in the country crafts thus covering a distance of nearly 2500 kilometres.

B. Construction of ships

(i) *Hull and Keel*: Some idea of the method of constructing ships can be had from the representation of ships in the paintings at Ajanta and the sculptural representations at Barhut, Sanchi and Borobudur. The hull of the seaworthy vessels consisted of a keel and ribs covered by planks. From the vessels painted at Ajanta, the tennon-and-groove system of joining planks horizontally (edge to edge) becomes apparent (Fig. 3). The shipwrights of ancient India had evolved a unique method of joining the planks of the hull by stitching them together, a technique developed from the inflated floats (skin boats). In the beginning planks of soft wood such as *Śālmali (Bombax malabaricum)* must have been stitched easily with palm fibre and later on this method was transferred to hard wood like teak, devadāru, etc. Holes were bored in the wooden planks with drills. The use of twisted drill was known to the shipwrights of Lothal as early as 2200 B.C. In fact, they were the first to invent and use it for boring holes in hard wood and metal. This unique tool from Lothal is made of bronze. The use of perforated stone anchors and the introduction of the twisted drill at Lothal clearly indicate that it was a ship-building centre. At present a red hot iron rod is used for boring holes in wooden planks and a cord of jute or coir dipped in cashew-nut pitch for serving. The rope-joints were preferred to the use of iron nail for joining planks even in the time of the author of *Yukti-kalpataru*, a work of the 11th cent. A.D., for according to him, iron attracted lodestone and resulted in the sinking of the ship. A more convincing reason is that sewn hulls were more resilient and did not easily break up if they ran on rocks. Although iron was widely used in India by 400 B.C. and the technology had been developed as early as 700 B.C., it was more economical to adopt the sewing technique since the raw material needed was easily available. Another technique of joining planks known to the Indian shipwrights is the fish-joinery, wherein wedge-shaped pieces of wood are inserted in the joints of the planks as can be seen in the sculptural representation of a boat carrying three ascetics on the Eastern Gateway of Stupa No. 1 at Sanchi. The advantage in fish-joinery (Fig. 4) is that wood expands when soaked in water and the planks are held together firmly by reducing the width of the joints. In this technique the use of iron nails is avoided and there is no danger of corrosion from the rusting of the metal. Leakage arising out of improper securing of joints in the hull-planks were stopped by caulking the seams. The *Tilakamañjarí* says that the chief sailor used to caulk even small holes before the ship set sail. Cley, grass, or metallic pieces were used for caulking. The *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* refers to caulking with cloth, clay, etc. According to the Tibetan Version of the *Avadānaśataka* there was a class of crew for stopping leakages. The *Arthaśāstra* also refers to sailors whose duty it was to take out water in case of leakage.

(ii) *Mast*: The number and height of masts depended upon the size of the sea-going vessel. It was erected on the keeled base to carry the sails, ropes, and braces. There is an interesting reference to masts in the *Milindapañha*. At times the mast was so high that a ladder was used for climbing it. The *Śaṅkha Jātaka* mentions that Śaṅkha climbed up the mast and jumped into the sea when the ship was about to be wrecked. In the Borobudur sculpture, a ladder for climbing up the mast is also shown. On top of the mast there was provision for the "look-out man" to sit. The number of masts varied from 1 to 3 and sometimes even more. If the ship had only one mast, it was fixed in the centre, but the two-masted ships represented on Andhra coins have the masts so spaced as to keep the balance of the vessel. Three-masted ships are seen in the Ajanta murals (Fig. 5), while multi-masted ships are noticeable in the Borobudur sculptures (Fig. 6), where the tops of the inclined masts are found to meet in groups.

(iii) *Sail*: We do not know what type of sail was used in the Harappan times. If the sail depicted in the ship engraved on a potsherd from Dhulia, a Late Harappan site, is any indication it must be admitted that the Harappan sails were partly rectangular. Lateen sails do not appear to have been known in the Harappan times and perhaps later too. The occurrence of square and rectangular sails in the Ajanta paintings (5th–6th cent. A.D.) suggests that the voyagas were timed according to the seasonal movements of the wind. It is only in the early medieval period that lateen sails were introduced to beat into the wind.

In the Barhut sculptures and on Andhra coins the steering oars of the ships are depicted. They must have served as rudder in ancient times. The rudder itself is a medieval invention. *Yukti-kalpataru* has repeatedly mentioned this invention.

(iv) *Deck and Cabin* : All sea-going vessels must have had a deck, which acts as a roof to the holds and also prevents water from entering the ship in the event of its rolling in the sea. A poop-deck is noticeable in the three-masted ship painted in the Ajanta caves (Fig. 5). One can see basket-work fencing along the gunwaleserving as an enclosure to the deck on the ship represented at Borobudur.

Cabin was a necessity to provide shelter to the crew against rain and sun. As such even the Harappan ships had cabins as indicated by the seal-engraving and terracotta amulet from Mohenjo-daro (Pls. 10 and 11). In the sculptural representation of a boat on the Sanchi Stūpa and in the Ajanta painting a cabin can be made out. It is also depicted in a boat engraved on the potsherd from Dhulia.

(v) *Types of Boats* : Three types of boats are recognisable in the terracotta models from Lothal. One of them is flat-based as in the case of river rafts, while the other two types have high keels. Both have a high-pointed stem and stern to facilitate turning of the vessel by steering oars. There is, however, no evidence of outriggers. The Lothal model suggests that the ships used to be broad and strong and they were safe even without outriggers (Pl. 13). The prow was often decorated with fanciful animal figures as in the case of the Ajanta and Sanchi boats (Fig.7). The *Rājavalliya* and *Yuktikalpataru* mention various types and sizes of boats. The author of the *Periplus*, Ptolemy and other foreign writers have named a few; but unfortunately no actual remains of boats of the early historical period have been found. It is however evident from the Ajanta paintings (*Mahājanaka* and *Śaṅkha Jātakas*, and the *Siṁhalāvadāna*) that a large number of persons and even elephants could be carried in the multi-oared ships. The Royal navy was well-equipped with such ships in those days.

5. *Trade Winds*

Long before Hippalus discovered the monsoon-winds, Indian sailors possessed a sound knowledge of the periodicity and regularity of the winds in the Indian Ocean without which the Harappan vessels could not have made regular voyages to the East African coast (Socotoro), Egypt, the Bahrain islands and the Persian Gulf as suggested by the exchange of luxury articles and daily necessities. Besides a knowledge of the usefulness of monsoon winds for navigation purposes, the Indian sailors had developed astronomy into a great science and depended on the stars for direction.

6. *Extent and organization of overseas trade*

The Harappans, the Dilmun merchants and later on the Phoenicians were actively engaged in sea-borne trade between Egypt, the Persian Gulf and Sumer on the one hand and India on the other during the third and second millennia B.C. They carried considerable quantities of cargo including timber, cotton, wood, gemstones, precious and base metals, spices and cosmetics, and even birds and animals. How extensive was overseas trade in the protohistoric period can be judged from the fact that ivory rods produced at Lothal reached as far as Ras Shamra on the north Syrian coast at the close of the third millennium B.C. Besides seals the Indus cities have yielded other evidences of contact with Mesopotamia. At Mohenjodaro and Lothal circular beads of gold with axial tubes, similar to those occurring in the Royal Cemetery at Ur have been found. The compartmented stone vases noticed at Mohenjo-daro must have had their origin in the Euphrates-Tigris Valley. The bull-amulet of copper recovered from Lothal is reminiscent of similar amulets in stone and silver from Ur and Susa. It is not necessary here to make a long list of the knicknacks exchanged between the Indus and Mesopotamian cities. But it must be noted that unless sea-borne trade was very well organized exchange of goods on so vast a scale in the protohistoric and early historical periods would not have been possible. It would, therefore, be interesting to know how commerce was organized in the hoary past.

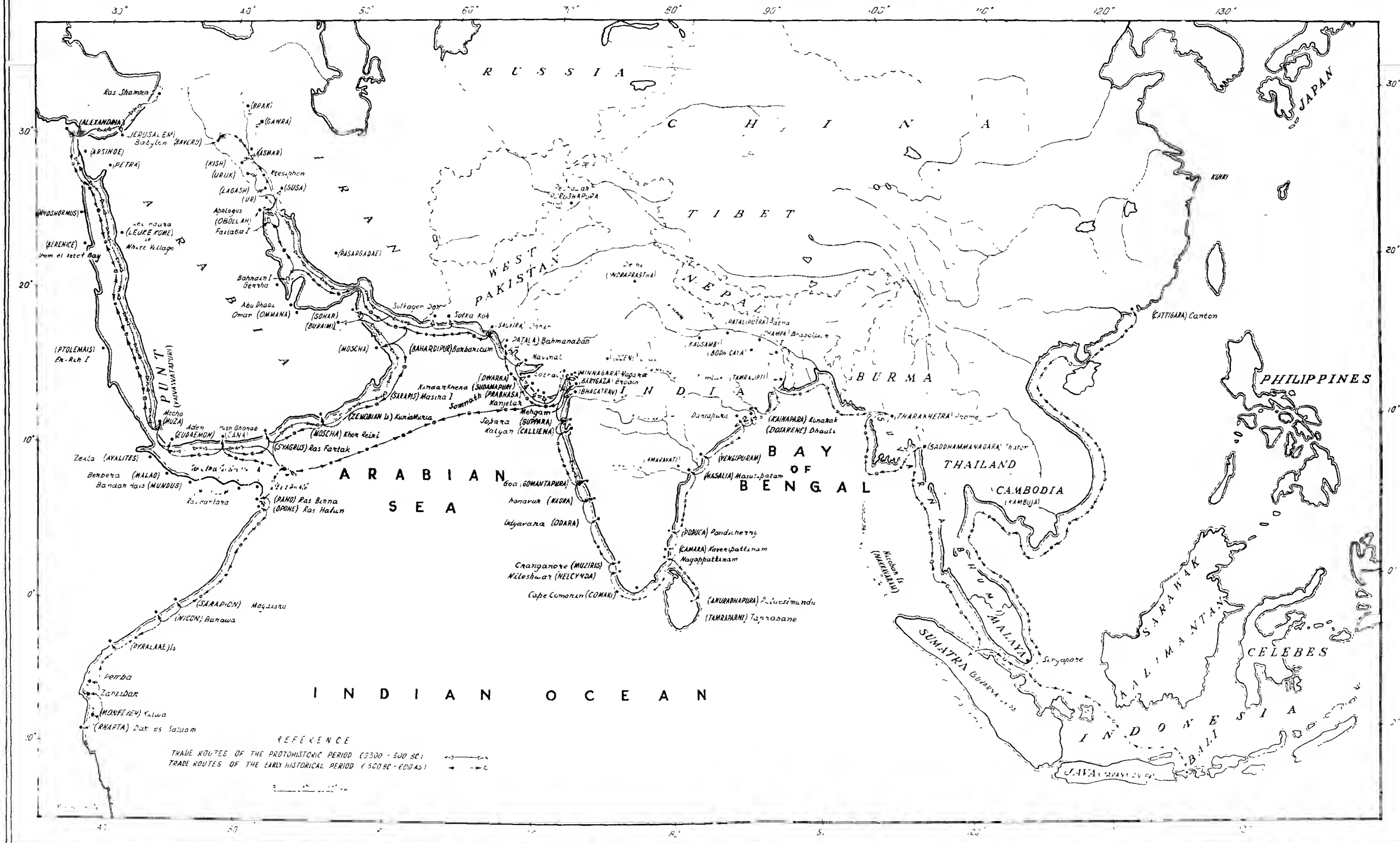
Recent discoveries by American expeditions in the Kirman region of southern Iran have brought to light a large number of circular Persian Gulf seals, stealite compartmented vessels, beads, etc., at Tépé Yahaya. It is possible that the site served as an intermediary station for import-export trade.

The wealthy merchants of Lothal seem to have organized themselves into partnerships, a fact which has been brought to light as a result of the discovery of terracotta sealings bearing impressions of seals of more than one merchant-owner (Pl. 16). It is not unlikely that merchant-guilds were also established in the Indus cities by 2000 B.C. If the analogy of Sumerian trade is extended to Indus trade it must be concluded that the merchants ashore advanced money to the captains of ships for buying goods, but shared no risk involved in sea-voyages. They, however, demanded a share of the profits. Rules of conduct were firmly established in Sumer and, by inference, in the Indus valley and Kathiawar too. A. L. Oppenheim [*Journal of the American Oriental Society* 74, (1954) p. 10] quotes from the clay tablets from Ur to prove that high moral standards were maintained in conducting trade. The reference here is to the letters addressed to a travelling merchant by name. Enasir who imported copper according to the weight-standard of Telmun and also ingots termed *guburam* each weighing upto 4 talents. He complains to Enasir of supplying ingots of sub-standard quality and weight. The author of the tablet says that the merchant promised 'good' *guburam*, but bad ones were shown to his messenger with the added insult of saying 'take it or leave it'. The tablet concludes with a warning from the author to Enasir to 'behave like a gentleman'. This is how the merchant was chided. The trade in copper was very extensive, as can be inferred from the fact that a ship-wreck salvaged off Cape Galedonia near the Turkish coast has yielded ingots of copper similar to those found at Lothal, Susa and Cyprus. The Galedonian ingots are assigned to the second millennium B.C. As we shall presently see this trade in copper passed through Dilmun which T. G. Bibby identifies with the Bahrain islands whereas S. N. Kramer is inclined to identify it with the land of the Indus Civilization. In the latter case Lothal was the most important emporium of Indus sea trade.

Warehouses

The establishment of warehouses at sea ports appears to have played an important role in safeguarding cargo, ensuring the quality of goods and establishing the identity of the consigners and the consignees besides facilitating the collection of customs duties. Lothal could boast of the largest warehouse of the Bronze Age so far known (Pl. 14, Fig. 8). It was built on a 4 metre-high podium of mud-bricks in close proximity to the dockyard and a ramp was provided for transporting goods in vehicles from the wharf to the warehouse. To ensure that the cargo stored on the brick platforms built within the timber structure did not deteriorate, proper air-vents were provided. Intersecting passages for free movement of labour engaged in handling cargo are also seen in the warehouse. The bales were packed in mattings and occasionally in woven cloth of cotton or flax if the contents were very precious. The outgoing packages were then sealed by the port-authorities as well as the consignors to establish the source and geniuneness of the goods exported. Similarly, the incoming goods were examined

OVERSEAS TRADE OF INDIA (2300 B.C.-600 A.D.)


RUSSIA
CHINA
TIBET
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WEST PAKISTAN
INDIA
BURMA
THAILAND
CAMBODIA
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PHILIPPINES
JAPAN
MALAYA
SUMATRA
JAVA
BALI
INDONESIA
SARAWAK
KALIMANTAN
CELEBES
IRAN
ARABIA
PUNT
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
INDIAN OCEAN
Ras Shamra
(ALEXANDRIA)
JERUSALEM
Babylon (BAVERU)
(ARSINOE)
(PETRA)
(BRAK)
(GAWRA)
(ASHAR)
(KISH)
(URUK)
Ktesiphon
(SUSA)
(LAGASH)
(UR)
Apologus
(OBOLLAH)
Failaka I
(MYOSHORMUS)
(LEUKE KOME)
White Village
(BERENICE)
Umm el ketef Bay
(PASARGADAE)
Bahrain I
Gerrha
Abu Dhabi
Omar (OMMANA)
(SOHAR)
(BURAIMI)
Sutkagen Dor
Sotka Koh
(MOSCHA)
(BAHARDIPUR) Barbaricum
(DATALA) Bahmanabad
Navanal
(DWARKA)
Kanaankhena (SHOMAPUR)
(PRABHASA)
Somnath
Kanjetar
(MINNAGARA) Nagara
(BARYGAZA) Broach
(BHAGATRAV)
Lothal
Mehgam
Sopara (SUPPARA)
Kalyan (CALLIENA)
(PTOLEMAIS)
Er-Rih I
Mocha
(MUZA)
Aden
(EUDAEMON)
Hisn Ghorab
(CANA)
(SARAPIS) Masira I
(ZENOBIAN Is) Kuria Muria
(MOSCHA) Khor Reiri
(SYAGRUS) Ras Fartak
Zeila (AVALITES)
Berbera (MALAO)
Bandar Hais (MUNDUS)
Ras Hurtara
(PANO) Ras Binna
(OPONE) Ras Hafun
Goa (GOMANTAPURA)
Honavar (NAURA)
Udyavara (ODARA)
Cranganore (MUZIRIS)
Nileshwar (NELCYNDA)
Cape Comorin (COMARI)
(AMARAVATI)
(VENGIPURAM)
(MASALIA) Masulipatam
(PODUCA) Pondicherry
(KAMARA) Kaveripattinam
Nagapattinam
(ANURADHAPURA)
(TAMRAPARNI) Taprobane
Dantapura
(KALINGANAGARA) Konarak
(DOSARENE) Dhauli
(TAMRALIPTI)
(PATALIPUTRA) Patna
(CHAMPA) Bhagalpur
(KAUSAMBI)
(BODH GAYA)
(INDRAPRASTHA)
(PURUSHAPURA)
(THARAKHETRA) Prome
(SADDHAMMANAGARA) Thaton
Nicobar Is
(NAKKAVARAM)
Singapore
(SUVARNA...)
(JAVADVIPA)
(CATTIGARA) Canton
KUNKI
(SARAPION) Mogadishu
(NICON) Banawa
(PYRALAAE) Is
Pemba
Zanzibar
(MONFIYEH) Kilwa
(RHAPTA) Dar es Salaam
30°
40°
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REFERENCE
TRADE ROUTES OF THE PROTOHISTORIC PERIOD (2300 - 500 BC)
TRADE ROUTES OF THE EARLY HISTORICAL PERIOD (500 BC - 600 AD)

and delivered to the consignees. At Kaveripattinam the goods used to be sealed in token of payment of custom duties before delivering them to the consignee. One of the jar-lids found at Lothal bears impressions of seals carrying a svastika motif similar to the one on the seals from Brak and Susa. Apparently the said jar must have come from Mesopotamia duly sealed.

Another aspect of foreign trade brought to light at Lothal should be mentioned here. Between 2000 and 1900 B.C. after the effective control of the city-ruler over industry and trade was relaxed the wealthy merchants or merchant-guilds appear to have taken control of factories and managed them almost on the lines of modern factories. They employed craftsmen, supplied them with raw materials, paid wages in kind and exported the finished products. This becomes evident from the factories of bead-makers and coppersmiths encountered at Lothal where a large number of workers worked and lived in the premises of the factories.

8. *Payment of taxes*

From the Sumerian clay tablets we know that the sailors who came back safely to their city had to pay a part of the goods as tax of the temple authorities. On this analogy we may say that the goods brought into Lothal too must have been taxed by the ruler. The *Arthaśāstra* and early Tamil works clearly give the amount of tax levied on imports. The Buddhist *Jātakas* too throw some light on this aspect. The *Arthaśāstra* gives us further valuable information regarding the administration of ports, the assistance rendered to the navigators in case of ship-wrecks and protection afforded to them against pirates.

9. *Mechanism of long-distance trade*

From the earliest times to the present day the merchants have been adopting various methods to identify the source of the goods bought and sold by them and to insure their quality and quantity. The reputation of the individual or the firm counts much in long-distance trade. The buyer has to depend on the credentials of the seller, who in turn to make sure that goods are not tampered with in transit. For this purpose the containers are sealed by the consignor. The Indus Civilization also introduced this system. Their seals seem to mention the names of the consignor besides a motif, animal or geometric. The types of seals used in some parts of the world differed from those of the others. Whereas the Indus merchants used square stamp seals of stone bearing their pictographic writing and animal motif (Pl. 17), the Mesopotamians used cylinder stone seals with a cuneiform writing and animal or plant motifs. The Bahrain merchants preferred circular stamp seals of steatite with animal motif. Sometimes Indus script was also engraved on them. As a result of exchange of goods Indus seals have been found at Ur, Kish, Asmar and Umma, while three cylinder seals of Mesopotamian workmanship occur at Mohenjo-daro. A dozen circular stamps with Indus motif and script found in the Euphrates-Tigris Valley were till recently assumed to have originated in the Indus Valley. But the discovery of a large number of circular seals in Bahrain has given a clue to their origin and authorship. It is the Indus merchants living in Bahrain who carried the circular seals to Mesopotamia. A positive proof of trade between India and Bahrain is provided by a circular seal found at Lothal. It carries motifs common to the 'Persian Gulf Seals'. A double-headed dragon flanked by jumping gezelles is noticeable on one side, while on the other side is a low circular boss with two holes across it (Pl. 15). Another significant trade-mechanism of Bronze Age is the stone weight. Here again each civilization had its own distinct type and standard of weight. While the Harappans used a tetrahedron, the Egyptians and Sumerians used duck-shaped and barrel type weights.

Cubical stone weights of Indus Civilization have been reported from Qula-at-al-Bahrain and Ras-al-Qala too. Obviously the Indus-merchants must have used them. It is interesting to note that the Lothal merchants used two standards of weights, one conforming to the standard prescribed in the Indus valley and the other with a unit conforming to the Heavy Assyrian shekel in vogue at Susa. The introduction of the Assyrian system was necessitated by the extensive sea trade Lothal had developed.

The use of seals and weights continued in the Buddhist period and several terracotta sealings belonging to merchant-guilds have been reported from early historical sites the chief among them being Jhusi near Allahabad.

10. *Administration of ports*

The development of national shipping under the Mauryas was possible due to the creation of a Board of Admiralty under the War Office of Chandragupta Maurya. The *Arthaśāstra* gives details of the working of this Board under the *Nāvādhyakṣa*, i.e., Superintendent of Ships, whose duty it was to collect all the dues at the port. Besides customary tax levied on merchants, the villages on sea-shores had to pay a fixed amount of tax. It was also the duty of the Superintendent to give all possible help whenever a storm-beaten ship arrived at the port. He could reduce tax or exempt the ship-owner or merchant from payment of customs in the case of cargo spoilt by water. State vessels built by craftsmen engaged by the Government were given on hire to private individuals for pearl-fishery. Damage or loss due to the defect in such vessels was made good by the Superintendent. He was also expected to enforce regulations laid down by the State in the interest of trade, the crew and the passengers. He could punish those violating harbour regulations and arrest persons trying to smuggle goods and escape punishment by law courts.

Certain facilities such as pilot-service existing at Indian ports have been mentioned by the author of the *Periplus*. At Barygaza King's men used to go up to the coast of Syrastrene and pilot vessels to avoid dangers from shoals, etc. They enchored them to fixed stations. Men on vigilance duty are mentioned in the Kanheri inscriptions. Perhaps they guarded sea-routes and piloted vessels safely into the ports. From the above details it becomes evident that the Superintendent of the Port had multifarious duties to perform in the Mauryan period and later too. Considering the position of vantage occupied by the Ruler's mansion at Lothal built overlooking the dock it can be inferred that he acted as a port officer and supervised the transactions of the warehouse too.

11. *Merchandise*

The Indus cities, especially Lothal, exported luxury goods, such as gemstones, beads and ivory articles. To this list must be added gamesmen, bangles and inlays made of shell which is available on the Kathiawar coast and the Palk Straits. India also exported cotton and cotton-goods for which the Indus valley (Sind), the Deccan and Kathiawar (Bhal where Lothal is situated) were famous. Timber of good quality available in the forests of Malabar and Konkan found their way to Mesopotamia. Beads of precious stones in the manufacture of which Lothal had specialized were in great demand. The Egyptian tombs, the Royal Cemetery at Ur and the temples and private houses at Brak, Kish, Lagash, Susa and Asmar have all yielded stone beads traceable to the Indus cities. Kidney- or heart-shaped inlays of ivory, gamesmen of shell and etched carnelian beads, all originating in the Indus valley and Gujarat found their way to Sumerian cities. Lothal had to import the raw material needed for bead-making from

Bhagatrav and Mehgam, two smaller ports situated at the mouth of the Kim and Narmada rivers respectively. Timber came from the same region or further south from the Konkan coast. Gold must have been received from Kolar, Shimoga, Dharwar and Raichur districts of Mysore State via Krishna and Godavari valleys or through one of the west coast ports, notably Honavar to which reference has been made earlier. Ivory which was available in Kathiawar was processed at Lothal and exported to the Indus valley as well as Sumer. Lothal and Indus cities received their supply of silver either from Afghanistan or the Kolar gold-bearing mines. Some scholars believe that Mohenjo-daro obtained its supply of copper from the Khetri or Devbari mines in Rajasthan, but there is no evidence to show that they were worked as early as the third millennium B.C. On the other hand, import of copper ignots by Lothal from Susa or from Oman is highly probable for, the bun-shaped ingots of copper from Lothal and Susa agree in all details such as shape, weight and chemical composition (especially, absence of arsenic). It is the Dilmun merchants who, according to the Sumerian writings, brought copper to Ur, Warka and other cities in exchange for wool, oil, etc. The most coveted objects they carried were of course the glittering beads of semi-precious stones in the manufacture of which Lothal and Chanhu-daro had specialised.

A. *Protohistoric Period*

The Sumerian clay tablets of the time of Sargon of Akkad (2350 B.C.) mention that ships from Telmun, Makkan and Meluhha were moored outside the capital, namely Agade. During this period, Telmun or Dilmun was no more than a refuelling station. Agade and Ur had established direct trade with Makkan and Meluhha, which, according to Wheeler, lay at successively greater distances from Ur. By 2100 B.C. there was no direct trade with Meluhha although ivory objects, gemstones, beads and copper still came from there. Under the Dynasty of Larsa (1950 B.C.). Dilmun became the principal middleman relegating Makkan and Meluhha to the background. By 1700 B.C. Dilmun lost all contact with the mining sources of Makkan. While Bibby and Wheeler are inclined to identify Telmun or Dilmun with Bahrain and Meluhha with the Indus Civilization, Kramer identifies Dilmun with the Indus valley and Kathiawar coast. The Sumerian clay tablets refer to Dilmun as the land where the Sun rises. Obviously it must have been situated to the east of Mesopotamia. As Bahrain is situated south of it the reference may not be to this island. Furthermore Dilmun is said to be a land of clean cities, and elephants are said to have flourished there. We know for certain that Kathiawar (Saurashtra) was the habitat of elephants even as late as the 3rd cent. B.C., and undoubtedly the Indus cities were the cleanest of all. In the time of Sargon these cities had direct trade contact with Ur, Brak and Susa. After the fall of Harappa, Mohenjodaro and Lothal in 1900 B.C. overseas trade of the Indus Civilization declined and

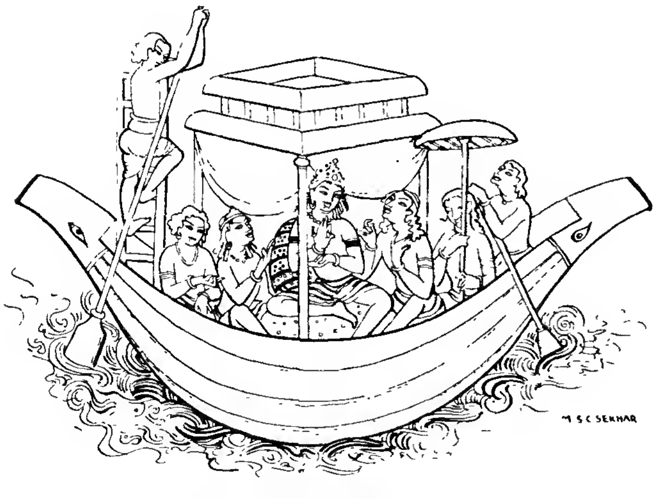

FIG 3 *A royal pleasure boat 6th century A D painting Planks joined edge to edge.*

perhaps they lost direct trade contact with Mesopotamia. Ivory, shell, gemstones and wood were exported to Ur directly between 2300 and 1900 B.C. and through the intermediary of Bahrain after 1900 B.C. In the latter part of the second millennium B.C. much of the trade with India appears to have been in the hands of the Phoenicians whom some scholars are inclined to identify with the Paṇis of the *Ṛgveda*. References to India's trade with Egypt, Punt, Babylon and South Arabia at the end of the second millennium and early part of the first millennium B.C. are contained in the Bible, the *Mahābhārata*, and the Buddhist *Jātakas*. Unfortunately we have little reliable information about the trade routes of the pre-Buddhist period except by way of casual references in the Bible and in the *Bāveru Jātaka*. South Indian ports appear to have played a big role in the sea-borne trade of the 1st millennium B.C. as is evident from the use of Tamil words in the Bible and early Greek texts. During the next phase however India became once again the centre of attraction for overseas trade.

B. Roman Period

This phase starts with the 1st century A.D. The commodities greatly in demand in the Roman world were spices and perfumes, precious stones such as beryl and silks, muslins and cotton which India produced in abundance. Much of the beryl, and almost the whole of pepper came from south Indian ports. Muslin was supplied by the Deccan. All these commodities were paid for in gold and silver by the Roman traders so much so that Pliny (77 A.D.) lamented the wasteful expenditure on perfumes and personal ornaments which drained the Roman Empire of a hundred million sesterces a year. But after the death of Nero trade in spices and luxuries declined steeply. However the demand for muslins continued for sometime. Once again the demand for pepper increased sharply to such an extent that when Alaric spared Rome in 408 A.D. he is said to have demanded 3000 pounds of pepper. From Roman ports came gold, wine and perhaps Roman soldiers and women whose services were needed in the courts of the Chola Kings of south India.

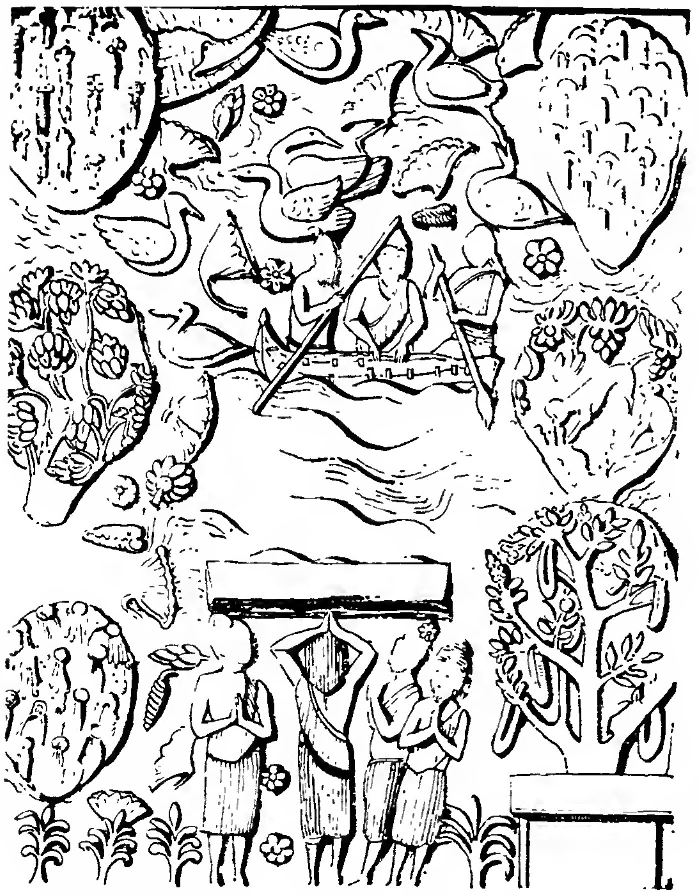

FIG 4 *Sanchi Stūpa No 1 Sculptural representation of a boat carrying ascetics*

The traditional export of India nemely cotton, spices and precious stones was kept up in the Gupta and post-Gupta period too. The Deccan and Gujarat were then supplying cotton, and Malabar the spices.

We have observed in the preceding paras how Indian shipping gradually developed into a powerful instrument for spreading Indian Culture in south Asia, and also brought in much material wealth to the country. India became a great naval power to be reckoned with in the 6th–8th centuries A.D. But soon her overlordship of the Indian ocean was challenged by the rise of Islam in Arabia. There was a deep-seated jealousy among the Arabs against Indian shippers and pirates. An opportunity to reak vengeance came when a ship sent by the ruler of Ceylon to Hajjaj and the Khalif in 712 A.D. was plundered by the pirates near Debal. Soon Muhammad bin Kasim came in ships with his men and conquered Sind. In the 9th century the Arabs under the Khalif of Baghdad conquered Egypt and monopolised the trade with India. Sultan Mahmud attacked the boats of the Jats for having molested his force on sea. According to Ibn Batuta, Debal, Somnath, Cambay and the ports of the Malabar coast exported various commodities and extended trade upto Java. They also subdued the pirates operating near the Coromandel coast.

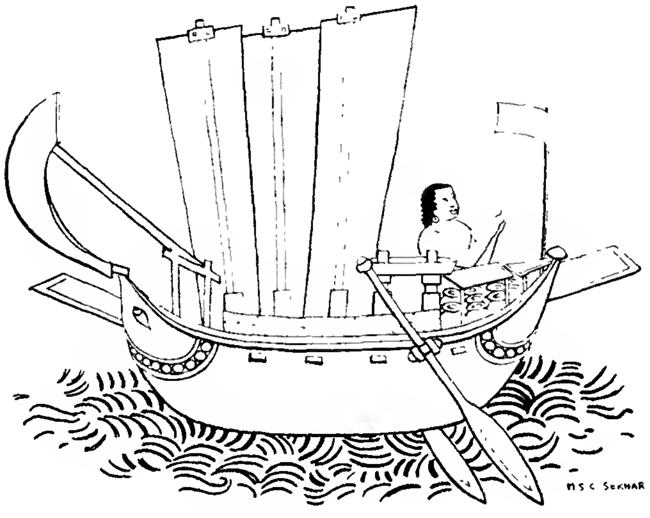

FIG. 5 *A sea-going vessel (Ajanta).*

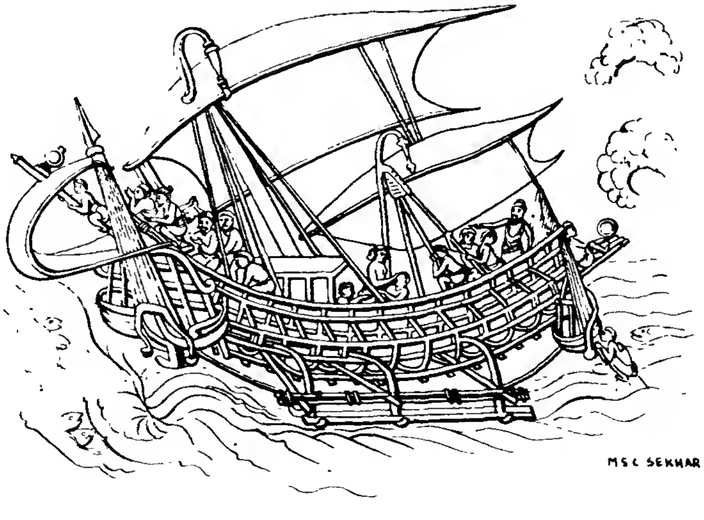

FIG. 6 *A multi-masted ship from India sailing for Java*

Among the foreign travellers who give an account of India's maritime trade in the 13th century A.D. is Marco Polo (Thomas Wright, *The Travels of Marcopolo*) who mentions the pepper of Malabar and the fine cotton of Coromandel coast. Quilon, he says, exported ginger, indigo and pepper, while Cambay was known for its cotton and leather. Marco Polo gives an account of the technique of ship-building adopted in India, as also the size and other details.

The great skill retained by the Rajput sailors in the 14th century in crossing the Indian ocean is attested by the account of Friar Odoric. According to him the ship had 700 passengers. Throughout the medieval period India retained its supremacy in overseas trade with the eastern countries especially Burma, Java, Sumatra,Borneo, and China. It is the Sultans of Ahmadabad who were virtually the lords of the Sea in the 15th and early part of the 16th centuries. They had maintained a royal navy for protecting the merchant navy. In 1521 A.D. the admiral of the King of Gujarat defeated the Portuguese fleet near Chaul. The subsequent history of the struggle among the western powers namely the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the British for naval supermacy and conquest of India is too well known to be repeated. With the establishment of the Biritish power in India, the indigenous ship-building industry suffered very heavily and the overseas trade came to be monopolised by the British. However, after regaining independence in 1947 the Government of India has been making a serious effort to develop the ship-building industry with indigenous material and skill and has also been acquiring some vessels from other countries. This, in brief, is the history of one of the earliest seafaring nations of the world.

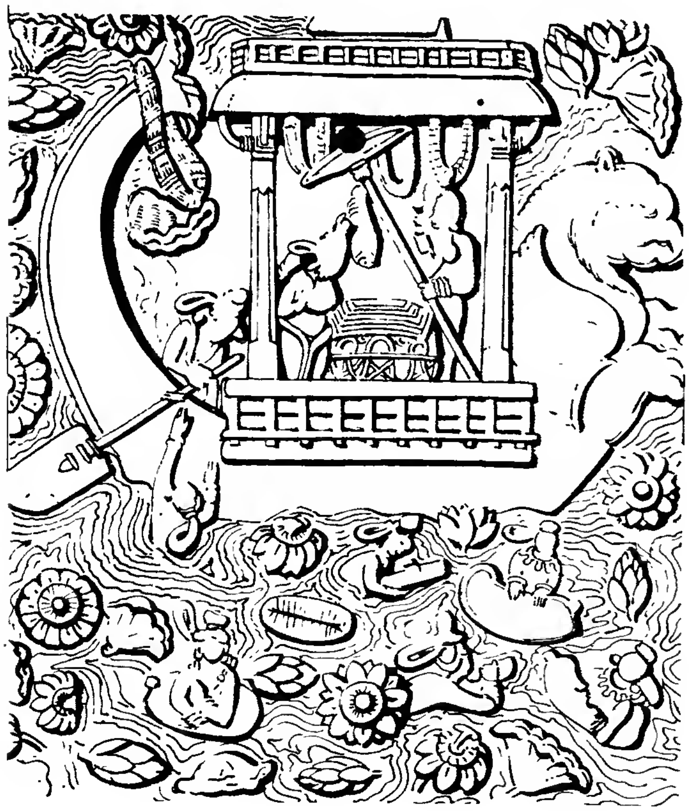

FIG 7 *Sanchi : Sculptural representation of boat decorated with fanciful animals.*

LOTHAL: WAREHOUSE AND ENVIRONS
(AXONOMETRIC VIEW RECONSTRUCTED)

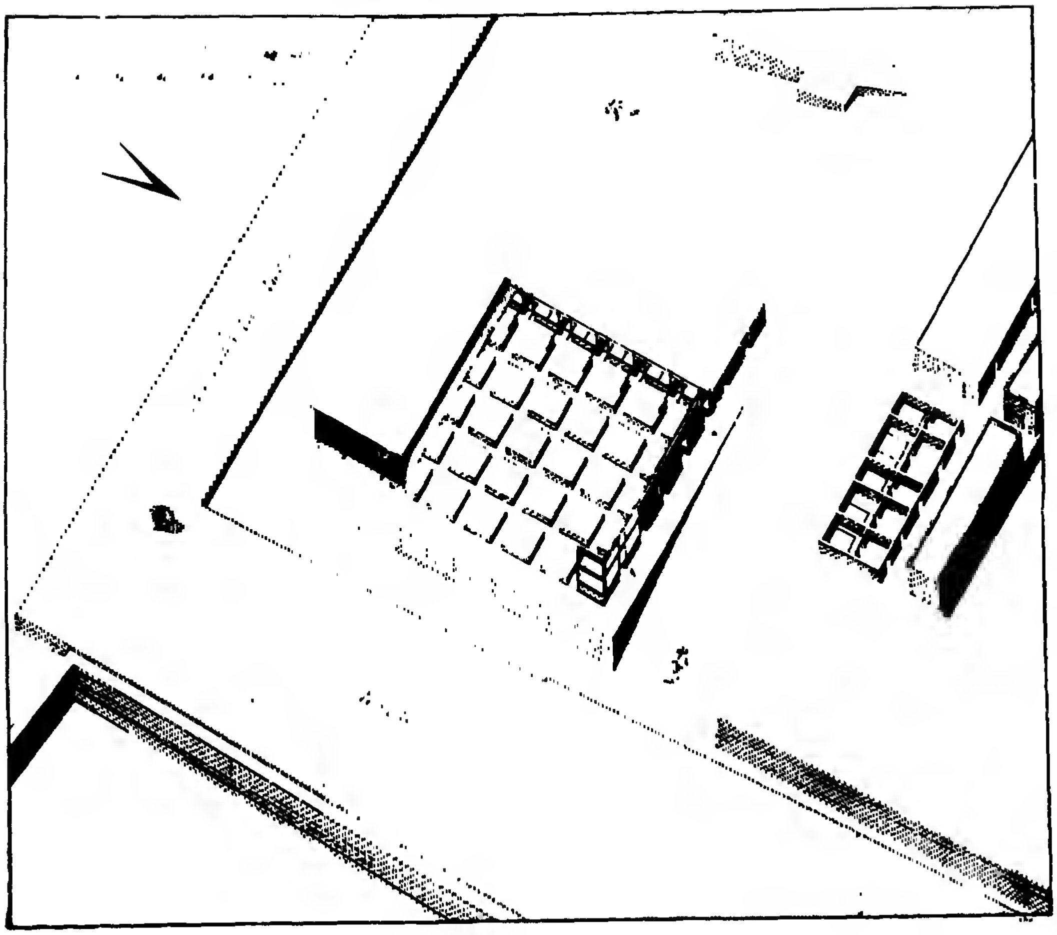

FIG 8

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Indian Shipping in Early Mediaeval Period

LALLANJI GOPAL

IT WILL BE a platitude to lament the paucity of evidence to reconstruct the history of Indian shipping. There are casual references in scattered texts which do not cover all aspects of shipping activity and make it difficult to present a systematic and comprehensive account. Moreover, as we do not have full details for shipping in the earlier period, it is not always possible to speak in terms of changes and development in our period. It is with these reservations that we may approach the task of reconstructing the history of Indian shipping in the early mediaeval period.

It does not require evidence to prove that ships were made of wood.[1] Due importance, however, was attached to selecting wood best suited for the construction of ships. Wood was classified into several kinds according to its characteristic properties. The *Yuktikalpataru*[2] ascribed to Bhoja says that a ship built of the Kṣatriya class of wood is to be used as means of communication where the communication is difficult owing to vast water; ships made of other kinds of timbers do not last for a long time, they soon rot in water and are liable to be split at the slightest shock and to sink down. In the account of the naval expedition of Samaraketu described in the *Tilakamañjarī*[3] of Dhanapāla, Tāraka, the chief sailor, reports the construction of ships out of strong timber. From the early Bengali literature we learn that ships were generally made of teak, *gāmbhāri, tamāl, piāl* and *kāṭhāl* wood, though the wood of the fabled *manapaban* tree was considered to be best.[4] Al-Mas'ūdī also confirms that ships of the Indian Ocean were made of teak.[5] Indian teak and cocoanut wood were in demand by the Arabs for constructing ships.[6]

In the earlier period the wooden planks of a ship were stitched together.[7] The stitches are represented on the figures of ships from Bharhut[8] and Sanchi[9] belonging respectively to the second and first century B.C. Stritching remained the general method with Indian sailors down to the century and even now survives in the boats of some coastal areas.[10] Sulaimān,[11] Al-Mas'ūdī[12] and Ibn Batūta[13] notice the use of Sewn or lashed timbers in Indian ships. A number of European travellers of the period mention that the ships were stitched and point out their weakness. These include Ibn-Jubayr,[14] Jordanus,[15] John of Montecorvino[16], Marco Polo,[17] Friar Odoric[18] and G. Carreri.[19]

But the use of iron nails seems to have been known in our period, even though it was very much sparse and restricted. One may suspect nails in the upper part of the ship, with horsemen in it,[20] painted in Cave No. XVII of Ajanta, in the scene depicting the conquest of Ceylon by Vijaya. It is clear from a reference in the *Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā*[21] that the use of iron in a ship was negligible. The *Yuktikalpataru* classifies ships into two types, *dīrghā* and *unnatā*.

on the basis of their bottom being covered with copper or iron plate.

But from this text itself it is clear that the use of iron was not favoured.[23] It says that nailed timbers should not be used in seagoing vessels because the iron will be attracted by loadstone and the ship will sink; hence Bhoja favours rope joints.[24] Elsewhere also the text speaks of the presence of magnetic rocks in the sea. The legend of magnetic rocks is mentioned by Jinadattasūri in his *Kālasvarūpakulakam*.[26] He says that a ship which is riveted with iron is attracted loadstone and breaks: it sinks and cannot cross the sea. A ship without iron is seen sailing in deep sea in strong wind: it crosses the sea and brings profit and prosperity to the merchant. In the *Bhavisayattakahā*[27] the ship used by a merchant in a successful sea voyage is described being "without iron" (*ṇilloham*). The legend of magnetic rocks was widespread in the contemporary world. It is mentioned by Procopius and two fourteenth century works, the *Travels of John Mandeville* and an Arabic account of the *Expedition against Alexandria*.[28]

Al-Mas'ūdī attributed the tendency to avoid iron nails to the greater degree of salinity in the Indian Ocean.[29] But, scientifically the explanation is not correct, because the Indian Ocean is not saline to such an appreciable extent. The real reason probably lay elsewhere. Iron seems to have been introduced late in the south.[30] In view of the less advanced processes of mining, smelting and manufacture, stitching with fibres locally available must have been easier and cheaper. The proverbially conservative sailor cannot be expected to have given up his traditional ways for the slight superiority of the nails over stitching.[31] Moreover, iron nails were not without disadvantages, which were probably magnified by popular imagination. Ibn Jubayr, Al-Idrīsī and Ibn Batūta observe that stitched hulls are pliant and resilient; if they strike any reef they are less easily broken than nailed ships.[32] The attribution of magnetic properties to all rocks may then have been "a false interpretation of a very real peril."[33]

Montecorvino[34] denies caulking in the ships on the Arabian Sea. Likewise Procopius[35] denies smearing with pitch. But they are controverted by other sources. According to Al-Idrīsī[36] caulking was done with flour and whale oil. But according to Chau Ju-Kua[37] the oil was mixed with lime. The fish oil was also used for coating ships.[38]

As the ships were made of wooden planks stitched together, there was a constant danger of their sinking as a result of water entering through leakings.[39] In the texts of the earlier period we find references to sailors whose specific duty was to pour out water [40] or to stop holes.[41] The Jain text *Ācārāṅgasūtra*[42] speaks of the holes in a ship being blocked, in case of emergency, with any part of man's body, metallic dishes, clothes, clay, grass or lotus leaves. From the *Tilakamañjarī* we find a more regular practice of caulking. Before the ships set sail the crevices were caulked.[43] In another reference we read that the chief sailor examined all the joinings and caulked even small holes with wool and wax.[44]

We do not have much evidence about the nature of decks and cabins on Indian ships. The accounts of foreign travellers mention open ships. Thus, Jordanus notes in connexion with Malabar : Nor are the vessels ever decked over, but open.[45] But, whatever might have been the practice with small ships of early times, the sculptured representations from Borobudur show some form of decking and fencing in ships. On figure nos. 1 and 3 one may notice a deck and a trapezoid object suggested by Prof. Basham to be a deckhouse.[46] The *Yuktikalpataru*[47] mentions that ships can be of two types, with or without cabins, and classifies the former into three sub-types differentiated on the basis of the length and position of their cabins. The *sarvamandirā* vessels had the largest cabins extending over the entire area of the ship and were used for the transport of royal treasure, horses and women. The *madhyamandirā* vessels had their cabins only just in the middle part and were used in the pleasure trips by kings or during rainy seasons.

The agramandirā vessels had their cabins towards their prows and were used in the dry season or in cases of long voyages or wars. In the *Tilakamañjarī*[48] Samaraketu when proceeding to punish turbulent feudatories of Dvīpāntara is said to have entered the cabin erected in the forepart of the vessel. Here are mentioned the two important characteristics of an *agramandirā* type of vessel, its association with a naval expedition and its cabin towards the prow.

The *Yuktikalpataru* does not have any detailed discussion about masts and sails. At one place, however, it remarks that a vessel is to be painted white, red, yellow or blue respectively as it has four, three, two or one mast.[49] A large number of figures of ships from Borobudur contain two masts,[50] though there are also some which have only one mast.[51] The Borobudur sculptures depict ladders to climb up the masts.[52] The sail most common with Indian sailors was one of the square type. The sculptures from Borobudur show square sails. Of the two square sails in the ships depicted at Borobudur one is large while the other is a small one. Besides these two sails there was also one stay-sail in front of the ship.[53] In view of the clear depiction in sculptures, confirmed by the *Yuktikalpataru,* it seems that John of Montecorvino[54] and Marco Polo mention the general practice to have one mast and one sail only.[55]

From the *Tilakamañjarī* we get some idea of the way the sails and masts were actually regulated. The first thing that Tāraka, the chief sailor, does after hearing of the proposed naval expedition of Samaraketu is to get ropes tied to the sails.[56] In a vavourable wind the sails are raised and the ship sets on its course.[57] The ship proceeds on, while the mast is erect and ropes are attached to the sails.[58] The commander says that the navy should take a rest because, among other reasons, the crew is too tired to keep the mast erect. They decide to sew in the mean time the sails, tattered due to violent wind, and to tie ropes to them.[59] In order to halt the ship the sails are loosened and collected.[60] Tāraka, the chief sailor, proves his efficiency by replacing broken ropes by new and by testing even strong sails.[61] The *Samarāiccakahā* of Haribhadra Sūri also contains informative references to sails. In the story of Dharaṇa we read that when the ship was agitated by a violent storm the sails were removed.[62] In another story we find that the sails were spread before the ships set sail and when the ship went out of control the sails were gathered.[63] All these details are confirmed by Borobudur sculptures representing the crew as working hard over the mast and the sail.[64]

The ships from Borobudur are narrow in shape and top-heavy, hence to ensure their safety outriggers were attached to them.[65] We can notice outriggers in three of the six illustrations given by R. K. Mookerji.[66] They were probably fastened with rope to the body of the ship. In one case, we find a man clinging to the outrigger, most likely to steady the ship.[67] There were also wash-brakes to check the force of waves.

The Sanskrit word for anchor is *nāṅgara.* In the *Tilakamañjarī* we read that when a ship halted its heavy anchors made of rocks were lowered down.[68] The text further refers to ships being tied to strong wooden poles thrust deep into the earth.[69] At the time of the departure of a ship the rocks which used to restrict its speed were pulled up[70] and the ropes that tied it to the pole were cut.[71] The *Samarāiccakahā*[72] refers to the anchors being loosened to stop the drifting of the ship. The *Milindapañho*[73], which belongs to an earlier period, mentions two qualities of an anchor, it fastens the ship and keeps it still even in the mighty sea, in the expanse of waters agitated by the crowding of ever varying waves, and lets not the sea take it in one direction or another; and secondly, it floats not, but sinks down, and even in water a hundred cubits deep holds the ship fast, brings it to rest.

We do not find references to indicate the nature of the rudder being used in the period. Probably the rudders were not very convenient. John of Montecorvino says: "And they have a frail and flimsy rudder like the top of a table, of a cubit in width in the middle of the stern: and when they have to tack, it is done with a vast deal of trouble; and if it is blowing in any way hard, they cannot tack at all."[74]

The sailors sailing to distant lands found it safe to have a smaller boat attached to their ship for use in case the bigger one was somehow destroyed. In the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṅgraha* there is the story of Sānudāsa who was rescued by sailors of a ship who spotted his flag in an island and went there in their smaller ships.[75] The *Samarāiccakahā* also speaks of Kumāra and Dharaṇa being likewise approached and helped[76] On one of the Borobudur sculptures we find an actual representation of a boat tied to a ship.[77]

The *Yuktikalpataru* has an elaborate classification of ships according to their size.[78] Of the two broad divisions the class of ordinary ships is said to contain ten kinds of vessels with different lengths, breadths and heights. Seagoing vessels are placed as ships of special class with two subdivisions termed as *dīrghā* and *unnatā*. The *dīrghā* subclass of ocean going ships has ten types all remarkable for their length. On the other hand the five types of ships included in the *unnatā* subclass are characterised by their considerable heights. Prof. Basham[79] rightly remarks that the measurements are theoretical and that the author of the text had little first hand knowledge of ships. Calculating on the basis of 1 *rājahasta*=16 ordinary *hastas* or 24 feet, he shows that the largest river going vessel will measure 180′ x90′x90′ and the largest seagoing ship will measure 264′x33′x26′. The ships will be far too long and their beams far too narrow. There are grave doubts if these ships could have been of much practical use on the high sea. R. K. Mookerji justifies the measurements by quoting Nicole Conti who says that some Indian ships were larger than those of Europe.[80] The measurements seem to have little practical validity and have only a theoretical and academic interest. It is, however, interesting to note that a ship of Surat stopped off Aden by Sir Henry Middleton in 1612 was found by Captain John Saris to measure 153′x42′x31′[81]. The ships depicted at Borobudur are also longish.

The ships were dependent upon trade winds to a very great extent and it was only with a favourable wind that a ship set sail. It is significant that in philosopical works the motion due to direct contact with a body exercising continued pressure (*nodana*) is illustrated by the motion of sailing vessels under the impelling force of the wind.[82] In view of the close dependence of the naval activity upon winds, it was but natural that winds were carefully observed and studied. It is interesting to note that the names of twelve winds mentioned by Abū Hanifa Dainūri, an Arab pilot of the twelfth century, in his work on nautical science[83] are included in the list of sixteen types of winds given by the *Āvaśyakacūrṇi*.[84]

The progress of astronomical study may also have facilitated the activities across the sea. The clear tropical sky provided the sailors with a constant guide to point out their direction. The importance of astronomical knowledge for shipping is clear from a reference in the *Tilakamañjarī*.[85] In this passage when the ship is threatened by a storm Tāraka, the chief sailor, addressed his crew thus "Rājilaka, the ship is sailing towards the South, even when I have ordered otherwise. It seems that you have lost all sense of direction. Even being told you do not know the North side. Look at the group of seven stars and turn the ship back."

In the earlier period we find that sailors kept crows to find out the direction in which land was situated.[86] It is significant that in our period we do not have many references to the use of these birds.[87] As the different routes, countries and islands became familiar through repeated voyages the necessity for using these crews was probably not so pressing as in the beginning.

Though some scholars have suggested that mariner's compass was known to the Hindus,[88] we do not have any definite evidence for its use in the earlier period.[89] The *Milindapañho*[90] says that the pilot of a ship had an instrument (*yanta*=Skt. *yantra)* of which he took great care. He put a seal on it so that no one should touch it. But as the reference is silent about the nature and precise use of the instrument we cannot necessarily infer that it was the mariner's compass. Likewise the circular object depicted as mounted on a pedestal in the stern of Indian ships in the Borobudur sculptures[91] need not be a compass. Prof. Basham[92] points out that the object appears mounted also at the very extremity of the bowsprit which will be a very inconvenient position for the ship's compass. The circular objects at the two ends probably represented fore and oft lights.[93]

The question has to be studied in its proper historical perspective.[94] The magnetic needle was known in China from very early times. But, even there, there is no clear evidence for its nautical use in the early centuries of the Christian era.[95] The earliest available reference is in the account of *P'ing-chou-k'o-tán*[96] which belongs to the second half of the eleventh century. Another early mention is found in Sü-king's narrative of his mission to Korea in 1122.[97] In the beginning the compass does not seem to have played any significant role in navigation.[98] The oldest Arab references belong to the close of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century.[99] The knowledge may have reached Europe through the Arabs in the age of the Crusades. The French poem of Guyot de Provins (c. 1190 A.D.) is the earliest European reference.[100]

There is some evidence to show that towards the close of the early medieval period the Indians were introduced to the use of the compass. Jacques de Vitry in his *History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (c. 1218 A.D.) refers to the use of compass in India. An Arabic manual of mineralogy (c. 1252 A.D.) says that Indian seamen steered by an iron fish, floating in a bowl of oil. The Sanskrit origin of *maccha-yantra*, the Marathi word for the compass, supports the suggestion.

It is, however, clear that the compass could at best have been used only sporadically. It must be remembered that in the indegenous literature of the period we do not find any reference to its use by sailors for determining the directions in emergencies. The foreign travellers and writers are silent about its use in India.[102] On the contrary Nicolo Conti definitely says that Indians never used it.[103] Moreover, in the Indian Ocean under a clear sky the luminary bodies are generally visible without much obstruction and the sailors can easily determine the direction with their help. In such conditions the compass could not have played a major part in navigation.

Probably the Indian method of magnetization was not strong.[104] The dry needle on a pivot had not been invented. The magnetic needle was floated on water or oil. Hence it could not be mounted on a windrose and the direction could not be determined accurately from the centre.

It seems that in early medieval period Indian sailors maintained a record of the location of places visited by them or known to them otherwise. They utilised this knowledge in their subsequent voyages. In the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṅgraha* we read that Manohara, in the course of his voyage, found out the Śṛṅgavān mountain and the city of Śrīkuñjanagara and in a book recorded it clearly together with the sea and the location of direction in which it was situated.[105] It may be suggested that the sailors on the basis of a first hand information probably prepared and maintained works like the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. It is really unfortunate that no single specimen of such a record has survived to illustrate the geographical discoveries made by Indian sailors.

We have elsewhere discussed Indian shipping activity in the early medieval period.[106]

The combined testimony of a Chinese account of 749[107] and Al-Mas'ūdī[108] shows that ships from India ascended the Canton river and reached Canton. But in the later period India's maritime contacts with China gradually dwindled. India is not mentioned among the countries which according to the *Sung Annals* were trading at Canton in 971.[109] But Indian states, especially of the south, occasionally tried to assert themselves. It is clear that the Coḷa kingdom participated in the lucrative maritime trade with China obviously through the intervention of Kiḍāra or the empire of the Śailendras.

The activities of Indian sailors and merchants extended in the east mostly only to Indonesia. The *Liang-shu* states that central T'iėn-chu had much sea trade with Fu-nan, Jï-nan and Kiau-chi (Indo-China).[110] There were frequent voyages of Indian merchants to the Indonesian lands. The *Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā*[111] implies that, besides trade, sight-seeing was another reason for people coming to these islands.

In the maritime connexions with the Muslim countries the areas on the western coast of India had a significant role. Abū Zaid[112] suggests that Indian merchants visited Siraf in large numbers and had very friendly relations with the Muslim merchants of that place. Indian merchants like Jagaḍu had Indian agents at Hormuz and maintained regular trade with Persia, transporting goods in their own ships.[113] The western terminus for the Indian ships appears to have changed from time to time. In the seventh century it was Basra, from where it was transferred to Siraf and then successively to Kish and Hormuz.[114]

The Indian sailors and merchants appear to have concentrated on coastal trade. They generally ventured only up to Ceylon.[115] Gradually they left the major part of actual shipping to the foreigners, confining themselves to distribution. The Indonesians had dominance up to Quilon and the ports to its north were frequented by the Muslims.[116] The relative insignificance of Indian shipping explains the absence of any reference to it in the Chinese and Arab accounts.[117]

As we have shown elsewhere,[118] Indian shipping had to face serious rivals. To start with the Arabs were the foremost maritime power, pushing the sphere of their influence towards the east. From the tenth century they yielded a part of the monopoly, especially to the west of the Indonesian countries, to the ports of Sumatra, Java and Malaya. From the twelfth century they had to face a strong rival in China who eventually established its commercial hegemony up to Malabar port. Ceylon enjoyed the advantages of its central position.

We have seen that the decline of Indian shipping might have been due to the apathy and inability of the Indian states to protect its interests.[119] Whereas in the earlier period the state actively participated in the sea-trade, in the early medieval period it appears that the coastal powers often resorted to piracy.[120]

In this period piracy appears to have increased. Previously piracy was confined to small areas, but now it had become quite widespread.[121] Piracy must have deterred Indian merchants from resorting to frequent voyages to distant areas.[122]

The Indian traders do not appear to have done much by way of providing for the safety of their ships. It is not without significance that whereas references for the Arab[123] and Chinese[124] ships being manned with soldiers are forthcoming, we have not much to suggest this for their Indian counterparts.[125]

Religious considerations also affected shipping activities. As early as the times of the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*[126] sea voyage (*Samudrasaṃyānam*) was one of the five reprehensible practices followed by the Brāhmaṇas of the north. Manu[127] describes Brāhmaṇas who undertake sea voyage (*Samudrayāyī*) as not fit to carry out their religious functions and hence are not to be invited to religious feasts. According to Nārada[128] a seagoing merchant (*Sāmudravaṇik*) is not a reliable witness and his statement is not to be accepted as evidence in a court of law.

But from these very sources it follows that in the beginning religous feelings were not very strong against sea voyage. We have evidence to show that Brāhmaṇas undertook voyage. But, in the early medieval period we notice that there was a definite growth of a taboo against sea voyage. The *Mitākṣarā*[129] quotes with approval the earlier views of Baudhāyana and Manu. Al-Bīrūnī[130] says that a Brāhmaṇa must live between the ocean in the east and west. The *Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa* mentions the undertaking of sea-voyage as one of the practices which, being unfavourable for the attainment of heaven and disliked by the people, have been forbidden for the Kali age.[132] Hamādri explaining the rule about seagoing being a *Kalivarjya*, adds that by penance the offender may regain ritual purity but his caste privileges cannot be restored and he is cut off from his family and friends.[133] P.V. Kane interprets the relevant passages as showing that the prohibition against seavoyage affected only Brāhmaṇas and even then they did not become altogether unfit to be associated with. But, if we can use the *Vyavahāramayūkha*,[134] of a slightly later period, to reflect the conditions in the early medieval period, the taboo was against a *dvija* who constantly undertakes sea voyages for trade.

The reason for the religious objection seems to have been that on a ship one cannot perform the religious rites and rituals in their full details, respecting the rules of ritual purity. From the times of Vasiṣṭha[135] and Āpastamba[136] we notice that intercourse with barbarians was advised to be avoided. It was believed that sacrifices and other religious rites could be performed only in a well defined region.[137] For this reason the countries in the bordering areas were enumerated by name as unfit for stay.[138] It may have been felt that with the expansion of Islam the chances of religious contamination increased. It should be noticed that in this period the impact of the Lokāyatas and Buddhism had weakened.[139] The Lokāyatas advocated a more practical attitude for enjoying worldly happiness and did not subscribe to the orthodox religious scruples.[140] The religious objections were not respected by Buddhists who are known to have undertaken journeys to other countries for missionary work.[141]

We have seen above that foreign travellers belonging to the close of the period of our study point out in clear terms the defects of Indian ships. It seems that "Indian techniques of ship construction and navigation had by this time fallen behind those of the Arabs and Chinese."[142] We have shown elsewhere that Indian ships were smaller than those of China[143] and lagged behind the Chinese and Arab ones in the matter of speed.[144]

There are clear indications of the decline in Indian shipping in one respect at least. For people away from coastal areas it had ceased to be of much concern. This can be easily inferred from the way Medhātithi and Lakṣmīdhara, two Smṛti writers of the period, explain away the emphasis on sea voyages in earlier authorities. There is a provision in Manu[145] that the interest to be paid is to be fixed by persons expert in seavoyages. In his comments Medhātithi[146] remarks that the sea-voyages is mentioned only by way of illustrating a journey: the sense is that interest is fixed by traders, who know all about journeying by land and water. Likewise Lakṣmīdhara[147] explains the expression "experts in sea-voyage" to refer by implication to the merchants in general.

It seems that in some areas at least there was a more active participation in sea-trade which may have resulted in a more intimate knowledge of shipping. It is to be noted that the *Vaijayantī* and the *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, two lexicons of the period, collect at one place terms connected with sea and shipping. But, whereas the *Abhidhānaratnamālā*[148] provides more space to terms for sea, waves, shore, tide and acquatic animals, the *Vaijayantī*[149] gives an elaborate list of terms for different types of ships, the principal parts of a ship and the important categories of sailors and passengers. In the *Deśīnāmamālā* we find some Deśī terms for a ship. Of these the testimony of the *Vaijayantī* is very useful. It mentions Sāmudram as the name of the mixed caste born of a Karaṇa and a Vaiśya woman. This class earned its livlihood from commodities obtained from the sea.[151] The necessity for a special term may refer to conditions when there arose a large number of merchants of this type.

As rightly remarked by Prof. A. L. Basham,[152] in ancient Indian literature one does not find a passage praising the seaman's life and the implicit attitude to the sea is one of fear and distaste. But, by way of exception we may refer to the glowing description of the sea and its riches given by Varāhamihira in the Agastyācāra chapter of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*.[153] The *Vārāhapurāṇa*[154] also refers with admiration to merchants who sailed fast far into the shoreless, deep and fearful waters of ocean in search of valuable pearls. In the early medieval period Kṣemendra in his *Avadānakalpalatā*[155] exaltingly refers to the unbounded zeal of those brave people who treat oceans like ponds. In Jain story books we find stories of traders going out for trade with foreign countries. We may make special reference to the *Samarāiccakahā*,[156] *Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā*,[157] *Kathākośa*[158] and *Bṛhatkathākośa*.[159] The description of seavoyage in the *Tilakamañjarī*[160] and *Bhavisyattakahā*[161] are so detailed and graphic that they seem to have been based on the direct knowledge of the authors. The Siddha poets employ images referring to ships and sea voyage which suggest that these details connected with shipping formed part of the common knowledge.[162] The *Yuktikalpataru*[163] gives a detailed account of boats and ships in its section on conveyances. It discusses the wood to be used for their construction, the types of the ships and their cabins. As pointed out earlier, the description involves much that is theoretical. But, in any case it may be inferred that ships and shipping could interest a king of a land locked kingdom like that of Malwa to occupy so much space in the text.

In the early Bengali literature we find a vivid description of the construction of ships.[164] The parts of a vessel mentioned in this source are *dāṛa* (helm) or *pātwāl*, *mālumkāṣṭha* (mast), *talā* (hold), *māthākāṣṭha* (prow), *chhaighar* (shed), *pāṭātan* (deck), *daṅḍakarwāl* (oar), *baṅśakarwāl* or *dhvaji* (bamboo-pole), *fās* (chord), *naṅgar* (anchor), *pāl* (sail) and *dāṛā* (keel).[165] The *Varṇaratnākara*[166] mentions the important parts of a ship and several varieties of ships known to it.

In the *Samarāiccakahā* we find that the merchant before boarding the ship gives alms to the poor, offers homage to the ocean and bows down to the gods and elderly persons.[167] The performance of auspicious rites seems to have been a necessary part of the preparations made for sailing a ship.[168] The *Bhavisyattakahā* also refers to the special rites to be performed when floating a ship for the first time.[169] From the *Tilakamañjarī* we learn that before proceeding on a voyage God Ratnākara (ocean) was worshipped in course of which groups of ladies in beautiful dress sang songs in praise of his serenity, grandeur, honour and other qualities.[170] Before the ship set sail maid servants applied the auspicious paint of gruel with their five fingers.[171] The *Nāyādhammakahā* gives more details of these rites and formalities. It says that the relatives, grandfather, father, brother, maternal uncle and others, wished those on the ship *bon voyage*; flowers were offered to propitiate the deity presiding over the sea, impression of five fingers was made with the paste of real sandal, *dardara* and other things, incense was burnt, and other *pūjā* rites were performed. The ships started amidst the joyous roar of the cheering crowd, which emulated the roar of the lion, or of the great sea. The sooth-sayer was loudly uttering benedictions : "Successes to you all, fulfilled be your desires." Greatly pleased were the crew—the captain, the rowers, the officers of the boats, and the merchants.[172]

From earlier texts[173] we learn that sons of chief navigators received education in the nautical science, so that they may also become successful sailors and captains. We do not know the details of the instruction given to these trainees. According to the *Jātakamālā* at Sopārā a pilot could handle ships only after he had learnt the *Niryāmakasūtra*.[174] The reference is probably to some text and not to nautical science. But there is no ancient work of this name. In the library of the old college of Fort St. George (Madras) there were manuscripts of a work on *Nāvāśāstram* (which in one case is called *Kappal Śāstram*).[175] The text has not been edited and studied. It seems to have been a late text. It is chiefly astrological with some directions about the materials and dimensions of vessels.

It seems from the *Tilakamañjarī*[176] that the training given to sailors was essentially practical. We learn that Tāraka was made the chief of the sailors by Candraketu who regarded him as his own son-in-law. Functioning as chief Tāraka very soon learnt the complete art of shipping *(naupracāravidyā)*, knew all the duties of a helmsman, journeyed back and forth in deep waters several times, visited the countries of *dvīpāntara* even though they were far removed, saw with his own eyes even small waterways and carefully observed rough and smooth places there. In a subsequent passage[177] he is described as having properly practised the works connected with sailing a ship.

Another reference in the same text would indicate that the sailors could make a practical use of astronomical knowledge.[178] It would seem from the *Bhaviṣyattakahā*[179] that the sailors studied texts on medicine or rather chemistry, because the reference is to sealing vessels of gold and embossing names on them.

But it seems that as compared with the sailors of other countries the technical skill of Indian sailors was not of a high order. John of Montesorvino speaks of Indian sailors thus: "Moreover their mariners are few and far from good. Hence they run a multitude of risks, insomuch that they are won't to say, when any ship achieves her voyage safely and soundly, that 'tis by God's guidance, and man's skull hath little availed."

In the story books we generally read that beofe setting sail the sailors collected an abundance of food material, filled up all the water jars with sweet water and also stored fuel.[180] Such a description may not require an actual experience of sea-voyage. But in some cases we find the texts adding details of a specialised nature. Thus the *Tilakamañjarī*[181] says that ghee, oil, blankets, medicine and other things essential for maintaining the body which were given by experts were also taken. From another reference it is clear that the sailors gave attention to preserving ointment necessary for moving in the sea water, kerosene oil and other things and also blocked the holes in the flanks of the reservoir of sweet water.[182] In the *Nāyādhamma Kahā*[183] we read that sailors took with them for viaticum molasses, rice, oil, ghee, milk products, water in water jars, medicinal drugs, grass, fuel, coverings for the body, wearing apparels, besides many other necessary things required for sailing the boats. In the *Jātakas*[184] we have some indications of the actual use of these things. We find that facing shipwreck people on the ship took as much sugar and ghee as they could digest and covered their bodies and garments with oil to sustain them.

From the story books of the period, we find that the survivals of a shipwreck on reaching an island hoisted a flag on some high place, so that the passing ships may notice it and come to their rescue.[185] The *Samarāiccakahā* uses a technical expression for such a flag[186] *(bhinnapoya-ddhao = bhinnapotadhvaja)*. The *Bṛhatkathāśloka-saṅgraha*[187] refers to the custom of sailors of wrecked ships *(bhjnnapatavaṇijavṛtta)* to place a flag on the top of a tree and burn fire so that passing ships may see and come to rescue. The use of the special term shows that sea-voyage and consequent shipwrecks were not uncommon. It was probably a professional courtesy (like that of the highway ethics of modern motor drivers) to go to the rescue of such people.

REFERENCES

1 *Dohākośa of Sarahapā* ed R Samkrtyayana, Patna, 1958, XIV 12, 58

2 Ed. Isvara Candra Sastri, Calcutta, 1917, p 224, vv 84–87 The text utilises the Varna nomenclature in classifying several other objects also We find the classification being applied by other writers to other categories of things Apparently theoretical, it shows the hold of the Varna scheme on Indian thought However, the characteristic qualities of the four Varnas were probably taken into consideration for such classifications.

3 p 131 दृढकाष्ठगुम्फनिष्ठुरा नाव ।

4. T C Dasgupta, *Aspects of Bengali Society*, Calcutta, 1935, p 13

5 G F Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, Princeton, 1951, p 90

6 *Ibid* pp 89 91 See Ibn-Jubayr, *Travels*, Ed W Wright, Revised by M J. de Goeje, London, 1907, p 71

7. L. Gopal, *University of Allahabad Studies*, Ancient History Section, 1959, pp 3–4

8 Barua, *Bharhut*, Vol I, Pl LX 14, no 85

9 Marshall, *Sanchi*, Vol II, Pl LI

10. Hornell, Indian boat designs, in *Mariner's Mirror*, XXVII, pp 54–68

11 R Ferrand, *Voyage du Merchande Arabe Sulayman en Inde et en Chine*, Paris, 1922, p 93

12. H Yule and H. Cordier, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, London, 1915, II, pp 113 14 "In this country men make use of a kind of vessel which they call Jase, which is fastened only with stitching of twine On one of the vessels I embarked, and I could find no iron at all therein "

13 Translated by H A R Gibb, London, 1929, p 243 "The Indian Ocean is full of reefs and if a ship is nailed with iron nails it breaks upon striking the rocks, whereas if it is sewn together it is given a certain resilience and does not fall to pieces "

14 "For they are stitched with cords of coir (*qinbār*), which is the husk of the coconut this they (the builders) thrash until it becomes stringy, then they twist from it cords with which they stitch the ships". Quoted by Hourani, *op cit* , p. 92

15 *Mirabilia Descripta*, Translated by H Yule, London, 1863, p 53

16 H Yule and H Coodier, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, London, 1915, III, p 67 · "Their ships in these parts are mighty frail and uncouth, with no iron in them, and no caulking · They are sewn like clothes with twine And so if the twine breaks anywhere there is a breech indeed! Once every year therefore there is a mending of this, more or less, if they propose to go to sea "

17 *The Book of Ser Marco Polo* translated by H Yule and edited by H Cordier, London, 1903, I p 111.

18 M Komroff, *Contemporaries of Marco Polo*, London, 1928, p 217

19 Quoted by A W Stiffe, Former Trading Centres of the Persian Gulf, in *Geographical Journal*, Vol XII, p 294

20 Herringham, *Ajanta*, Plate XLII 57(A)

21 Ed. P Peterson, Calcutta, 1899, p 420—
भिनत्ति नाव मूढात्मा स महोदधौ । सूत्रार्थ दारयत्युच्चैर्वैडूर्थ रत्नमुत्तमाम् ॥
प्रदीपयति कालार्थ देवद्रोणी महत्तमाम् । रत्नस्थाल्या पचत्याम्लखलक मोहदोषत ॥

22 p 225, v 96—
लौहताम्रादिपत्रेण कान्तलौहेन वा तथा ।
दीर्घा चैवोन्नता चेति विशेषे द्विविधा भिदा ॥

23 p. 227, v. 9—
धान्वा दीनामतो वक्ष्ये निर्णय तग्मिश्रयम् ।
कनक रजत ताम्र त्रितय वा यथाक्रमम् ॥

24 p 224, v 88—
न सिन्धुगाद्यार्हति लौहबन्ध, तल्लोहकान्तै हि लौहम् ।
विपद्यते तेन जलेषु नौका, गुणेन बन्ध निजगाद भोज ॥

25 p 138, vv 14 15
यद्दूरादपि लौहानि समाकृष्यति वेगवत् ।
अयस्कान्तमिद ज्ञेय तदर्थ द्विविध बुधै ॥
प्राय समुद्रतोयेषु लक्ष्यते प्रस्तरा इति ॥

26 *Apabhraṁśakāvyatrayī*, ed L B Gandhi, Baroda 1927, p 79 vv 29–30-

लोहिण जडिउ जु पोउ स फुट्टइ चुंबकु जहि पहाणु किव वट्टइ ?।
नेय समुद्दह पारु सु पावइ, अनरालि नसु आवय आवइ ॥
लोहिण रहिउ पोउ गुरुमायरु दीसइ तरतु जाइवि जडवायरु।
लाहउ करइ सु पारु वि पावइ वाणियाह धाणरिद्धि वि दावइ ॥

See also *Dohākośa* XLV 106

27. Ed C.D Dalal and P D Gune, Baroda, 1923, p. 22 (III 23 1 ff)

28 Hourani *op cit*, p 95 See also René Basset La Montagne d' Aimant *Revue des Traditions populaires* July, 1894, pp 377–80

29 q by Hourani, *op cit*, p 96 "Now this kind of structure (stitching) is not used except in the Indian Ocean, for the ships of the Mediterranean and those of the Arabs (there) all have nails, whereas in ships on the Indian Ocean iron nails do not last because the sea-water corrodes the iron, and the nails grow soft and weak in the sea, and therefore the people on its shores have taken to threading cords of fibre instead, and these are coated with grease and tar"

30 L Gopal, Antiquity of iron in India, *Uttar Bharati* X, pp 71 86, N R Banerji, *Iron Age in Ancient India*

31 Hourani, *op cit* pp 96 97

32. Hourani, *op cit*, p 96 adds "Similarly on the Coromandal and Malabar Coasts of India sewn boats can ride ashore on the heavy surf and stand the shock of being landed on a sandy beach from a breaker"

33. A L, Basham, *Arts and Letters*, Vol XXIII, p 65 (Reprinted in *Studies in Indian History and Culture* Calcutta, 1964)

34. Yule and Cordier, *op cit*, II, p. 67 See *supra* f n 16 Ibn-Jubayr mentions "dusur" (cakum) from the wood of the date palm as being used for caulking - Wright's *Glossary to Ibn-Jubayr*, Ist edn., p 22

35 *Persian Wars*, Book I, p 19 "For neither are they smeared with pitch, nor with any other substance."

36 "The pieces are caulked with flour and whale oil They catch the smallest, which they cook in cauldrons, so that their flesh melts and changes into thick liquid This only substance is famous in the Yemen, at Aden, on the coast of Fars, of Omen, and in the seas of India and China. The people of these regions use this substance to block the holes in their ships." -Reinaud, *Relations*, I, pp ~~144-46~~.

37 p 131 - "Every year these are driven on the coast (of Chungli or Somali) a great many dead fish measuring two hundred feet in length and twenty feet through the body. The people do not eat the flesh of these fish, but they cut out their brains, marrow and eyes, from which they get oil often as much as three hundred odd long (from a single fish) They mix this oil with lime to caulk their boats"

38 Kazwani in Reinaud, *Relations*, I, pp 145 6 "The people harpooned them (whales) and got much oil out of the brain, which they used for their lamps and smearing ships" Ibn-Jubayr regards shark oil as the best Hourani, *op cit*, p 98

39. L Gopal, *University of Allahabad Studies*, Ancient History section, 1958, p 3 See also *Dohākośa*, XIV 87, Rewah Stone Inscription of Karna (Kalacuri era 800) *E.I* XXIV, no 13, v 23

40 *Arthaśāstra*, II 28 13.

41 K A N Sastri, *Gleanings on Social life from the Avadānas*, p. 20.

42 II 3 1 10-20

43 p. 132 स्थगित नि शेष मधिरन्ध्रया

44 p 145 सुश्लिष्टबन्धानपि फलकसन्धीन्निरन्ध्रानूर्णसूर्णामिकथकेन

45 See Hourani, *op cit*, p 98

46 R K Mookerji, *A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity* London, 1912, p 46 48, A L Basham, *op cit*, pp 66–67

47 p 228, vv 19 25

ब्रह्मक्षत्रे द्वितये एकैके वैश्यशूद्रयोनी।
निगूढ सगूढ वाथ तत्सर्व्वं द्विविध भवेत् ॥
निगूढ पूर्व्वमुद्दिष्ट सगूढाणि यथा (च) शृणु।
सगूढा त्रिविधा प्रोक्ता (नौका) सर्व्वमध्याग्रमन्दिरा ॥
सर्व्वतो मन्दिर यत्र सा ज्ञेया सर्व्वमन्दिरा।
राज्ञा केशाश्वनारीणा यानमत्र प्रशस्यते ॥
मध्यतो मन्दिर यत्र सा ज्ञेया मध्यमन्दिरा।
राज्ञा विलासयात्रादि (त्र) वर्षासु च प्रशस्यते ॥
अग्रतो मन्दिर यत्र सा ज्ञेया त्वग्रमन्दिरा।
चिरप्रवासयात्राणा रणेकाले घनात्यये।
मन्दिर (रा) मान नौका प्रसरत स्वार्द्धभागतो न्यूनम् ॥
भोजस्तु।
दीर्घवृत्तचतुष्पद्-दिवाकरानेक-दिङ् नवमिता यथाक्रमम्।
राजसत्रभुजमम्भितोऽत्रनिर्मन्दिरे नागिराने मह्रीभुजाम् ॥
भास्करादिक-दशाभुवा पुनर्यान्तु निर्णयनमत्र पूर्व्ववत्।
पताकाकलसादीना निर्णयो नवदण्डवत् ॥

48 p 131 – सपरिग्रहे च पुरोभागवर्तिनि मत्तवारणकमध्यमध्यास्य वहनमनं

49 p 227, vv 10 11

ब्रह्मादिभि परिव्यस्य नौका चित्रण-कर्म्मणि ।
चतुःशृङ्गा त्रिशृङ्गाभा द्विशृङ्गा चैकशृङ्गिणी ॥
सितरक्तापीतनीलवर्णान् दद्याद् यथाक्रमम् ।
केशरी महिषी नागो द्विरदो व्याघ्र एव च ॥

There is no apparent connexion on between the number of masts and the colours suggested The *Jātakas* refer to three masts of a ship II 212, III 126 IV 17, 21 A painting from Ajanta represents a ship with three masts Yazdani. *Ajanta*, II, Plate XLII

50 R K Mookerji, *op cit*, pp 46 48, nos. 1, 3, 5 For the ship on Āndhra coins see *A S I* (New Imperial Series), XV, p 29. Elliot, *Coins of South India* Plate No 45

51 R K Mookerji, *Loc cit*, nos 2, 4, 6.

52 *Ibid* nos 5, 6.

53. *Ibid*, nos 1, 3, 5 The ship in the Ajanta painting has square sails The stay sail is depicted here also. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, II, Plate XLII

54 Yule and Cordier, *op. cit.*, III, p 67 "They have but one sail and one mast, and the sails are either of matting or of some miserable cloth The ropes are of husk"

55. Marco Polo also speaks of one mast and one sail

56 p 130 आगत्य च मया कृतानि सर्वाण्यपि सुसूत्राणि यानपात्राणि

57 p 132 पृष्ठतोऽनुकूलपवनास्फालन तरङ्गितेन फेनपाण्डुना लसितमघातेन पुरस्ताच्च सितपटेन प्रवर्त्यमानया अजस्याप्यतिजवेन दुर्दिभावन्याह्नतेरनु- ज्झितस्थानयेवोह्यमानया नावोह्यमान

58 p 134 कूपस्तम्भकानुत्तम्भयद्भि सितपटानामुत्रयाद्भि

59. p. 138 श्रमविकलबाहवो न शक्नुवन्ति निद्रावशीकृता कर्तुमवष्टम्भ कूपस्तम्भकेषु कर्णधारा . समीरोऽपि सम्प्रति प्रतीपगति प्रवाति । प्रगुणीकृत्य यदुपवनपाटितसितपटानि

60. p. 140 मुकुलितसितपटेषु

61 p 145 अनिल संक्षोभेषु नूतना संयोजयता रज्जुरजर्जरस्यापि वार वारमापादयता सितपटस्य पाटवम्

62 VI, p 38 – ओसहिओ सियवडो

63 Bombay edition, pp. 398 ff

64 R K Mookerji, *op cit* nos 1 6

65. *Ibid*, p 47

66 *Ibid* pp 46-48, nos 1, 3, 5 See also A L Basham, *op cit*, pp 66-67.

67 R K Mookerji, *loc cit*, no 5

68 p 140 सर्वतोऽवलम्बितस्थूल नागरशिलानिगडितपोतेषु

69 *Ibid* दृढनिपातनिष्ठुरकाष्ठकीलनियमितनौकेषु

70 *Samarāiccakahā* VI, p. 37 – आगड्डियाओ वेगहारिणीओ सिलाओ. (Bombay edition), pp. 264 ff, *Bhavisyattakahā*, VII.3.3 (pp 48–49), *Nāyadhammakahāo*, Agamadaya Samiti edition, pp. 131 ff

71 *Divyāvadāna*, p 230

72 VI, p 38 तओ मम गमणारम्भेण ओसारिओ सियवडो जीवियासा विय विमुक्का नङ्गरसिला निज्जामएहिं । Bombay edition, pp 298 ff

73 II, p 299

74. Yule and Cordier, *op cit*, III, p 67

75. XVIII 314 ff

76 VI, p 39, Bombay edition, pp 398 ff

77 R K Mookerji, *op cit*, p 48, no 5

78. pp. 224 ff., vv. 89 ff

79 *op cit*, p. 65.

80. *op cit*, p 46

81. Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, Mac Lehose edn, III, pp 193, 396, see also Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-Kua*, Introduction, p 34, f n 2

82 मेघादीत्यादिपदेन यानपोतादिपरिग्रहस्तेषामपि वायुना प्रेर्यमाणत्वात् ।
Śrīdhara as quoted by B K Sarkar, *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, Appendix D, p 351

83. *Islamic Culture*, 1941, p 443.

84 p 386

85 p. 146— राजिलक तर्जितोऽपि नोपरमसि प्रगुणयायितामपि नावमागस्त्री गति ग्राहयस्यस्ति कश्चिन्न ते दिङ्मोहो यद्युदाहृतामप्यहृदय न जानास्यु- त्तराशावर्तिनी प्रवर्तनीम् । प्रवर्तय दृष्ट्वा दृष्ट्वा सप्तर्षि मण्डलिन्यादि ।

86 *Ṛgveda*, VI, 62 2, *Jātaka* III, 267, *Dīghanikāya* XI 85

87. *Dohākośa* IX (ख) 23 24 See also Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-Kua*, Introduction, p 28.

88 Moti Chandra *Sārthavāha*, Patna, 1953, pp 147, 209, R K Mookerji, *op cit*, pp 47 48, *Bombay Gazetteer* XIII, Part ii, Appendix A, p. 725

89 L Gopal, *University of Allahabad Studies*, Ancient History section, 1959, p 16 17, A L Bashaam, *op cit*, pp 66 67

90. VII 2 16 T W Rhys Davids. *The Questions of King Milinda*. II. p 301 translates *yanta* as steering apparatus *Dhruva* mentioned in the *Vasudevahindi* (pp 145-46. Gujarati translation. pp 188-89) has been translated as a mariner's compass—*Journal of Oriental Institute*. X. p 10

91 R K Mookerji. *op cit*. pp 46-48. illustration no 1 The object can be noticed in some other illustrations - A.L Basham. p. 67

92 *Loc cit*

93 A L Basham. *Loc cit*. They could as well have been mere ornamental designs - L Gopal. *University of Allahabad Studies*. Ancient History Section. 1959. p 16.

94 J Needham. *Science and Civilization in China*. IV 1 pp 245 50

95. E. Speak. *Handelsgeschichte des Alterthums*. I pp 29. 209 refers it to the first century A D and Beazley. *Dawn of modern geography*. I. p 490 to the third century

96 "The ship masters know the configuration of the coasts. at night they steer by the stars and in the day-time by the sun When the sun is obscured they look at the south-pointing needle or use a line a hundred feet long with a hook. with which they take up mud from the sea bottom. by its smell they determine their whereabouts. In mid-ocean it never rains. whenever it rains (they know) they are nearing an island (or headland)"—Hirth and Rockhill (Ed.). *Chau Ju-kua*. Introduction. p 32

97 He refers to the "south-pointing floating needle" being used on the ships sailing from Ning-po. It seems from the description that it was a new invention—Edkins. *JCBRAS*. XI. pp 128 34

98. The "south-pointing ship" mentioned by the *Sung-shu* for the period of the Tsin dynasty (E.H Parker. *China Review* XVIII. p 197) does not necessarily imply a compass See also J Chalmers. *China Review* XIX. pp 52–54 (discusses "south-pointing chariots" of early Chinese records). A Wylie. *Magnetic Compass in China* Chou Ku-fei also shows that the captains relied on wind and stars—Hirth and Rockhill. *Chau Ju-kua*. Introduction. p 34

99 A D Reinaud. *Geographie d'Aboulfeda*. I. pp ccııı cciv. S S Nadvi. *Arbon Ki Jahāzrāni* (Azamgarh. 1935). pp. 148–152 Nadvi quotes Al Idrīsī (A.D 1154) but admits that he himself did not see the passage Thus the earliest known reference is by Muhammad 'Aufī in his *Jāmi'ul Hikāyāt* (A D. 1232) and Bailak Qibajaqi (death in A.D 1282) in his *Kanzul Tujjar*

100 Hourani. *op cit*. pp 108 f.

101. *Bombay Gazetteer*. Vol XIII. Part II. Appendix A. p 725.

102 E g.. Marco Polo

103. Marco Polo and Nicolo Conti. Translated by J Frampton and Edited by N M Penzer. London. 1929. p 140

104. It was realised that cleaning (*samnārjanam*) and right placing of the magnet (*rjusthāpanam*) are necessary But. while commenting on the movement of the needle towards the magnet as an example of unexplained motion in matter Śankara Misra adds that needle meaning iron rod stands for iron in general सूचीना लोहशलाकाना. अयस्कानाभिमुखगमनम् सूचीत्युपल-क्षणम् अयस्कान्ता कृष्टलोहोहमात्रमाभिप्रेनम्—— As quoted by B K. Sarkar. *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*. Appendix D. p 357

105 Ed F Lacote. XIX 107 महमागर्गदिग्देश स्पष्ट मपुटकेऽलिखन्

106. L Gopal. *The Economic life of northern India* (c. A D 700–1200 A D) Varanasi. 1965. pp. 119–160

107 K A N Sastri. *Foreign Notices of South India* Madras. 1939. p 19

108. quoted in *Age of Imperial Kanauj*. p. 401

109 *Chau Ju-kua*. p 19

110. *Ibid*. p. 113. 11 41–42

111. pp 996–98.

112. Ferrand. *Voyage du Marchand Arabe Sulaiman* p 138

113. A.K. Majumdar. *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*. Bombay. 1956. p 267

114. Yule and Cordier. *op cit*.. I. pp 84 85

115. L. Gopal. *The Economic Life of Northern India*. p 143

116. *Ibid*.. pp 144–45.

117 *Ibid*. p. 125

118. *Ibid*. pp. 119–25

119. *Ibid*.. pp 126–27.

120 *Daśakumāracarita*. Tr W Ryder. Chicago. 1927. p 164. *Prabandhacintāmani*. ed Jinavijaya Muni. Santiniketan. 1933. p 14: Motupalli Pillar Inscription. *E I* XII. p 195. Ibn Batūta. tr H A R Gibb. pp 233. 254

121 L Gopal. *Loc cit* p 129

122 *Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā* Bibliotheca Indica series pp 113 14

123. Ibn Batūta. H A R. Gibb. p 230

124 Ibn Batūta. *Voyages* ed C Defremery and B.R Sanguinetti. III. pp 88-91

125 *Upamitibhava prapañcā-kathā*. pp 870-72

126 T 1 22. II 1 51

127 III 158

128 IV. 179. A L. Basham. *op cit*. p 68 finds its confirmation in a statement by Dion Chrysostom. *Oratio* XXXV 434 (R C Majumdar. *The Classical Accounts of India*. Calcutta. 1960. p 433) " . and some few do come in pursuit of trade Now

these do business with the inhabitants of the sea coast, but this class of Indians is not held in repute, and are reprobated by the rest of their countrymen "

129 On Yājña. III 292

130 II 134 f

131 XXII 12 16 समुद्रयात्रास्वीकारः कमण्डलुविधारणम् ।
द्विजानामसवर्णासु कन्यासूपयमस्तथा ॥
इमान् धर्मान् कलियुगे वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥

See also *Smrtyarthasāra*, p 2, *Udvāhatattva*, p 112, *Nirnayasindhu*, p 367, *Kalivarjyavivarana*, Krsnabhatta (on *Nirnayasindhu*, p. 1288) makes it clear that expiration is to be undergone when the sea-voyage is undertaken from wordly motives and not as part of pilgrimage एतच्च प्रायश्चित्तं रागप्राप्ते समुद्रयान एव । शङ्खोद्धारादितीर्थे यात्राविधिनान्तरीयक समुद्रयानमतो दोषाभावान्न प्रायश्चित्तमित्यन्यत्र विस्तरः ।

132 *Caturvargacintāmani* Calcutta, 1895, III, Pt 2, p 667

133 *History of Dharmaśātra*, III, p 934

134 Quoted by Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, III, p. 936.

135 VI 41

136 I.32

137 Manu II 23— कृष्णसारस्तु चरति मृगो यत्र स्वभावतः ।
स ज्ञेयो यज्ञियो देशो म्लेच्छदेशस्त्वतः परः ॥

Al-Bīrūnī II, pp 134–35.

138. Devala quoted in *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya, III, 292, *Āditya Purāṇa* quoted in *Smṛticandrikā* I, p 9, *Adi Purāṇa* quoted in *Paribhāsāprakāśa*, p 59

139. L Gopal, "Economic Pursuits in Indian ideal of life", *Gopinath Kaviraj Abhinandan Granth*, Varanasi, 1968, p 411

140. *Ibid*, pp 409–411

141 For example traditions about the missions of Sona and Uttara to Suvaṇnabhūmi (*Mahāvaṃsa* XII 6, 44, ff, *Dīpavamsa*, VIII 12, *Samantapāsādikā*, I 64) and Mahinda and Sanghamittā to Ceylon See also traditions about Gunavarman (Pelliot, *B E F E D* IV, pp 271 ff). Dharmapāla (Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p 130) and Atīśa Dīpankara (S C Das, Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow, p 50) sailing to Suvarnadvīpa

142 A L Basham, *Arts and Letters*, XXIII, p 69

143 L Gopal, *Economic life of Northern India* p 125

144 *Ibid.*, p. 126

145 VIII 157 — समुद्रयानकुशला देशकालार्थदर्शिनः ।
स्थापयन्ति तु या वृद्धि सा तत्राधिगम प्रति ॥

146 समुद्रयानग्रहण यात्रोपलक्षणार्थम् । स्थलपथिका वारिपथिकाश्च वणिजो या वृद्धि स्थापयन्ति सा तत्राधिगम प्रति निश्चय प्रति । सैव निश्चेतव्येत्यर्थः ।

147. *Krtyakalpataru Vyavahāra*, p. 284 – समुद्रयानकुशला' इति वाणिङ्मात्रोपलक्षणम् ।

148 III, 652 660 In 655 it gives terms for a sea-trader, a ship, the mast of a ship and a helmsman Later on in the context of of rivers it mentions terms for oar, rudder and the head of a boat

149 p. 155, 11 29-39.

150 I 122; II 20; V. 7, VI 95, 96

151. p 75, 1 83 वैश्या सामुद्रमाजीवेत् पण्य सामुद्रमेव स ।

152. *op cit* p 69

153 XII.2-6

154 q. in *Yuktikalpataru*, p 223, f n
समुद्रयाने रत्नानि महामूल्यानि साधुभि ।
रत्नपरीक्षकै सार्द्धमानयिष्ये बहूनि च ॥
शुकेन सह सप्राप्तो महान्त लवणार्णवम् ।
पोतारूढास्ततः सर्व्वे पोतवाहैरुपस्थिता ॥
अपारे दुस्तरेऽगाधे यान्ति वेगेन नित्यश ।

155 IV 2— हर्म्यारोहणहेलया यदचला स्वभ्रै सदाभ्रलिहा, यद्वा गोष्पदलीलया जलभरक्षोभोद्धता सिन्धव ।
लध्यन्ते भवनस्थलीकलनया ये चाटवीना तटा, तद्वीर्यस्य महात्मना विलसत सत्त्वोर्जित स्फूर्जितम् ॥

156 pp 264 ff, 398 ff, 585

157 pp 996 98

158 p 29

159 LIII, 3 ff, LXXVIII 42, LXXXII, 1 ff

160 pp 123 ff In this account we find the use of many terms connected with ships and shipping. Thus on p 124 we notice the word *sāgarāvatāradeśa* for the dock.

161 pp 21 ff

162. *Dohākośa* · Sarahapāda's *Upadeśagīti*, III 53; IX (क) 23–24; XIV 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 21, 22, 38–40, 59, 65, 70 72, 84, 87, 89, 95, 101, 106, 112, 132, *Vinavaśrī*, no 14

163 pp. 223-28

164 *Manasāmangal* of Bangśīdās. ed. D Chakravartı. p 286. *Candi kāvya* of Kavikankan. Bangabası ed . pp. 221-22

165 See T. Dasgupta. *Aspects of Bengalı Society*, p. 17

166 pp 62. 68 Also p 56

167 VI. p 37 (p. 264) See also p 398

168 *Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā*. pp. 900 1 (कृतानि मङ्गलानि). *Bṛhatkathākośa*. LXXVIII. 42 (कृतमङ्गलमस्कार्य)

169 pp 21 f (III 22 10 जलजनाकम्पतरु)

170 p. 123 उदारवेषयोपि द्वन्दगीयमानगाम्भीर्यमहिममर्यादादिजलनिधिगुणाम् भगवतो रत्नाकरस्य पूजा प्रतिष्ठम् ।

171 p 132 दामपुर्गध्रिदत्तपिष्ट पचाङ्गलया

172 Angamodaya Samıti edition. pp 131 ff This may be one of the rare passages which are exception to the general remark made by Prof. Basham See *supra* f.n. 152.

173 *Jātaka* IV. pp 87 88. *Jātakamālā* pp 88 89

174 *JUPHS*. XXIV XXV. p 183

175 Rev William Taylor *A Catalogue Raisonee of Oriental MSS in the library of the Late College of Fort St. George*, Madras. 1857. Vol III. pp 6 (no 2226). 444

176 pp 129–30— तत्र च कुर्वताधिपत्यमचिरेणैव शिक्षितानेन सकलापि नौप्रचारविद्या, विदितमखिलमपि कर्णधाराणां कर्म कृतानि बहुकृत्व सलिलराशौ गमनागमनानि, दृष्टा दूरप्रकृष्टा अपि द्वीपान्तरभूमय प्रत्यक्षीकृता क्षुद्रा अपि जलपथा , लक्षितानि तेषु सम्यकसमविषमस्थानानि । Later on the text enumerates the good qualities of Tāraka for which he is recommended to be appointed captain of the ship. But here there is no reference to any technical knowledge The passage simply mentions his courage, cool-mindedness and observation

177. p 144— सम्यगभ्यस्त यान पात्रप्रचार कर्मणा

178 p 146. See supra f.n 85.

179. p 48 (VII 1 84 5) He distinctly remembered what was written in books of medicine

180. *Tilakamañjarī*. p 130 पूजित तेष्वतिप्राज्यमशनम्, आपूरितानि स्वादुना सलिलेन कृत्स्नान्युदकपात्राणि, समारोपितमप्रमाणमिन्धनम् , p 138 — पूरयित्वा स्वादुसलिलेन रिक्तजलभाण्डानि गृहीत्वा कियन्मात्रमपि मार्गमिन्धनदारु ।

181. p 130 अपरोऽपि देहस्थितिसाधनमधिकृतैर्य कश्चिदर्पित सोऽपि सर्पिस्तैलकम्बलोपधप्राय प्रायशो विन्यस्त समस्तोऽपि द्वीपान्तरदुर्लभो द्रव्याणा कलाप ।

182 p. 134 स्वीकृतसलिलमध्यसचारणोचिताञ्जनैरग्निनैलादिद्रव्यसग्रहपरै ।

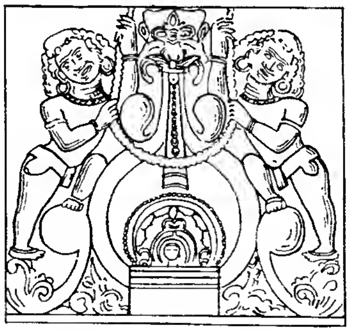
183 pp 131 f

184 No 442. 539

185 *Bhavisayattakahā*. p 45 (VI 18 1 2. 12 13) See also *Dohākośa* XIV 14

186 VI. p 39. Bombay edition. p 399

187 XVIII 314 ff



The Impact of India on the Architecture of South East Asia

K.R. SRINIVASAN

"TO KNOW INDIAN art in India alone is to know only half the story"[1] was the sage observation of Sir John Marshall made years ago and the varity of the statement has been amply proved by the subsequent decades of patient research. The results of the work of the Archaeological Survey of India, of which he was the first Director General (1902–1928), forming one half of this picture and the other half of the picture emerging with the studies of the archaeology and art of the Far East that progressed almost simultaneously under the Archaeological Service of the Dutch East Indies, the French School of Archaeology for the Extreme Orient and allied institutions have since come to be collated and compared. The conclusions arrived at have only rendered the equally sage assertion of the savant Sylvan Lévi that "India produced her ultimate master-pieces only through foreign influences and in foreign lands (the South-Eastern peninsular and archipelagic regions)" almost axiomatic.[2] Angkor in Cambodia and Borobudur in Java which are undoubtedly the two greatest architectural marvels of Indian genius, for in content and spirit these (and other monuments of varying magnitudes) are purely Indian, would well illustrate this saying. Stimulated research followed the discoveries and among the many studies and publications of such poineers like Coedès, Parmentier, Coomaraswamy and many others in Dutch, French and English[3] made growing contributions to the subject.

Indian acculturation of these countries of the South East, has always been peaceful, since it mostly followed the growing trade of the mercantile communities of India, as evidenced by many inscriptions of their activities that are to be found both in peninsular India, and the countries across the Bay of Bengal. The varied trade flowed out of the many eastern ports of India extending from Tāmralipti in north of the Bay to Kbrkai in the south Pāṇḍyan country.[4] The priesthood and clergy of Hinduism, including Buddhism, accompanied as also the craft-guilds of the times and founded small settlements in these far-flung areas. The commercial contacts with the South-East intensified from the early centuries of the Christian era, perhaps, with the loss of the till-then flourishing trade with the Mediterranean world and the Persian Gulf areas. Similarly great upheavals in the Central Asian sector could have discouraged active trade with the territories north and north-west of India. In addition, historical events in India should have also sometimes intensified the process of Indianization, chiefly by the immigrant small colonies. The relations with India were thus always close and friendly, excepting for the single incident of the political relations between Śrīvijaya and the Coḷas in the 11th century. The accompanying Indian acculturation of these areas had thus always been pacific and independent of politics and by its very nature was more acceptable than the Chinese, to which country and civilization these areas were equally adjacent and exposed, and which was animated by a desire for conquest accompanied by the imposition of the organizational system of the empire. In this context each crisis in the Chinese empire proved to be a boon to the South Eastern Countries for their vitality could increase whenever the Imperial power to the north waned or was eclipsed.

Related as they were to the Chinese world and constantly connected with it from proto-historic times, as also in a different way to the island stretches reaching up to Japan, these South Eastern countries interposed between India and China were indeed open to prolonged Chinese cultural diffusion, though limited to small areas, and Chinese political power did have the effect of slowing down the progress of Indianization of these countries. When once the impact of Indianization started in early historic times, the aspect of dependence of these countries on China was completely altered. Continued diffusion of the three great Indian religious currents—Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism—naturally resulted in their absorption and assimilation, according to the respective native genius, of common elements, religious ideas, philosophy, ritual traditions and identical themes of symbolism and iconography and canons of architecture—all mostly derived from Indian sacred literature and technical treatises that formed a common patrimony. Naturally also local history, legends, beliefs, and traditions did influence the format of the matrix of their respective art, architectural and iconographic expressions. Indianization was facilitated the more by the adoption of the Indian language, of religion, philosophy and technology, namely, Sanskrit and even the Indian script, mostly the south Indian Pallava-Grantha variety. And when once the language and script were learnt, the study and comprehension of the treatises and the diffusion of their contents were easy.

The savant Coedès[5] would have us understand the process of Indian acculturation of these areas as essentially the expansion of an organized culture based on Hindu concepts of royalty characterized by Hindu and Buddhist worship, *Purāṇa* mythology, observance of the *Dharmaśāstras* and the use of Sanskrit as the means of expression. The most important and vital factor of this complex phenomenon was the use of Sanskrit which provided the vocabulary of religious and social terminology, almost all the words and terms dealing with abstract concepts as well as others concerned with day-to-day life, technical terms (*paribhāṣā*) and grammatical particles which rendered more flexible the various indigenous languages, all of which were isolating languages, the contribution of the particles being the most important of all. Of equally greater importance too would be the influence on the various peoples of the particular habit of mind of Indian culture which, always guided by a clear perspective and coherent philosophic vision, tended to gather up into systematic expositions or treatises (*śāstras*), all the knowledge of any branch of human activity, from jurisprudence to politics, from aesthetics to technical knowledge and even to the pursuit of pleasure.

With this background it will be our purpose here to briefly examine the influences that Indian architecture had on the building art of these South Eastern Lands. It will be possible to trace the development of Hindu-Buddhist art of India in these areas from the time when buildings and their concomitant sculptures were first executed in durable materials like different varieties of stone from the late 6th or the 7th century. It cannot however be gainsaid that earlier to this period contacts with India had been established and art and architectural forms, techniques, expressions and motifs were imbibed. But these cannot be so directly examined and evaluated inspite of the availability of much extensive archaeological material and documentation for the reason that all the art and architectural productions were made of perishable fabric—brick, timber, stucco and the like that have become much disjointed, if not destroyed.

As such the developments that India witnessed from Aśokan times in the mode of rock-architecture.[6] could not be traced in these South Eastern lands since no such mode existed. Even in India, in the make up of the great *stūpas* of the classical period of Indian art, as at Sanchi, Barhut, Amaravati the main fabric of construction was brick; and stone when used was only as a veneer or casing, serving no constructional purpose, but lending itself to embellishment by carvings in addition to being a protective casing. The *toraṇas* and railings, though sometimes of stone, were imitations of carpentry and not real stone structures in the strict meaning of the term involving principles of construction related to the material employed.

The four or five centuries following the 6th of the Christian era, when the art of the Gupta period had attained its marvellous efflorescence, mark the greatest period of building activity in stone and the development of the accompanying sculptural art in the stone structures. This was more active in the peninsular India, south of the Vindhyas when the three great empires of the Cāḷukyas of Badami in the Deccan, the Pallavas of Kanchi on the coast and the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai in the far south rose to power and became, perhaps, the greatest contributors to the new mode of architecture and art in stone, the verve of which crossed the eastern sea-board and spread across the Bay to these countries where too, almost contemporaneously, the stone tradition in the construction of temples and *stūpas* started. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas who supplanted the Cāḷukyas of Badami, as the power in the Deccan after the lapse of about a century and a half of Cāḷukya power and the Imperial Coḷas of Tanjore, who replaced both the Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas after their three century-old reign, with the Eastern branch of the Cāḷukyas of Vengi wedged in between them on the Andhra sea board, formed two dominants in the late part of the period that developed respectively the technique, forms and idioms started by the Badami Cāḷukyas in the Deccan on the one hand and by the Pallava-Pāṇḍyas of the south on the other and spread them out eventually to the South-East. It is in this period that the distinct *Vimāna* or tiered temple form of the south developed with various stylistic and regional variations as also the *gopura* entrances to the temple complex, equally characteristic of south India, as contrasted with the *prāsāda* temple form of the Deccan and north India including Kalinga and Gujarat, some with *toraṇa* entrances; the two forms (*vimāna* and *prāsāda* types) in their earlier stages being found as a mixed bag in the Cāḷukyas centres of Badami, Mahākutesvar, Aihole and Pattadakal. The Cāḷukyas and following them the dynasties that rose to power in their area of the Deccan and north Mysore continued the tradition of employing stones from the softer varieties of rocks, like sandstone, as the Guptas, Śuṅgas, Mauryas and others did earlier in north India, and where the sandstone or soft-stone tradition continued in the late Mediaeval and Muslim periods extending even to modern times. The fabric of Gandhara art, it should be remembered, was limestone and that of the Sātavāhanas was the soft trap into which they excavated the great Buddhist monuments of western India or the soft Palnad limestone of the Krishna valley as at Amaravati and many other places with the succeeding Ikṣvākus following suit as at Nagarajunakonda.

Orissan art and architecture was also on the soft stone medium. Kaliṅga (Orissa) and Bengal in eastern India which provided equal access to the South-Eastern lands of these times, maritime from their ports as also overland, too had a share in the make-up of the architectural forms and art trends of the area, particularly in the more proximate regions. The strident development of contemporary Orissan architecture and sculpture under the Bhaumas, the Somavaṃśīs and the Eastern Gaṅgas as also the distinct styles of the Pālas had their effects on the monuments of the South-Eastern countries.

The Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas struck a new trail, by excavating into extremely hard rocks like granite and charnokite or later by building up with stones of such material. This hard stone tradition continued under the Coḷas and succeeding dynasties of the far south right into modern times. It was during the times of the Vijayanagara emperors whose empire extended both over the Cāḷukyan area, and the far south, that the hardstone tradition spread over the entire south, terminating the till then prevalent soft-stone work-as for example schist, soapstone, etc. of the Western Cāḷukyas, the Kākatiyas, and the Hoysalas.

We find that in most of the South-Eastern countries the soft-stones, like sandstone, limestone or even laterite (as in Orissa or Kerala) mostly for foundations (or hearting as in Cambodia) were adopted except in Indonesia where the hard volcanic stone andesite or trachyte was employed following the Pallava-Pāṇḍya-Coḷa hard stone tradition, a significant feature in the art history of the countries concerned. Furthermore the masonry, as in the Indian monuments was of the dry order, no mortar or cementing material being used in the construction so that in their building technique the structural principles adopted by them were essentially the same as in India.

Pradakṣiṇā or circumambulation constituting an important ritual in Indian worship, whether of the Buddhist or of the Saiva-Vaiṣṇava or of the other sects, the design of the temples, whether of the open-to-air or of the hypaethral type, or of the roofed type, had to provide for such a feature which is found again faithfully repeated in the plan and layout of the South-Eastern *stūpas* and temples. The hypaethral temple with the object of worship open to the air, as in the *vṛikṣa caitya*, or *Bōdhimaṇḍa*, reflecting the earlier trends of animistic or tree-worship and of the *stūpa*, starting primarily as a funerary tomb *(śārīraka)*, becoming secondarily a reliquary of objects associated with the hallowed great *(pāribhōgika)* and ending as the commemorative *(uddeśika)* monument—all symbolic of the master and likewise reflecting the cults of ancestor-worship of the earlier peoples and the roofed sanctuaries enshrining the object of worship—symbolic or anthropomorphic forms of the deity venerated, both appealed to the almost similarly conditioned peoples of these lands, where too animism and megalithism prevailed earlier to the onset of the organised Indian religious ideas. Thus the borrowal by the South-East of Indian temple types, both in their function and form and exhibiting very little modification in the beginning resulted. The provision of such elaborate circumambulatories in the monuments of Borobudur, Prambanan, and Angkor, to mention the most well-known, would suffice to illustrate this trend.

The enhancement of the stature of the monument—*stūpa* or temple, by mounting it on a high square platform with steps *(sōpāna)* provided on the cardinal sides would be another feature of Indian origin, particularly north-Indian, of the early times that found its emphasis in the South-East, as could be seen in the three examples mentioned, and in almost all cases among the rest in Burma, Cambodia, Thailand and Indonesia. The essentially square platforms are repeatedly offset on their sides to make twelve, or twenty or progressively more re-entrant corners. The Sompuri or Paharpur temple, as an early example preserved in Bengal which had as its nucleus a *stūpa* mounted on a triple terrace, each square and of lesser sides than the one below and offset into twenty corners, surrounded by four big sanctuaries and a covered *pradakṣiṇā* so much so that the steeple-like *chatrāvalī* finial of the main part alone is rendered visible as overtopping the whole complex formed a model for the Burmese temples and *stūpas*, as in the Ananda temple at Pagan of the 10th–13th centuries, constituting veritable specimens of the late Pāla school. The shape of the *aṇḍa* or dome of the *stūpa* tending to the bell-shaped or campanulate is a development borrowed from the Ceylon types and a variation from the domical or high domical of the northern, western and south Indian, and the tall cylindrical of north-western India. But the original structure of the Burmese *stūpa* was cylindrical, e.g., the Bawbawgyi *stūpa* (early 7th century) or high domical showing transitional shapes from a bulbous to a more slender tower-shaped top. While in essential concepts, form and components these *stūpas* derive much from the Indian forms, the characteristic feature is the general absence of the *harmikā*, a small pavilion-like or railed-enclosure-like structure found on the top of the Indian forms, though this element is found preserved on top of a few hemispherical *stūpas* that have remained more faithful to the Indian or Sinhalese prototypes. The crowning member of the hypaethral *stūpa* temple was instead a conventionalised *chatrāvalī* elongated and of conspicuous height, the *hti*, perhaps a borrowal and development of the Sinhalese form. In the Javanese examples the finial approximates more a miniature *stūpa* or even a *kalaśa* form, but with an elongated attenuate rod-like terminal.

The trend that animated the creation of monumental forms, as in Borobudur, is clearly traceable to such great forms as the *stūpa* of Lauriya Nandangarh (4th century) which in dimensions exceeded the Javanese monument but certainly lacked its wealth of decoration. In its final form this most developed concept of the hypaethral *stūpa* temple form in Borobudur seems to have derived from more than one regional source in India, though van Lohuizen would have us believe that the inspiration was of Pāla origin. For one thing the arrangement of the niches and miniature *stūpas* on the terraces is more after the model of the arrangement of the miniature shrine forms on the *talas* of a south Indian *vimāna*.

In the case of the roofed temples, *devāyatanas* or *caityagṛhas*, where the body of the structure raised over its own plinth, often elevated by a terraces sub-base, is a sanctuary enshrining the object of worship—a *stūpa* form, icon, image or symbol, the general essentials are mostly Indian. The roof, likewise, was trabeate, rising up tower-like by a system of inward corbelling of the stages, achieved by the overlapping of the courses progressively towards one another inside, thus gradually reducing in size the space to be covered or roofed over. This scheme, called *kadalikākaraṇa* in Indian architectural texts, is the characteristic mode of construction adopted in India for its rising roofs that reduce themselves to a small opening on top that can ultimately be covered over by a single slab—the *pidhāna-phalaka*, that carried the finial—the *stūpī* or *kalasa* of the southern temple or the *āmala-śilā* with *kalaśa* of the northern temple. An alternate mode, adopted generally in the *maṇḍapa* roofs of lesser height as in Orissa, central India and the Deccan (Cāḷukyan and its derivatives) would be the progressive cutting of the corners in the square opening by triangular slabs, a feature to be noted also in Kashmir. Thus the only vaulting known was the corbelled vault; the true arch, dome or vault being unknown both in India and the South East. [At Kauśāmbī, near Allahabad, true arches, according to Prof. G.R. Sharma, were used in the construction of monumental brick and stone houses of the early centuries of the Christian era.—Ed.]. In timber constructions, however, the dome *(kūṭa)* the barrel-vault (wagon-top roof, *śāla*), or even the apsidal (or *cāpa*-form, the *nīḍa* or *pañjara*) was achieved by a system of curved joists, or rafters—the *gopānasa* sprung from the side walls or wall-plate over it, and meeting either at a single point—the *pidhāna-phalaka*, with a single finial in the case of *kūṭa* roofs, or along a ridge beam in the case of the *śāla* and *niḍa* forms with a row of finials the *gōpānasas* held in position by purlin-like *valayas*, passed through them at intervals in their height, in addition to cross or tie rods of timber. This would be evident from the nature of the internal appearance of the domed roof of the rock-cut Guntupalle caitya, or from any of the brick and timber temples of Kerala. The presence of adventitious wooden *gopānasa* rafter in a rock-cut caitya in western India would confirm this further.

While the architectural and decorative adjuncts added round the base over the platform would recall the *pañcāyatana* layout of the Indian temples, familiar from late Gupta times, such architectural embellishment of the faces, particularly of the superstructure, by miniature shrine, models or shrine frontals (the *tōraṇa* or *nāsikā*) motifs, and their repetition over the various stages of the rise of the superstructure in the temples of the South-Eastern regions are definite adoptions of the Indian forms, deriving from the Deccan and south India, but modified according to the regional styles and the patterns in particular being essentially borrowed from the south Indian *vimāna* form.

Since the *kadalīkākaraṇa* technique adopted for the rising super-structure or roof naturally restricted the architectural possibilities, for a lofty temple would require a correspondingly broad base, the broader sub-base or terraced platform became necessary; the terraced sub-base being essentially the elaboration of the idea of the *upapīṭha* below the *adhiṣṭhāna* of south Indian temples, prescribed in the texts as an expedient for enhancing the stature of the *vimāna* though its adoptation can be optional. By its introduction not only the stature of the monument was enhanced but also, with its offset sides, the possibilities of architectural elaboration and sculptural embellishment increased.

The spatial magnitude of the monument was further enhanced, as in the Indian examples, particularly the southern ones, by the erection of smaller temples or *stūpas*, the *parivāra* units in concentric series round the main nuclear structure resulting in a temple complex. While in the innermost series the *parivāra* units face the principal structure, the units of the successive outer series face alternately outwards and inwards as in the complexes of Java, e.g., in Chandi Sewu and Prambanan. The rudiments of this feature is found in the Pallava structural temple complex—the *Kailāsanātha* at Kanchi (700–730 A.D.) where the principal shrine is surrounded by inner ring of *parivāra* shrines (all of them except those on the eastern side facing east the latter facing west) and the beginnings of an outer series with eight sub-shrines in a row facing east, outside the *prākāra*. One would often find that the inner series are not thus cordoned off by corresponding series of enclosure walls or *prākāra* though these were built round the outermost circuit and were provided with *gopura* entrances or gateways, again after the model of the south Indian temple complexes, of which they were the characteristic and where they also developed both in magnitude and importance, as against the *toraṇa* entrance—a linear or arcuate festoon spanning a pair of columns, that went with some of the north Indian or Orissan monuments, as at Sanchi and Bhuvaneshwar. The *gopura* wherever it occurs is extant either in Indonesia (where it is called *gapura*) as for example in the Djedong and Plaosan temples with an entrance passage through the pylon on the top of the stepped up base, or in the Cambodian temples as for example the Angkor complex, is essentially a take-over from south India. In later Javanese temple architecture (10th–15th centuries), the *gopura* or *duwar* as it is also called in Java (=Skt. *dvāra*) is, however, modified resulting in a totally and longitudinally (or vertically) bisected solid pylon with an open passage in between the two identical halves reached by flight of steps, fore and aft.

Among the variety of ground plans of the structures prevailing in India, viz. square, oblong, octagonal, circular, elliptical (oblate or prolate) and apsidal (*cāpa* form) some as more common had an influence on the constructions of the monuments in the South-East. Of these the square often with repeatedly projected off-sets approaching almost the Western-Cāḷukyan or Hoysala patterns (e.g., Vat Mahādātu of Thailand) is most common and to a lesser extent the oblong as illustrated by the storeyed, *vihāra*-like Chandi Sari, with its triple-celled sanctuary on the ground floor *(āditala)* in Java. The octagonal brick pagoda at Sung Shan in Honan of the sixth century is an early example illustrating this rather rare plan. Circular

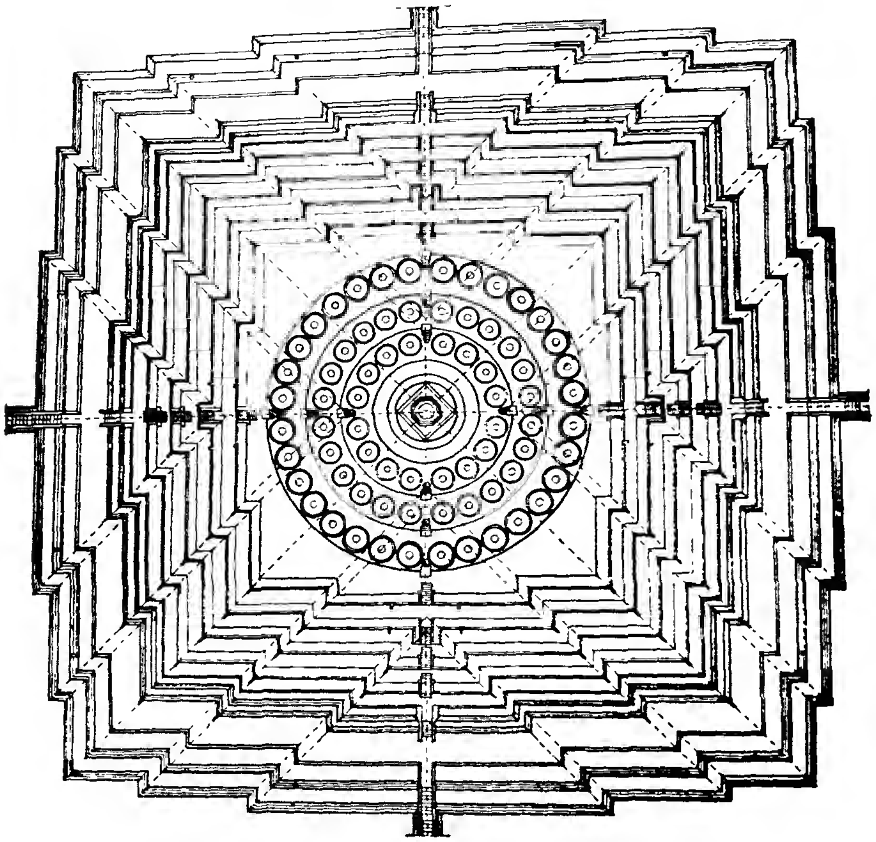


FIG 1 *Plan of the Borobudur stūpa*

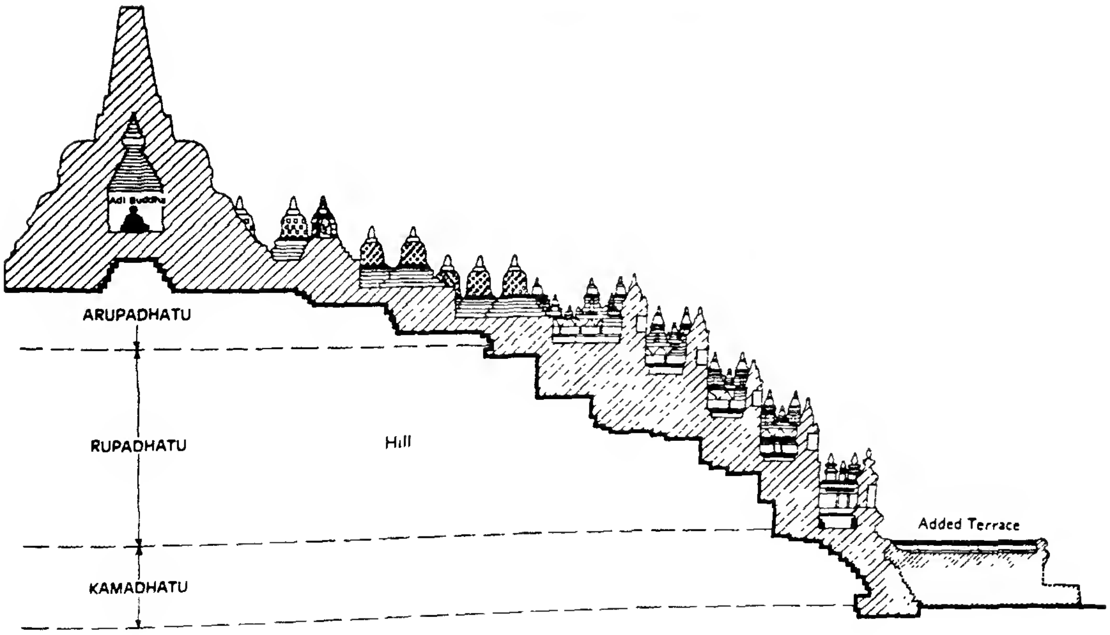

Adi Buddha
ARUPADHATU
RUPADHATU
Hill
KAMADHATU
Added Terrace

FIG 2 *Cross section of the Borobudur stūpa*

or oblate plans are again rare, except in the case of the circular sectioned *stūpa* forms, and the unique circular Śiva shrine of Chandi Jabung in Java. This high-temple is erected over a stepped-up square platform with pronounced offsets or buttresses *(bhadra)* and the transition from the square plan of the sub-base to the circular of the tall shrine part with offsets on the foreside is skilfully managed, as in the case of many an Indian example, making it the finest specimen of Javanese art, though in ruins. The offsetting resulting in buttresses of the rectilinear sides and the proliferations of the number of angles progressively from four to twelve, twenty and so on, as stated before, adds strength in addition to affording nice play of light and shadow and incidentally increasing the area to the sculptured or otherwise embellished. These would lead on to temples with lateral niches provided in the projected offsets as in the Chandis of Prambanan, Dieng and Panataran, in which temples the Pallava ensemble is well marked, and ultimately to lateral shrines with separate entrances again like the Pallava temples of Kailāsanātha and Panamalai. Such an extreme type is exemplified by the later temples like Chandi Singasari (Java) as in the almost contemporary, post-Rāṣṭrakūṭa or Western Cāḷukyan temples of the Deccan.

The great temples of Bayon and Angkor show, besides the elaboration of the *pañcāyatana* layout with corner sub-shrines in the various terraces, the common Indian *caturmukha (chaumukha)* aspect also in having the square sanctuary provided with door openings on all the four sides.

The disposition of small shrine replicas in the *hāra*, as it is called, round the body *(harmya)* of each receding *tala* or storey, over the ground *tala (āditala)* of the multi-storeyed *vimānas* of the Pallavas, Pāṇḍyas, and Cālukyas is essentially a repetition of the ground level layout of a central shrine surrounded by five *(pañcāyatana)* or eight *(aṣṭaparivāra)* or more sub-shrines. The scheme of arrangement of the components of the *hāra* will in the typical south Indian *vimāna* be the square *kūṭas* or miniature *vimānas* with square section and domical convergent roof with single finial, placed at the corners of each *tala* top-hence *karṇa-kūṭas*, and *śālas* or oblong miniature *vimānas* with wagon-top roof and a row of finials over their ridges placed in between over the sides, often with the third element—the *pañjara* or *nida* of apsidal form interposed between the two and occurring in later forms of *vimānas* with four or five *talas* and more. The elements are connected to each other by lengths of cloister or dwarf walls of lesser height, the *hārāntara*. In the South-Eastern temples which approximate more the south Indian *vimāna* forms than the north Indian *prāsāda* forms in the adoption of this scheme the component elements of the *hāra* are modified. While in the early group in Dieng (Java) which in general recall the

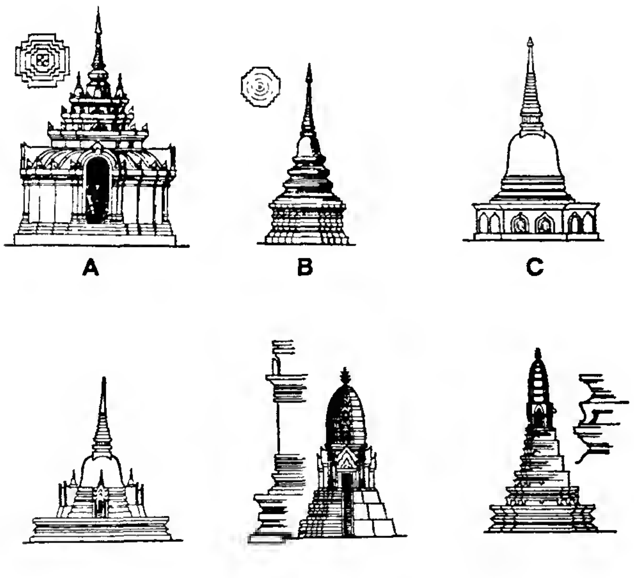


FIG. 3 *Types of Chedis. A & B Northern Thailand Chedis, C classic Suphothai Chedi. D composite Ayuthia Chedi. E Prang style prior to the 16th century. F Prang style after the 16th century*

Pallava examples of Mahabalipuram the corner *karṇakūṭa* and the intermediate *śāla* elements are discernible, the *śāla* becomes a *sabhā* form (with oblong section of the body and the linear roof sloping down on all four-sides in curves) in the South-Eastern examples of Chandis Dorowati, Poentodewo and Getoet kotjo (=Ghaṭotkaca), but the connecting *hārāntara* is not evident, thus making the elements stand separated from each other. This is not kept up in later temples where the components are but small *stūpa* replicas occuring not only in the Buddhist temples like Chandi Mendut and Chandi Pawon where they would be appropriate, but also found carried over, as a motif, to non-Buddhist examples as in the great temple complex of the Chandi Loro Djongrang at Prambanan. The Gedong Sengo Chandis, however, show the free-standing *karnakūṭa*-like elements over the *talas* with *āmala-śilā* shaped *śikharas*, evidently a borrowal from the northern element in India, and more probably from the Cāḷukyan area where both the northern and southern forms of temples were built or even from Kalinga. The same scheme of a *hāra* on the periphery of every rising tier is to be found adopted in the colossal hypaethral temple of Borobudur, where the elements over the square terraces are *stūpa* forms, in place of the south Indian *karṇakūṭas* at the corners and figure-niches (simulating the *pañjaras* of south Indian *vimānas*) in between, all connected by a perapet or balustrade that is richly sculprured, an elaboration, carried to the extreme, of similar sculpturing found in the *harāntara* lengths of the south Indian *vimānas*. The upper circular terraces, however, have *stūpa* forms alone set on their fringes. The sculpturing of the terrace walls, in addition to the faces of the balustrades would again recall south Indian *vimāna* forms with ambulatories in the upper *talas* as for example the Pallava Dharmarāja ratha, and Kanchi Vaikuṇṭha perumāl temple. The same is to be said about the Prambanaṅ and Angkor temples. Often in the case of smaller temples the top of each *tala* carries between the corner shrine replicals—the *karnakuṭas*, triangularly-shaped three-pronged antefixes, not unlike those found in the late Cāḷukyan temples.

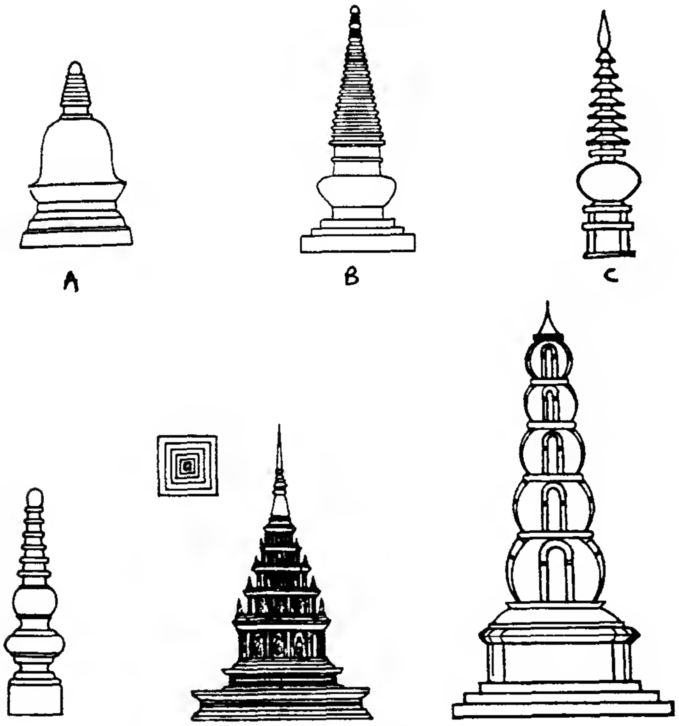


FIG. 4. *Dvaravati style stūpas A, B, C, D taken from Bas Reliefs, Elate style stūpa of Vat Kukut at Lampun; Late-style stūpa Gu Thao at Xieng Mai*

The ultimate finial over the topmost *tala* is again found to be a *stupa* form in many cases with the characteristic campaniform shape, as against the *stūpi* or *kalaśa* (*pūrṇa-ghaṭa* form) of the Indian finials. The *stūpa* form finial is evident in the Indonesian temples, the Chandis of Pawon, Mendut and Sewu. But the *kalaśa* form is also discernible in some cases as in the Prambanan area and in the much later Chandis of Singasari, Djawi and Badut. Elsewhere, the finial is the conventionalised *chatravalī or* a tier of parasols of diminishing size.

The most interesting feature would be the transformation of the Indian *makara-toraṇa* motif into forms like the *kāla-makara* as in Java. The *makara-torana* is essentially a curved floral or foliar arch *(jhaṣa)* or festoon issuing from the gapes of a *makara* pair, an *īhāmṛga* (fabulous animal form) the *makaras* themselves facing each other, perched on the tops of the capitals of two supporting pillars. In Indian architecture this is employed variously; primarily as a general entrance in its free-standing form (as in Sanchi where the arches are nearly straightened or in Bhuvaneshvar where the arches have their natural arcuate form) to serve as a frontal primary entrance to the premises of a temple or even a palace or a fortification as in early times (in place of the *gopura* or often in front of it)[7], and again as the characteristic south Indian *prabhā* called *tiruvāci* framing stone or metal icons. It is used more frequently as the front frame *(mukhapaṭṭi)* of opening like shrine-entrances, niches or *devakoṣṭhas, nāsikā* (gable-like) entrances, the arched end faces of *śāla* (wagon-top) or *pañjara* (apsidal where the front end would be arched), *śikharas* (or roofs) of south Indian *vimānas*. Often, the two halves of the semi-circular or horseshoe-shaped arches are made to terminate at the apex or top into the open gapes of two addorsed *makara*-heads or a *siṃhamukha* or *kīrtimukha* (leonine face) forming the crest, the *lalāṭabimba*. In its abreviated form without the supporting columns it frames the *alpa-nāsikā* or the characteristic *kūḍu* ornaments of the cornice element *(kapota)* in south Indian architecture while the *toraṇa* supported on two columns *(stambha toraṇa)* is either free-standing or applique to the frontals of the various types of openings or entrances *(dvāra-toraṇa)*, niches on walls *(bhitti-torana)*, or other lesser apertures like *nāsikās* gable-ends *(mukha-paṭṭi)*, etc. The shrine entrances in the north Indian examples, however, have an elaborate over-door or outer frame composed of three, five, seven or more concentric elements, the *śāklās* extending on either side beyond the jambs, and ofer the lintel with a central motif—an *ihāmṛga* or an icon—the *lalāṭa-bimba*. This, starting from the Gupta period, is found variously elaborated in the north Indian temple styles of later period, and adopted by the Cāḷukyas and their successors in the Deccan. An invariable component of the *śākhās* of the over-door was the *sarpaśākhā* two large snake forms, one on either side, held at the top by their tail ends in the talons or beak of a *garuḍa* (eagle) forming the lintel crest or *lalāṭa-bimba*. The *kāla-makara* has just a leonine crest *(kāla)* with the two fantastic *makaras* issuing from its mouth and trailing down the door-jambs of the doorway or niche with the heads of the *makaras* resting on the ground on either end of the sill, a feature akin to the *sarpa-śākhā* of the north Indian and the Deccan temples with the variation of the *makara* for the *sarpa*, the *makara* element of the *toraṇa* being a borrowal from the typical south Indian forms. The Javanese adaptation of the Indian *makara-toraṇa - sarpa - śākhā - lalāṭa - bimba* - complex of motifs and their transformation into the characteristic *kāla-*makara form, tending more to a pointed apex, and its extension in the

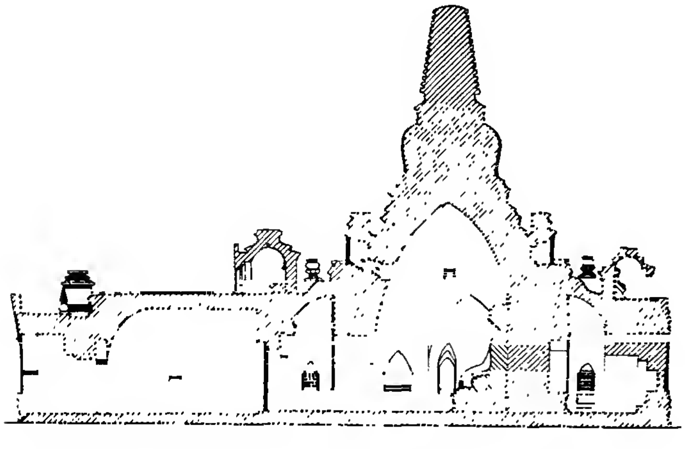


FIG. 5 *Longitudinal cross-section of the Patothamya Temple at Pagam.*

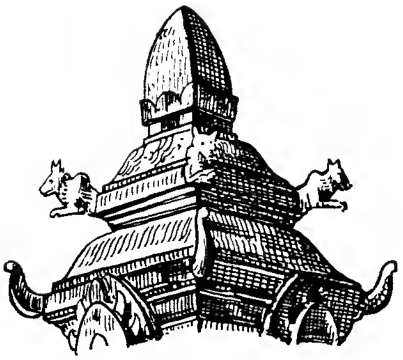


FIG. 6. *Polklann Garai—Annam*

prasats or temples of Khemer architecture would thus be easily understood. In many examples outside Java one could still discern the *sarpa-śākhā* motif on the shrine doorways or niche-openings. In the earliest phase of Cham architecture, as in Hoa-lai, the superstructure of the southern tower displays an arch showing its identity with the *kūḍu* arch of the south Indian *vimānas.*

While the scope of this article would permit only a general sketch as above, a detailed analysis of South-Eastern architecture either region-wise, or chronological could not be attempted here. Suffice it to say that these countries of the South-East, while adopting along with the Indian religions, the architectural techniques, forms and motifs and reproducing Indian forms in their pristine stages of art and architectural development, considerably altered them later by their own contributions, drawn from their indigenous art trends and native genius. But the undercurrent of Indian influence is always discernible. We may conclude, no better than by quoting the words of Coomaraswamy : "Broadly speaking we can trace in each area (of the South-East), first of all, an Indianesque period when the local art constitutes to all intents and purposes a province of Indian art, so that the art of Funan in the sixth and seventh century, may indeed be said to fulfil our knowledge of Gupta (Cāḷukyan) and Pallava art; then a classical period (800–1200 A.D.), in which a local national formula is evolved and crystallised; and finally a local national phase no longer in direct contact with India and passing into an age of folk art which has generally survived up to the present day."[8] It would also be understood here, that although Indian symbolism, ritual, and general principles of plan, layout and design remained basically unchanged, architectural forms and techniques underwent substantial modifications, the new forms created by local genius revealing that the themes and compositions created by India are susceptible of different but equally valid interpretations in the various regions of the South-East. The variety of interpretations and their interaction, fusion and eclectic adaptations would only confirm the vitality of these types and structures in a variety of environments that are socially and religiously similar.

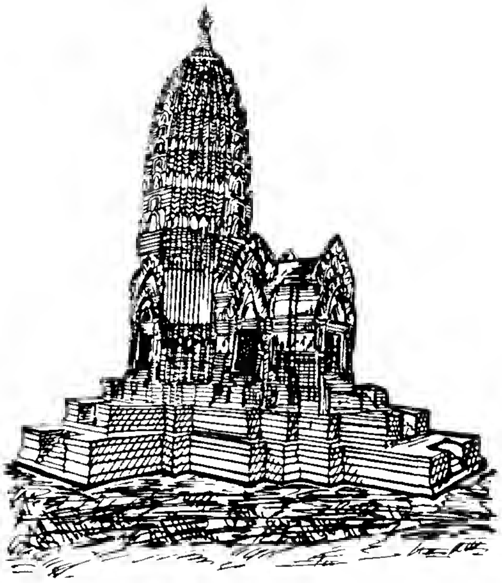


FIG 7 *The Wat Mahādhātu*

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1 Marshall's Foreword to *Buddhist India* by Dr Le May, Cambridge, 1938

2. *L Inde et le Monde*, Paris, 1926.

3. Besides the work of Coomaraswamy, the doyen among Indian Orientalists (*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927) should be mentioned here the works of Indian scholars like Kalidas Nag, Majumdar, Nilakanta Sastri and Chhabra, among others.

4. The inscriptions of the South Indian merchant-and-producers-guilds, the Ainnurruvar and the Chitrameli, in Tamil, Kannada and Telugu are to be found all over South India, and their Tamil inscriptions in the South Eastern countries in Takua-pa at the Isthmus of Kra, in Pagan (Burma), and again in Sumatra (See Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, Oxford University Press, Madraś 1966, pp. 320–333) These merchant-craftsman guilds were of cosmopolitan composition including all castes and creeds from different countries (*nanadesi*) and spreading in a thousand directions (*tisai-Aiyiram*).

5. G. Coedès, *Les Etats hindonises d'Indochine et d'Indonesia*, Paris 1948, VIII, 2 p 36.

6. This in fact is not architecture, or a process of construction in the real sense of the term involving priciples of technique, design, support, distribution of loads, compensation of thrusts, stresses and strains and was a mere process of reproduction monolithically of structural models, making it more 'architectural-sculpture' or sculpture on a grand scale.

* [At Kauśāmbī, near Allahabad, true arches, according to Prof. G.R. Sharma, were used in the construction of monumental brick and stone houses of the early centuries of the Christian era —ed.]

7 The *makaratorana* according to śilpa texts may have variations in the composition of its festoon arch e.g., the *patra-toraṇa*, *citra-torana*, *vidyādhara-toraṇa* etc. Rajendra I Coḷa is stated to have captured a *vidyādhara-toraṇa* as a war trophy during his Kadoram (Kataka) campaigns from the "war-gate" of his enemy.

8. Coomaraswami, *Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927, p. 157.

The Impact of Indian Tradition on the Coins of Alien Rulers of India

NIRMAL CHANDRA GHOSH

THE FOREIGN POWERS which poured in succession through the gates of India during the different periods of history and settled in this country were successively the Yavanas (Bactrian Greeks), Śakas (Indo-Scythians), Pahlavas (Indo-Parthians), Kushāṇas, Hūṇas, Arabs and the Turks (Muslims).

What allurement and attraction India held for these foreign marauders? Was it merely the fabulous wealth of this country? Was it simply the hunger for land? Was it not also to know, explore and come in contact with the 'Knowledge and Wisdom of India'? India has been a land of knowledge and wisdom. The urge to know India served as a potent force for the adventurous Macedonian king Alexander in *circa* 4th century B.C. to cross into India. It is recorded in ancient historical writings that in India he searched and met Indian ascetics, sages and wise men.

The same urge also brought Alberuni, the celebrated Arabic scholar, to India. He had accompanied the invading armies of Mahmud of Ghazni in the 11th century A.D. but he learnt Sanskrit and studied Hindu philosophy, and has left a memorable account of his impressions about this country.

Between these two historical points several groups of invoders crossed the Indian border and entered India with wild war-cries and war-songs. As soon as the fury of war, arison and pillage was over they were empowered by the superior culture, religion and philosophy of the Hindus. Their foreign identity was lost in the main stream of Indian culture. They readily accepted the historical and religious personages of this country as their own, as at a later date the Muslims in Iran accepted Sohrab and Rustam as their own heroes. Gautama Buddha, Indra, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Yaksa and the rest were now their own symbols of greatness: to these rulers they were no more the deities of the Hindus exclusively. They were the universal symbols of goodness, a property of the entire human race. Otherwise why should the conqueror kings adopt them on their coins. Was it just a diplomatic move to win over the sympathy and confidence of the local population? Probably, only party so. If that was the only reason, why did they change their names also to Śivadatta, Bhūmaka, Jayadāman, etc., the well-known names of some of these rulers. If that was the only reason, why did they construct only Hindu sanctuaries and Gondophernes keep on paying homage to Śiva even after he got converted to Christianity? Probably, Hinduism was never that sectarian as some of the foreign historians have tried to project, obviously for their ulterior motives.

The complete Indianisation of these foreigners is a remarkable feature of Indian history. This is evident in different aspects of the material culture of these alien rulers and is amply borne out by their monetary issues. The present study is a survey of coins issued by some of these alien rulers. Many of these coins contain beautiful figures of Hindu gods, goddesses, divinities and auspicious symbols. The idea of making this survey, arranged in a chronological order according to dynasties, is to put on record one of the most indisputable evidence of the Indianizing process through which alien cultures passed readily and peacefully.

Coins of the Indo-Greek Rulers

Our story begins with the Indo-Greek coins. In the year 327 B.C. Alexander invaded India. The territories annexed by him were, however, partitioned immediately after his death in 323 B.C. The eastern part of the territory he had conquered now formed part of the Seleukid empire. Diodotus I, the Seleukid Governor of the Gandhāra region, in the last quarter of the third century B.C., raised the banner of revolt against his Saleukid master. His son and successor, Diodotus II, successfully exercised the royal prerogative of issuing money in his own name. Since then, forty more Greek sovereigns belonging to two new dynasties, viz. the House of Eukratides and the House of Euthydemos, minted a large number of coins. Apart from their numismatic and historical value, the deities, animals and symbols occurring on their coins are of great significance : reflecting as they do the beliefs of the people and the gradual process of assimilation of aliens in the progressive Hindu society. Although the pictures and legends on their coins were mostly borrowed from the mythology of the Greeks, "with their very elastic pantheon, they readily identified Indian Gods with their own deities; and just as in Italy they identified Minerva with Athena or Bacchus with Dionysus, so in India they identified the Sun God Sūrya with Apollo; or Kāma, the God of Love, with their Eros; and they had no hesitation, therefore, in paying their devotion to Śiva or to Pārvatī; to Viṣṇu or to Lakṣmī."[1] The divinities and the symbols on the coins of these Greek rulers had more of Indian elements than the typical "grace and beauty reminiscent of the schools of Praxiteles and Lysippus"[2] of Greece.

The legend on the reverse of these coins was either in Kharoṣṭhī or in Brāhmī, the Greek script was completely discarded in most of the examples. The legends on the obverse were also either in Brāhmī or in Kharoṣṭhī. Not only that, the weights of these coins were also in conformity with the Indian standard, instead of general Attic standard of the West. These 'Indo-Greek coins' may be classified into four broad categories :

(i) Those bearing the figures of Indian divinities.
(ii) Those bearing celestial beings.
(iii) Those bearing Hindu symbols.
(iv) Those bearing sacred animals.

(i) *Coins with Indian Divinities*

The Greek god Apollo was the nearest counterpart of the Hindu concept of Sūrya. The full figures of Apollo, standing and facing with bow and arrow, naked and lauriate was a common design adopted on the coins by Apollodotus I and II, Dionysius, Hippostratus, Strato I and Zoilus II.[3] The reverse plan of a rare silver coin of a king called Telephus had the nimbate Sun God. A radiated deity, driving a chariot drawn by four-horses, appears on the reverse of the coins of Plato (Fig. 1.1). It is interesting to note that the early north Indian Sūrya is generally shown on a chariot drawn only by four horses[4]; the *ratha* drawn by seven horses appeared late.

On the coins of some of the Greek rulers like Hippostratus, Pantaleon and Peucolus

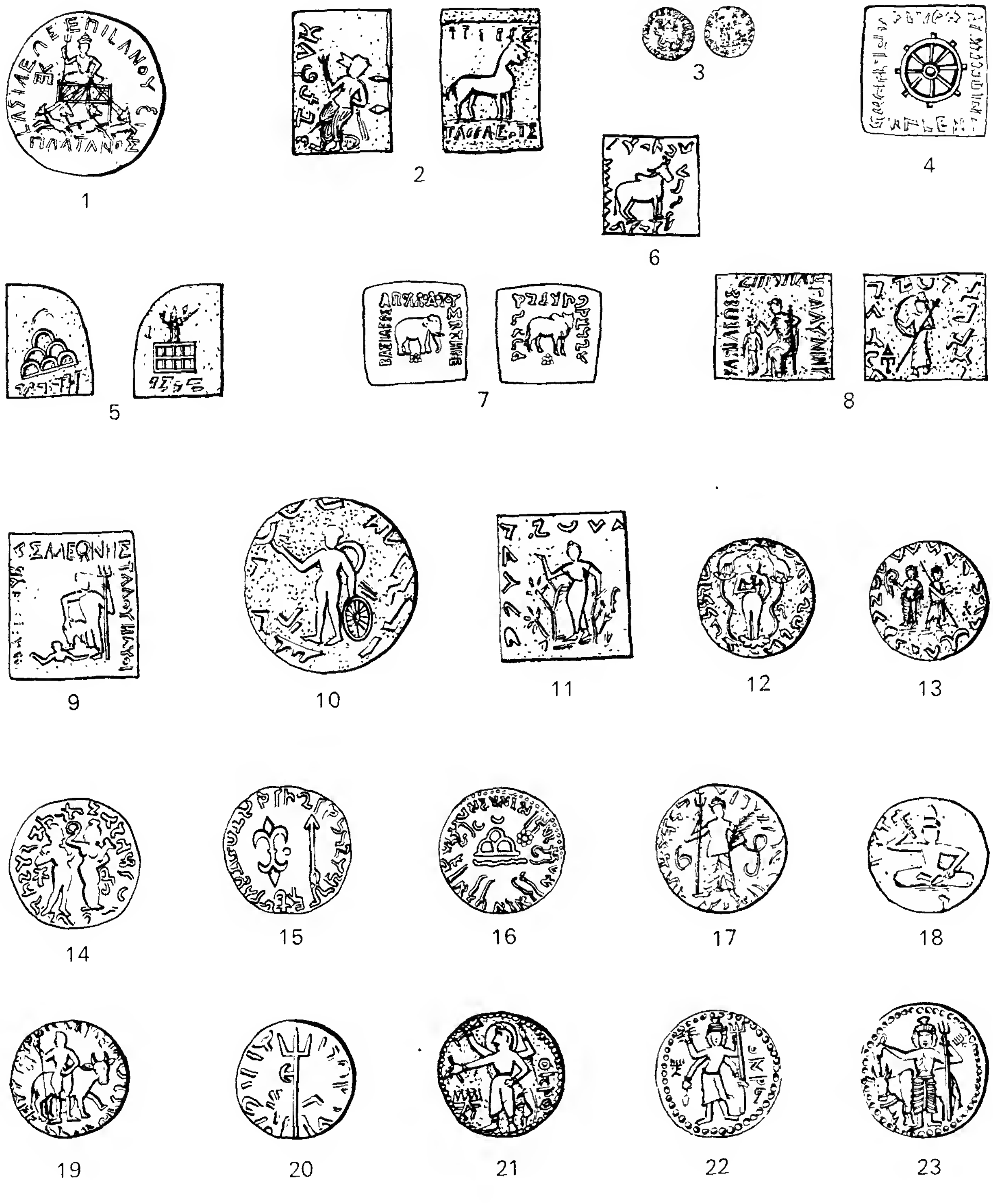
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FIG 1

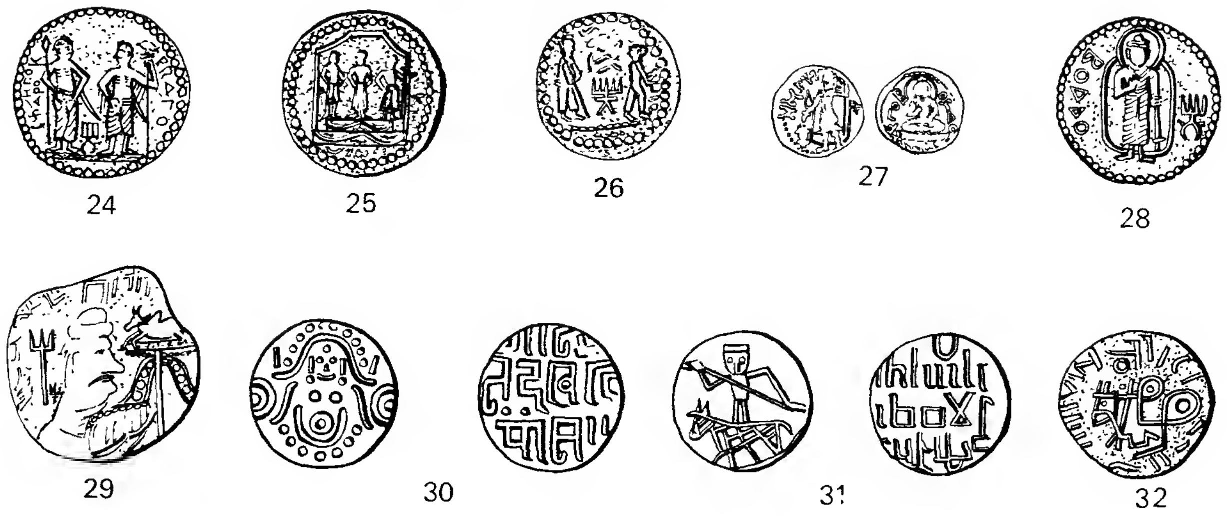

FIG 2

have been shown female figures (Fig. 1.1) with lotus or cornucopia (a conical pot full of corn) in the right hand, decked with ornaments and in rich costume reminiscent of the iconographical traits of Lakṣmī :

लक्ष्मी: पद्मासनामीना द्विभुजा काञ्चनप्रभा ।
हेमरत्नोज्ज्वलैर्नक्रकुण्डलै कर्णमण्डिता ॥
सुयौवना मुरम्याङ्गी कुञ्चितां समन्विता ।
रक्ताक्षी पीनगण्डा च कञ्चुकाच्छादितस्तनी ॥
अंशुमद्भेदागमे एकोनपञ्चाशपटले ॥

Besides, there were some other beautiful coins of the 2nd century B.C., coins which bear *Gaja-Lakṣmī* and the city name *Ujenī*. These were current in the Avanti region, i.e., the region near modern Ujjain.

(ii) *Coins with Celestial Beings*

In this category are included the coins issued mainly by Agathocles and Telephus (Euergetes) on which Indian celestial beings figured prominently. On the reverse of the coin of Agathocles is shown a female figure with long pendants in her ears, wearing trousers and holding a flower in her right hand. Whitehead, describes it as the 'dancing girl'.[6] Banerjee has, however, rightly identified it with '*yakṣiṇī* Aśvamukhī'[7] (Fig. 1.2) because of her "long non-human head". This *yakṣī* figure can also be seen on some other coins of Agathocles.

Similarly, on the obverse of a coin (Fig. 1.3) of Telephus (Euergetes), a snake-legged figure *(Yakṣa)*, holding in each hand lotus stalk developing from his own serpent-like legs, has been observed. According to Marshall the 'giant' holds a lotus stalk in each hand, while the legs terminate in lotus flowers and tendrils: he is in fact a lotus *Yakṣa*. Marshall has also shown that in the *yakṣa* figures of the early Indian period, the lotus flowers and tendrils issue either from the mouth or the navel, but the same from the legs is a Hellenistic idea.[8]

(iii) *Coins Bearing Hindu Symbols*

On the coins of the kings like Agathocles, Appolodotus I (Soter) and Menander I symbols such as sun, arched-hill, tree in railing, wavy line, taurine, wheel of eight spokes (Fig. 1.4), up-right palm branch and stūpa are frequently met with. These symbols are also commonly found on the punch-marked and uninscribed cast coins of much earlier periods, and their religious significance has been discussed by various scholars. Adoption of these symbols, particularly by Menander and Agathocles, was certainly due to the influence of the Indian traditions on their life. In one of the coins issued by Menander I the wheel invariably contained eight spokes; here each spoke, perhaps represented one of the 'Eight Folds' *(āryāṣṭāṅga mārga)* of the early Buddhist philosophy. In this connection it may also be mentioned that books like *Milindapañha* and the Shinkot steatite casket inscription of the time of Menander clearly bear testimony to his leanings towards the teaching of Śākyamuni. It was an act of propriety on his part to adopt the 'wheel of righteousness' as a coin-device.

Agathocles (Fig. 1.5) also minted a series of coins having on the obverse a stūpa surmounted by star, and a legend in Kharoṣṭhī; on the reverse a tree in square railed enclosure, and a legend in Brāhmī. Clearly, these devices are associated with Buddhism. The enlightenment and *Parinirvāṇa* of the Master were symbolically represented respectively by the tree-in-railing and the stūpa in the early Indian art of sculpture and painting.

(iv) *Coins Bearing Sacred Animals*

Various animals often appear either along with their patron-deity or independently on many Indo-Greek coins, e.g., the humped bull or Nandī, the mount of Śiva, which was a popular device on the punch-marked and the cast coins is found on Indo-Greek coins. On the reverse of the coins of Epander (Fig. 1.6) the bull was depicted in a slightly prancing-up attitude. This pose of the Nandī recalls the passage in the Matsyapurāṇa, *devavīkṣaṇatatparaḥ*, attitude of looking at the God.[9]

Another very common device was the elephant which figures on the coins under discussion. According to Banerjea it symbolically represented Indra since the elephant Airāvata was the mount of Indra.

On the circular as well as the square coins of Apollodotus I (Fig.17) and Heliocles, the elephant and the bull occur respectively on the obverse and the reverse. The significance sought to be conveyed by the figures is the mighty personality of the king that ranks with the majesty of the full-grown elephant and bull reminiscent of the description given by Kālidāsa.

महोक्षतां वत्सर: स्पृशन्निव द्विपेन्द्रभावं कलभ: श्रयन्निव ।
रघु: क्रमाद्यौवनभिन्नशैशव. पुपोष गाम्भीर्यमनोहरं वपु: ।।

Raghuvaṃśa III,[32]

"As a young calf grows into a mighty bull and as a baby elephant becomes a notable elephant in due course, so Raghu slowly passed from childhood to youth and maintained a body at once noble and beautiful."[10]

Adoption of Hindu Epithets. Besides adopting the Hindu divinities and deities on their coins, these foreign rulers of India also assumed Hindu epithets. The epithet Soteres, (the Greek form of Prākṛt *tatarasa* and Sanskrit *trāta*), was common amongst the Greek rulers, especially of the eastern Punjab: *Mahārājasa trātārasa Menandrasa* is well known. The association of this epithet with Viṣṇu, the protector, is equally noteworthy. It is corroborated by the Besnagar pillar inscription. The inscription is carved on a pillar *(Garuḍadhvaja)* set up by a Greek named Heliodorus, the son of Dion, who came as an ambassador from Antialcidas to the court of *Trātārasa* (Greek Soteres) Bhāgabhadra at Vidiśā, Madhya Pradesh. It is interesting to know that Bhāgabhadra and Bhadraka, mentioned in *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* are one and the same person. Reference to him in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and the contents of the *Garuḍa-dhvaja* inscription suggest that the king had embraced Vaiṣṇavism.

The epithet (in Prākrit) *Kalaṇakarma* (Sanskrit *Kalyāṇakarma)*, meaning good or illustrious work, on the snake-legged *yakṣa* coins of Telephus (Euergetes) is not found on any other known coin of the Greek rulers in India. It was also peculiarly Indian in concept and design.

Coins of Indo-Scythian Rulers

The next group of foreign rulers of India were the Śakas (Scythians) who were also completely Indianised. The entry of the Śaka hordes in India was connected with the forced tribal movement, which started right under the Great Wall of China.

The Śaka rulers, Maues, Azes I and II (*circa* 88 B.C. to 19 A.D.), issued coins in imitation of their predecessors, the Indo-Greeks. These coins have been mainly found in Sind and the Punjab and rarely in Afghanistan. They are also found portraying Indian gods and goddesses.

Exploits of Maues have been compared by the contemporary poets with Indra's war and conquests. On a series of coins of Maues we really find Zeus transformed into the nearest Indian counterpart Indra. This was done perhaps to commemorate the victory as also to pay homage to the guardian-deity of the region. There were two series of Indra type coins. In the first series, Indra was represented both in the theriomorphic and anthropomorphic forms. The second series is distinguished by Indra holding a personified *vajra*. Incidently, this portrayal of the *āyudhapuruṣa* is the earliest recorded evidence of its kind so far. It is typically Hindu in concept. However, the Western scholars, like Gardner,[11] (Fig. 1.8) were quite confused, and hastily identified the figures as Zeus and 'winged female figure' respectively. Maues also paid his homage to the Great God Śiva by issuing several series of coins with the figures of the God in various forms. On the obverse of a series of coins we find a human figure standing to front with a long trident in the left hand, and the right foot resting on a small radiate figure underneath him; right hand rests on the knee (Fig. 1.9). Banerjea has rightly pointed out that this is the appearance of "Śiva for the first time on these coins."[13] This identification is based on a bronze seal (Seal no. 2) from Taxila. On this seal a deity is depicted trampling a bull-shaped dragon. The Kharoṣṭhī legend on it has *'Baḍusa Viśpamitrasa'* (of the young Brāhmaṇa Viśvamitra), and stood for Śiva, because 'viśvamitra' is one of the various appellations of Śiva. On certain other coins of Maues, Śiva figures with a club and trident on shoulder, striding to the left. The figure is almost identical (including the club and the trident on the left shoulder and the characteristic stride) with that on a seal[14] from Taxila bearing the Kharoṣṭhī legend *Śivarakṣitā* (one protected by Śiva). There are a few more coins of Maues with a Male figure to front with elephant goad over the left shoulder on the reverse. It may be mentioned that Śiva has often been depicted with an elephant-goad on the coins of Kuṣāṇa rulers Kaniṣka and Huviṣka. Adoption of this device by foreign rulers of the early centuries of the Christian era is a clear proof of the continuation and development of an earlier tradition for a very long time, as Śiva can be seen on a number of early cast and tribal coins[15] also.

The impact of Vaiṣṇavism on the life of the Śaka rulers has also been very well attested by another series of coins of these rulers (Fig. 1.10). The figure on these coins has been described as Tyche holding in one hand a patera and in the other a wheel, which, however, is likely to have been an early form of Vaiṣṇavī. Maues minted another series of coins which bear on the reverse a female figure standing to the front between trees or creepers. The figure has been identified as Ba—chanted among Vines (Fig. 1.11). Gardner tried to identify the figure with Meanad (?). However, the figure is likely to have been a Hellenized version of Lakṣmī Padmavāsinī as the description of Lakṣmī agrees with that given by Coomaraswamy.

Azes I had a junior contemporary, Azilises, whose name appears on his coins in Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse while that of Azes I appear on the obverse in Greek. Azilises became king after Azes I. He introduced Abhiṣeka-Lakṣmī type of coins. On the reverse of the round silver coins of this type we find Lakṣmī standing on a lotus flower with twin stalks and leaves. On each leaf stands a small elephant sprinkling water on the head of the deity Lakṣmī, flanked by elephants (Fig. 1.12). This auspicious symbol of Gaja-Lakṣmī has been a popular art motif, as also a coin-device on the cast coins. Azilises is also credited with the circulation of a very interesting type of coin bearing gods and goddesses. On the reverse of a series of round silver coins Lakṣmī has a diadem in her right hand and wears mural crown and a cornucopia on left hand. The Male deity carries a long sceptre in the left hand and points with outstreched right arm. Whitehead described it as 'mounted king and god and goddess' (Fig. 1.13). Rapson identified the male deity as Zeus and the goddess as the tutelary deity of Puṣkalāvatī. It appears that Azilises made a bold innovation of syncretizing the Indian goddess Lakṣmī with the Greek god Zeus.

The satrapal system of governing the far-flung domains of the empire was an established feature of the Śaka rule in India. The word *Kṣatrapa* is a Sanskritized form of the old Persian *khshatrapavan* 'Protector of the land'. There were always two Satraps in each province, a senior Satrap *(Mahākṣatrapa)* and a junior Satrap *(Kṣatrapa)*. The Śaka Satrapal houses in different parts of India could be grouped into two Houses : (a) the Northern House, ruling in Taxila and Mathura regions, and (b) the Western House, ruling over Maharashtra and Ujjain.

Liaka and Polika, the two early satraps of Taxila probably did not issue any coin in their name. On the obverse, in a series of coins issued by Jihunia or Zeionisus, the later Satrap of Taxila, was showing sitting like a king on horse-back with a whip in the right hand the bow being tied to the saddle. The reverse bore the legend *Mani* (?) *gulsa chhatrapasa putrasa chhatrapasa Juhuniasa* with the king facing the city deity wearing mural crown, and holding wreath and cornucopia (Fig. 1.14). Smith inferred that the Satrap was probably a contemporary of Azes II (about A.D. 10). He further suggested that the deity was probably the representation of the fortune of a vanquished city. [Junagarh Rock Inscription of Skanda Gupta I. A.D. 458.] The deity seems to be a figure of Lakṣmī.

A large number of coins and inscriptions throw light on the history of the Śaka Satrapy of Mathura. Satrap Śivadatta, Hagamasa, Hagana, Rajuvula and Sodasa continued to use the devices of Lakṣmī and Abhiṣeka Lakṣmī of the earlier Hindu rulers of Mathura. In the latter variety, the Abhiṣeka Lakṣmī was invariably on the reverse. Rajuvula also assumed the epithet of *Apratihatacakrasa* which became a popular coin-legend with the Gupta kings also. The celebrated Maharashtra House of the Saka Kṣatrapa (Kṣaharatas) rulers were Bhumaka and Nahapāna. Bhumaka's rule was confined to Baroach, Kathiawar, Ajmer and Pushkara. Nahapāna extended his sway over Maharashtra between 119 A.D. and 124 A.D. Gautamīputra Śatakarṇi of the Sātavāhana dynasty drove the Kṣaharatas from their new settlements *(Khakharāta vase nirvaṣesa karasa)*. Nahapāna's coins from Jogalthambi hoard of coins were found to be restruck by Gautamīputra. Nahapāna's series of copper coins (Fig. 1.15) bore on the reverse tree within railing. On the obverse we find a thunderbolt and an arrow between pellet (discus), and the legend in Brāhmī. A passage from *Abhijñānaśākuntala* explains the obscure meaning of the arrow and the thunderbolt : "Demsels in heaven who are on inimical terms with the demons look forward for victory through the strung-bow of this king and the thunderbolt of Indra" :[19]

आशसन्ते सुरयुवतयो बद्धवैरा हि दैत्ये-
रस्याधिज्ये धनुषि विजयं पौरुहूते च वज्रे ॥

The first member of the Śaka Satrapa of Ujjain was Yaśamalika whose son was Caṣṭana. His son Jayadāman died during his father's life-time. Mahākṣtrapa Caṣṭana jointly ruled with his grandson Kṣatrapa Rudradāman. Rudradāman was the most famous ruler of this house. He was succeeded by several rulers of his house and the last known ruler was defeated by Candragupta II Vikramāditya between 388 and 399 A.D. The most popular device on the coins of the Śaka rulers was bust of king and an inscription in Greek character. Later on the Greek inscription was dropped. On the reverse the symbols often found are arched hill surmounted by crescent, beneath wavy line, crescent, star, border of dots (Fig. 1.16) and inscription. It was an imitation of the Sātavāhana coinage except for the so-called Ujjain symbol. With regard to the devices Yajña Śātakarṇi's coins, Sivaramamurti[20] has appropriately shown parallel in a verse from *Raghuvaṃśa* which explained the exact purpose of the symbols :

आरूढमद्रीनुदधीन् वितीर्णं भुजङ्गमानां वसतिं प्रविष्टम् ।
ऊर्ध्वं गतं यस्य न चानुबन्धि यशः परिच्छेत्तुमियत्तयालम् ॥

Raghuvaṃśa VII,77

"His fame ascended mountains, crossed the oceans, entered the abode of the snakes *(Pātāla)* went up to the heaven, and being still expansive was too much to be measured by any standard".

Coins of the Indo-Parthian Rulers

The Śaka rulers in the Punjab and Sind were replaced by Gondopharnes (19 to 25 A.D.), a well-known name among the Indo-Parthian kings. He issued 'Śiva' type coins which became a standard type for centuries to come. The popularity of this device could be matched only by the 'horse-rider' type of coins of the ninth century issued by the Hindu Shahi dynasty ruling in the former North-East Frontier Provinces of undivided India. On the coins of Gondopharnes Śiva appears in two forms : (i) on certain bullion coins, Śiva is shown standing with his left leg slightly advanced and head bent a little towards the left and clasping a long trident in his right hand and a palm leaf in his left hand. Faint traces of *jaṭā* are also to be seen (Fig. 1.17). (ii) Another form of Śiva is to be seen on the reverse of a series of coins of base silver in which Śiva is facing the front and holding in the right hand the trident and in the left hand the palm leaf (Fig. 1.3).

According to a legend of the third century A.D. St. Thomas visited India and converted Gondopharnes, his brother Gad and his sister's son Labdanes. Their contemporaneity with St. Thomas is also proved by other sources. Notwithstanding his so-called conversion to Christianity, Gondopharnes did not hesitate to pay his reverence to Śiva. The successors of Gondopharnes were weak and incompetent. The family was finally supplanted by the Kushanas.

Coins of the Kushana Rulers

It has already been mentioned above that the chain of events and migrations of the tribes originated under the shadow of the great wall of China started round about 165 B.C. It is believed that the Yueh-chi tribes, after pushing out the Śakas from Bactria, gradually settled down on the Oxus. The Chinese Annals further inform that the new possessions were divided among five Chieftains of the Yueh-chi tribe. About a hundred years later, Kieu-Kuei-Shuang of the same tribe annihilatated all the other groups. Kuei-Shuang, i.e., the Kushana, led by their chief Kujula Kadphises (Kilu-Kuei-Shuang) crossed the Hindukush mountain and conquered the Kingdom of Kabul as far south as Arachosia (Kandahar). Kujula Kadphises issued several types of coins. As early as 1897 Vincent Smith published two coins and noticed the appearance of Buddha on the coins of Kadphises. On the reverse of one of the coins there was Śiva with bull. On other coins Buddha was depicted on the obverse; the reverse contained the figure of the king. It may be noted that on the coins of the earlier Śaka and Pahlava rulers or on the coins of the succeeding Kushana rulers Śiva is generally found standing with his usual attributes and often accompanied by Nandī. On the coins of Kujula Kadphises, however, Śiva is shown holding a mallet in his right hand and resting it on the right shoulder and seated in *padmāsana* (Fig. 1.18).

Vima Kadaphises succeeded Kujula in 64 A.D. and extended his empire far more. His diplomatic relations with the Roman and the Chinese emperors are well-known. As a result of this contact the trade was brisk and a large quantity of gold flowed into India. The gold bullion was utilised for issuing the first Kushana gold coins in India. The king was an ardent devotee of Śiva. On the reverse of a series of gold coins Śiva is shown standing with head to left and holding a long trident in right hand. Behind him there is a bull to right on which the deity appears to be leaning (Fig. 1.19). In the fitness of things he assumed the title *Sarvaloka Īśvarasa mahīśvarasa* (lord of the world Mahīśvara). Maheśa is another name of Śiva. On another series of gold coin the trident battle axe was put on the reverse. This *āyudha* (Fig. 1.20) of Śiva on his coins further testifies his Śaivite inclination.

"Shaonanoshao Kanishiki Kushāno", was the immediate successor of Vima. He ruled over a vast empire from Kashmir and parts of Soviet Central Asia in the north to Bihar in the south. Kaniṣka had circulated several issues of gold and copper coins. His coins provide certain indications of the gradual change in his Faith. The Sun God, Crescented male figure, Bearded deity and the Wind God, all of the Greek pantheon, adorned the currencies of Kaniṣka. These, belonged probably, to the early phase of his reign. However, in later years he discarded them in favour of Indian deities. Coins bearing *Oh-po* or Śiva, the four- (Fig. 1.21) or two-armed form of Śiva, having the usual attributes of trident, etc. do indicate his leanings towards Hindu religion. The patronage that Śiva received from Kaniṣka did not stop with him. Kaniṣka's successors also adopted this device. In fact, several new forms of Śiva were evolved by them.

Multi-headed and multi-faced deities on the coins of these kings represent other forms of Śiva. The multi-faced Śiva is found on the coins of Huviṣka. Śiva is having three heads and four arms in which he carries a vase, thunderbolt, trident, and club (Fig. 1.22). The multi-faced Śiva is met with on the coins of Vāsudeva in which the reverse has Śiva having three faces and two arms, holding wreath and trident, behind him is the bull (Fig. 1.23).

An interesting finale to the coins under discussion is 'Skanda' and 'Viśākha' type. The coins bearing the figures of these gods were issued by Huviṣka. Skanda and Viśākha standing face to face nimbate: Skanda holding in the right hand, a standard surmounted by a bird and Viśākha holding in the left hand, a spear (Fig. 2.24). To this type may also be added a series of coins with three figures standing and facing front (Fig. 2.25). The central figure is horned. He seems to be Naigameśa. The other figures are of Skanda and Viśākha. It is well known that Skanda and Viśākha represent the Indian deity Kumāra.

Our survey of the appearance of the Hindu gods and goddesses on the Kushana coins would fall short unless we take into account the coins bearing the figures of Umā and Śiva. On the coins known in Greek as *stater* issued by Huviṣka, we find the figures of a male and a female standing and facing each other. Whitehead described them as *oeso* (Bhaveśa) and Nana respectively (Fig. 2.26). Similar coins were published by Cunningham. The legend was correctly read by Rapson as *OMMO* (Umā). He further remarked that "not only is the inscription quite distinct, but the symbol which the female deity holds in her hand, may perhaps be a flower, and is quite different from the well known symbol of Nanaia; and we may, therefore, unhesitatingly add Umā to the list of Indian deities represented on Kushana coins." This may be a very early representation of *Umāsahita Śiva* which became a popular form of representation of Śiva and Umā in the sculptural art of south India.

The Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism also made a lasting impact on Kaniṣka's life. Buddhist literature and a number of inscriptions coroborrate this contention. One of his coin type issued by him bears *BOΔΔO* (Booddo), i.e., Buddha (Fig. 2.27, 28). Buddha has been depictedstanding in *abhaya-mudrā*. Huviṣka and Vāsudeva continued to use the Buddha figure on their coins. Thus, the last three kings of the Kushana dynasty were foreigners by birth but Indians by adaptation. They imbibed Indian culture and religion so much that the last notable king of this dynasty assumed the Indian name: Vāsudeva, in preference to a foreign name.

The Kushana rule was not destined to last long. The Yaudheya kings of Haryana and Rajasthan led a confederacy of Indian states against the Kushanas towards the close of the second century A.D. They expelled Kushanas beyond Sutlej. Finally, in the first quarter of fourth century A.D. Samudragupta conquered the foreign rulers and inscribed his glorious victory in the following words:

दैवपुत्रपाहिपाहानुपाहि––शकमुरुण्डै: : [Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta A.D. 330–75.] During the Gupta period the coinage of India reached its zenith in conception and artistic execution. It was a period of peace and prosperity.

Coins of the Hūṇa Rulers

Towards the close of Kumāragupta's rule the barbaric Hūṇas appeared on the Indian scene. It is well known that Skandagupta, the valiant king of the Gupta dynasty 'destroyed the vigour of the first attack and blunted the spearhead'. However, the Hūṇas reappeared on the frontiers of the country under the command of Toramāṇa. He, of course, carried his victorious arms as far as Malwa. Incidently, he was a Sun worshipper. He had built a big Sun temple at Multan and issued coins bearing the Iranian Mithra bearing the Sanskrit legend:

विजितावनिरवनिपति: श्रीतोरमाण in Brāhmī script. Toramāṇa had adopted Sanskrit language and Brāhmī script in preference to Pahlavi language and Sassanian motifs, which might have been to some extent clever political move.

His son and successor Mihirakula minted several varieties of silver coins. A popular legend on his coin reads *Jayatu vṛṣadhvaja*. The coins bear "recumbent bull on the top of the staff (Fig. 2.29). The legend *Jayatu Vṛsa* means "may the bull be victorious", and it certainly proves his devotion to Śiva. Thus, Mihirakula not only minted coins containing the figure of the mount of Śiva but made Vṛṣa as the royal insignia. Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth, also figured on his coin. It is interesting to note that Mihirakula had restruck his father's coins, of the Mihira type, with the figure of a bull. He had also adopted on his coin some of the Hindu symbols, such as the conch, wheel, and the trident. Nevertheless, the Hūṇa occupation was not tolerated by the Indians for long. *'Janendra'* (the beloved of the people) Yāśodharman of Malwa organised a revolt against the Hūṇas and freed the mother land from slavery and oppression.

Epilogue

From the above study of the coins of the foreign rulers of India beginning with the Bactrian Greeks, there emerge a few important facts of our history. (i) The rulers adopted the devices of the existing coins in circulation without radically changing the design of the media of exchange, (ii) the alien replaced and/or adopted the figures of gods and goddesses of the prevailing religion of the region in order to win the confidence of the local population, (iii) the rulers themselves, because of the all-encompassing Hindu religion, including Buddhism, accepted the religion of India, (iv) those who were not converts had strong leanings towards the Hindu religion. The territorial conquerors were culturally conquered. Once it happened, they found themselves in the main stream of Indian life. This applies even to those rulers who did not actually change their religion and merely accepted the nation's symbols as their own symbols and paid suitable respect to the dominant religion of the people by including their gods and goddesses on coins.

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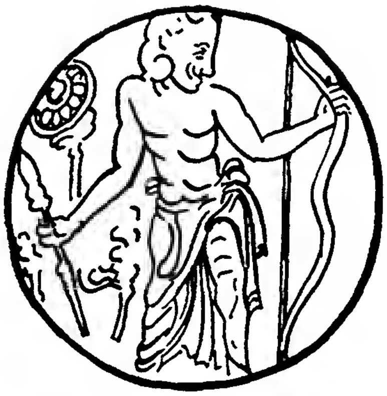

The Aryans : A Reappraisal of the Problem

B. K. THAPAR

1. Introduction

DURING THE PRESENT century, perhaps very few subjects have been so absorbing as those relating to the problems of the Aryans. Despite the restraining pleas of some distinguished scholars to give Aryans a holiday, the subject continues to attract the attention of the archaeologists, anthropologists and philologists all over the world. The stage of flogging the dead horse has not, therefore, been reached in this subject which still remains purposeful.

Philologists are not unanimous over the terms Aryans and Indo-Europeans. While the former is used variously in the context of language, race, nobility and even citizenship, the latter is considered alike clumsy and inappropriate. Gordon Childe who made an analytical study of the Aryans[1] had felt that the literary evidence was inconclusive and that it must be supplemented by archaeological and anthropological data. Since then, various scholars have investigated the fascinating problem of (a) the origin and diffusion of the Indo-European languages and (b) the homeland of the Aryans. While the study of the former problems, bearing on the distribution of *satem* and *centum* groups of languages and their phonetic peculiarities being essentially an objective one, has yielded some tangible results, the homeland of the Aryans still remains elusive, the study being based on comparison and abstraction, and thus beset with pitfalls.

There is a wide diveragence of views among scholars[2] regarding the homeland of the Aryans, the suggested regions being as disparate as Scandinavia on the one hand and Tibet on the other —Arctic region, Baltic region, Danube basin, central European steppes, including the Carpathian plains, Siberia, Ukranian steppes, lower Volga area (between the Altai and Kazakistan), southern Russia (between Caucasus and eastern Europe), Turkmenia, north-western Kirghiz steppes, Pamirs, Asia Minor, Bactria or Sogdiana, great plateau of Central Asia and the land of the Sapta Sindhu. The last named region is taken by some scholars to include eastern India as well.[3] It will be seen that all potentially habitable regions lying roughly between 30 and 70 north parallels and 5 and 95 east meridians, some of them almost cheerless and marked by sterility, have variously been enumerated as the possible primitive habitat of the Aryans. Equally divergent are the theories regarding the date of their first appearance, ranging as they do between 8000 B.C. and the middle of the second millennium B.C. Which of these theories, relating both to the cradle-land and the date of the first appearance of the Aryans, is correct, cannot, at the present stage of our research, be established with any certitude. Some of these conclusions have been received with scepticism and the solution of the problem does not

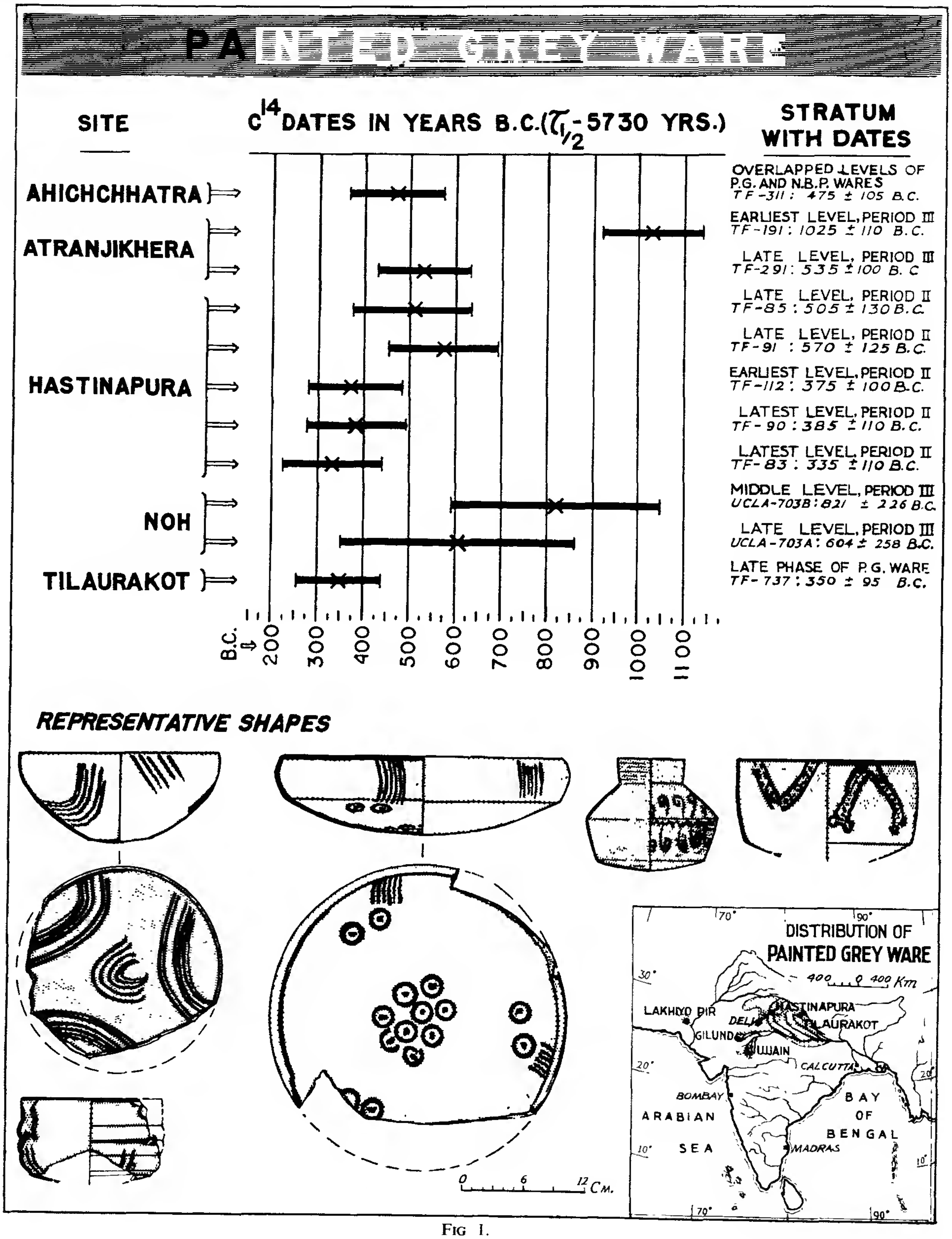
PAINTED GREY WARE
SITE
C14 DATES IN YEARS B.C. (T½ - 5730 YRS.)
STRATUM WITH DATES
AHICHCHHATRA
ATRANJIKHERA
HASTINAPURA
NOH
TILAURAKOT
OVERLAPPED LEVELS OF P.G. AND N.B.P. WARES TF-311 : 475 ± 105 B.C.
EARLIEST LEVEL, PERIOD III TF-191 : 1025 ± 110 B.C.
LATE LEVEL, PERIOD III TF-291 : 535 ± 100 B.C.
LATE LEVEL, PERIOD II TF-85 : 505 ± 130 B.C.
LATE LEVEL, PERIOD II TF-91 : 570 ± 125 B.C.
EARLIEST LEVEL, PERIOD II TF-112 : 375 ± 100 B.C.
LATEST LEVEL, PERIOD II TF-90 : 385 ± 110 B.C.
LATEST LEVEL, PERIOD II TF-83 : 335 ± 110 B.C.
MIDDLE LEVEL, PERIOD III UCLA-703B : 821 ± 226 B.C.
LATE LEVEL, PERIOD III UCLA-703A : 604 ± 258 B.C.
LATE PHASE OF P.G. WARE TF-737 : 350 ± 95 B.C.
B.C. ⇒ 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000 1100
REPRESENTATIVE SHAPES
0 6 12 CM.
DISTRIBUTION OF PAINTED GREY WARE
400 0 400 Km
70° 90° 30° 20° 10° 79° 90°
LAKHIYO PIR
DELHI
HASTINAPURA
TILAURAKOT
GILUND
UJJAIN
CALCUTTA
BOMBAY
MADRAS
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL

Fig 1.

appear to be as simple as generally believed. The present paper attempts to review the evidence from the Indian standpoint.

2. Philological Background

The first appearance of the Aryan people is reported from the northern borders of Iraq. That they were intruders is clear from archaeological records. It is surmised that the leaders of the Kassites (*circa* eighteenth century B.C.), who introduced the horse for drawing chariots in the Ancient East, were actually Aryan princes. In the names of the Kassite rulers of Babylonia, names of Indian deities are found to form a significant element, though in other respect the Kassite language is of a different kind. It has also been demonstrated by the Czech scholar Hrozny that the Hittite language had affinities with that of the Indo-European group, representing perhaps a distinct branch other than that of *satem* and *centum*. The presence of Indo-European element in Cappadocia is attested as early as the beginning of the second milleunium B.C. as evidenced by some recognizable names in the Kultepe tablets.[4] The exact position of the Hittite within the Indo-European family, being highly controversial, does not concern us here. A more convincing evidence about the existence of the Aryan dynasts in upper Euphrates and Asia Minor around 1400 B.C. was obtained from the Mittanian and Hittite archieves, found at Tell-el-Amarna and Boghaz-Koy, which mention divine[5] and personal names and numerals, usually believed to be the oldest actual specimens of any Aryan speech, very nearly pure Indic. Jacobi[6] had felt that the names of these Mittanian divinities were Indian and were introduced into Mesopotamia by a body of Sanskrit-speaking people from Punjab. This theory though endorsed by Pargiter[7] was not accepted by other philologist particularly Eduard Meyer[8] and Husing[9] who felt that these dynasts were Indian, but 'Indians on their way to India' and that they had lived with Iranians as one body somewhere north of Caucasus.

It is widely known that on the tablelands of Iran and the north-western part of ancient India, Aryan languages continued, while in the Mittani region these had succumbed to local dialects. Unfortunately, however, in the former region, no written records of these languages are available till about the sixth century B.C. For any investigation of the problem connected with the Aryans, therefore, we have to depend upon the material remains of that period (fourteenth-sixth century B.C.) in these areas. In view of the fresh archaeological discoveries made in India and Pakistan during the last two decades or so, and the considerable advance in the analytical process, it is worthwhile examining the available archaeological evidence bearing on this issue.

3. Archaeological Evidence : India and her neighbours

We may now pass on to the domain of culture-groups, defined by pottery, tools, weapons, etc., belonging to the second millennium B.C. which is the normally accepted period of movement of the Aryan people from their primitive habitat. In India and Pakistan, claims for the identification of the Aryans have been put forward in respect of the following groups :[10] *(i)* the Gandhara Grave Culture, *(ii)* Cemetery 'H' Culture *(iii)* the Banas Culture, *(iv)* the post-Harappan Chalcolithic Cultures of Central India and Northern Deccan. *(v)* the Copper Hoard Culture; and *(vi)* the Painted Grey Ware Culture. In the present scope of this paper it has seemed proper to pass over in silence theories about the identification of the Indus Civilization with the Ṛgvedic Aryans, for the evidence is of an involved kind based either on the claimed decipherment of the script on the seals[11] or on the professed chronology of the Ṛgveda (*circa* fifth millennium B.C.), or on the reported occurrence of husk and rice at Lothal or on

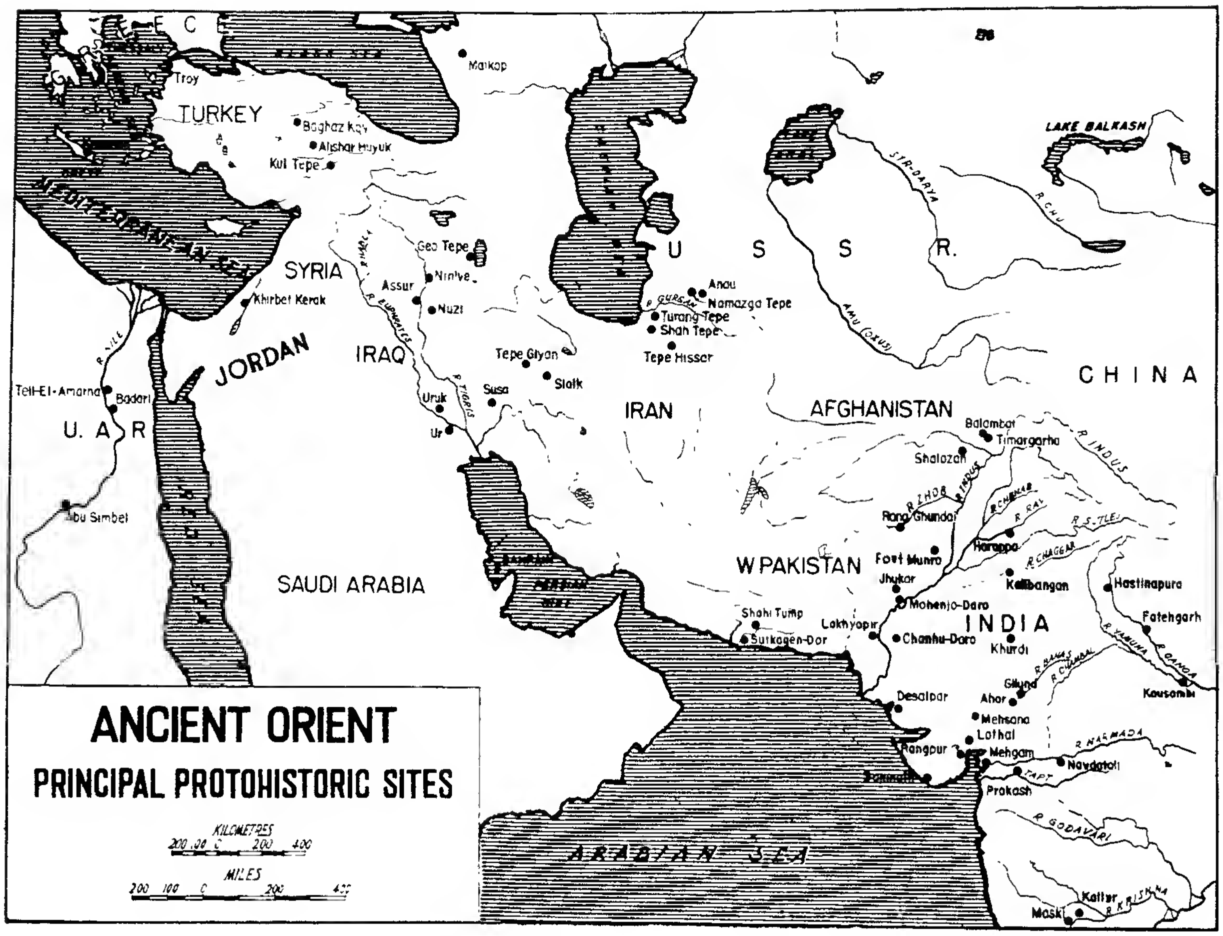
ANCIENT ORIENT
PRINCIPAL PROTOHISTORIC SITES
KILOMETRES
200 100 0 200 400
MILES
200 100 0 200 400
TURKEY
Troy
Baghaz Kay
Alishar Huyuk
Kul Tepe
Maikop
SYRIA
Khirbet Kerak
JORDAN
IRAQ
Geo Tepe
Ninive
Assur
Nuzi
R. EUPHRATES
R. TIGRIS
Uruk
Ur
Susa
Tepe Giyan
Sialk
IRAN
U S S R.
Anau
R. GURGAN
Namazga Tepe
Turang Tepe
Shah Tepe
Tepe Hissar
LAKE BALKASH
SYR-DARYA
R. CHU
AMU (OXUS)
CHINA
AFGHANISTAN
Balambat
Timargarha
Shalozan
R. INDUS
R. ZHOB
Rana Ghundai
R. CHENAB
R. RAVI
R. SUTLEJ
Harappa
R. CHAGGAR
W PAKISTAN
Fort Munro
Jhukar
Kalibangan
Hastinapura
Mohenjo-Daro
Fatehgarh
Shahi Tump
Lakhyopir
Sutkagen-Dor
Chanhu-Daro
INDIA
Khurdi
R. YAMUNA
R. GANGA
R. BANAS
R. CHAMBAL
Gilund
Kausambi
Desalpar
Ahar
Mehsana
Lothal
R. NARMADA
Rangpur
Mehgam
Navdatoli
TAPTI
Prakash
R. GODAVARI
Kallur
Maski
R. KRISHNA
ARABIAN SEA
SAUDI ARABIA
U. A R
R. NILE
Tell-El-Amarna
Badari
Abu Simbel
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

FIG 2

the promiscuous anthropological evidence obtained from the two cemeteries at Harappa—R 37 and 'H'. Of these culture-groups, only the Painted Grey Ware Culture and Period III of the Gandhara Grave Culture attest the use of iron, the remaining cultures representing the copper/bronze using economy. We may now review each of the above postulates, all of which, it may be stated at the outset, point to an extra-Indian homeland of the Aryans.

The Gandhara Grave Culture and Aryans

The Gandhara Grave Culture[12] is characterized by: *(a)* three distinct types of burial practices (inflexed articulated, cremation in urns, and fractional or partial); *(b)* two classes of pottery (red ware and grey ware); *(c)* use of copper during Periods I and II, and of iron and copper during Period III; and *(d)* the knowledge of horse-breeding (definitely attested in Period III). On the basis of the C-14 determinations, Period I is dated to the fifteenth-fourteenth century B.C. and period III to the ninth century B.C. Dr. Bernhard,[13] on the basis of the detailed study of the skeletal material obtained from the various graves, has recognised two predominant groups of foreign peoples in the graves: *Eurydolichomorph* or Proto-Europoid in Period I and *Leptodolichomorph* or Mediterranean in Period III, and maintains that they are 'closely connected with the southern migration of the foreign people into India, which began in the second millennium B.C. and continued in the first'. On the basis of this evidence the excavator

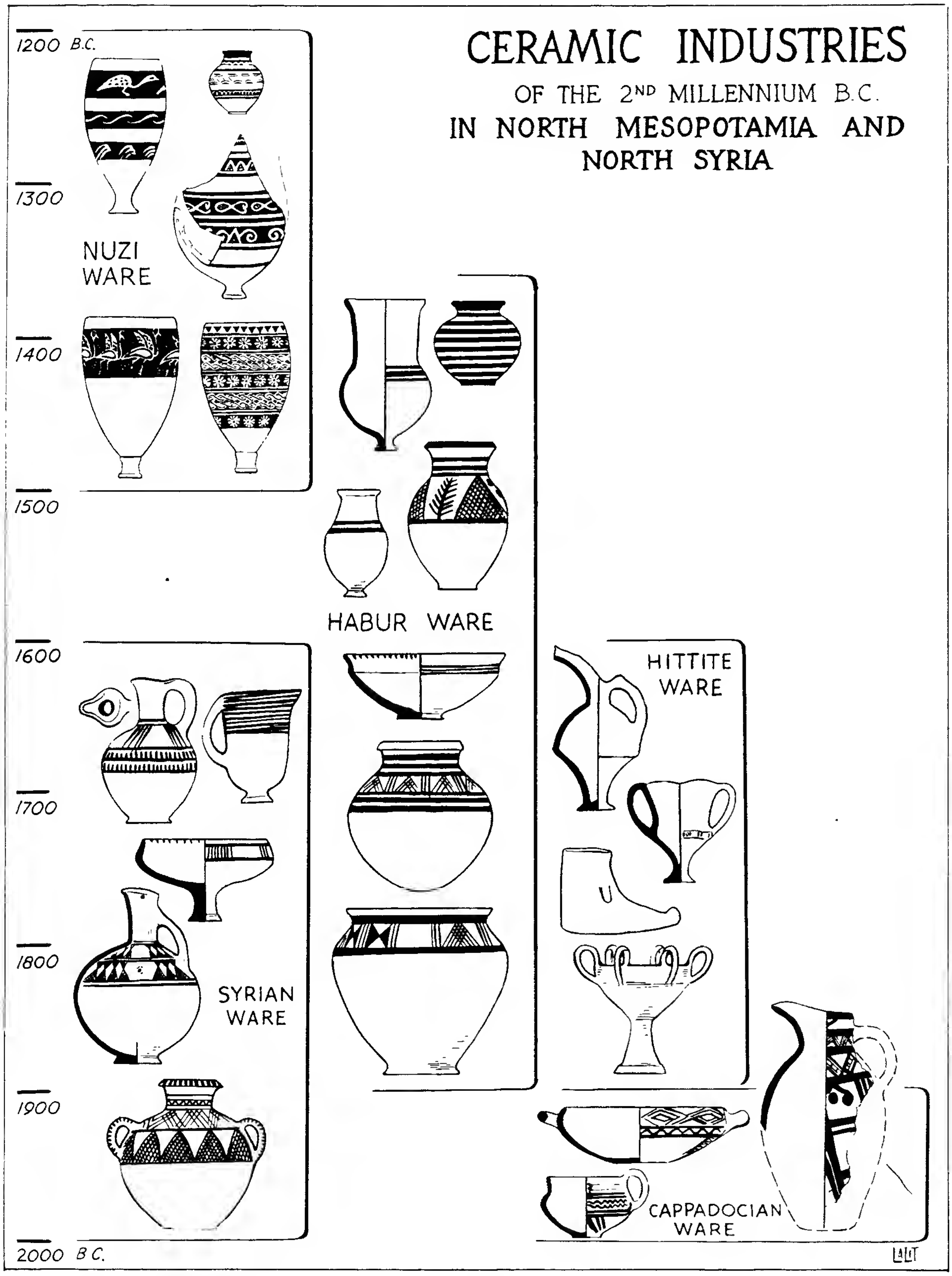
CERAMIC INDUSTRIES
OF THE 2ND MILLENNIUM B.C.
IN NORTH MESOPOTAMIA AND NORTH SYRIA
1200 B.C.
1300
1400
1500
1600
1700
1800
1900
2000 B.C.
NUZI WARE
HABUR WARE
HITTITE WARE
SYRIAN WARE
CAPPADOCIAN WARE
LALIT

FIG 3.

felt that these migrations represented two waves of invasions of the plain grey ware culture, the first associated with copper or bronze in about the middle of the second millennium B.C. and the second with iron towards the beginning of the first millennium B.C. On circumstantial evidence (for no written records are available), the people associated with these migrations are identified with Aryans, the two waves being further explained by the use of the words *ayas*, (generally taken to be copper) in Ṛgvedic literature and *tāmra-ayas* (copper) and *kṛṣṇa-ayas* (iron) in the later Vedic. Furthermore, it is seen that Period III marks a new tradition not only in the ritual of the disposal of the dead but also in the use of iron. The evidence suggests that these people were invaders who quickly spread out in the area. Both archaeological and ethnological parallels of the Gandhara Grave Culture have been cited in the cultures of the comparable period in the Central Asian steppes (Sakae tribes and Andronovo Culture). In case we are to assume that the entire occupation of this culture, covering Periods I to III, represents the settlement of the Aryan people, may be of two waves, the anthropological differences between Periods I and III are not easily explainable. Besides, there is evidence to suggest that the people of Period III 'destroyed the earlier populace' for whom they had no regard and whose graves they disturbed, as though sacrilegiously, by robbing stones and building their own houses atop.[14] We have yet to be convinced if a second wave of the people of the same stock would behave in the aforesaid manner? The identification of both the groups, the Proto-Europoid with the massive and rugged bony skull of Periods I and II, and the Mediterranean with the gracile skull of Period III with the Aryans, therefore, seems to be presumptuous. Or, on the analogy of Scythian-Sarmatian series, we have to conceive of a nomadizing Indo-Aryan people penetrating the region and destroying the settlement of their kinsfolk who had arrived earlier.

The possibility of Cemetery 'H' Culture people being Aryans was first suggested by Gordon Childe in 1934[15] and was made out into a plausible hypothesis in 1947[16] by Mortimer Wheeler who averred that Cemetery 'H' people were responsible for the destruction of the strongholds of the Indus Civilization, and sought to explain the occurrence of skeletons of men and women in the upper levels of Mohenjodaro, which he thought implied a massacre to the hostile attack of the Aryans. This theory did not carry much conviction,[17] (1) for it was observed that at Harappa, Cemetary 'H' occupation did not immediately follow the collapse of the Indus settlement but appeared after a lapse of some time, as indicated by an intervening deposit of débris, both in the cemetary and in the habitation area. One could argue that the conquerors having destroyed the strongholds had to level it for making it suitable for habitation and thus explain the intervening deposit which may not represent a hiatus in the cultural sense. (2) But at the same time it must be conceded that the cultural remains of the conquerors, if they are identified with the Aryans, should be found widespread in the area, which is not the case with the Cemetery 'H' Culture. The limited distribution of the Cemetary 'H' Ware (two sites in Bahawalpur, West Pakistan) precludes its association with the Aryans who, according to the literary sources, initially settled in the Ghaggar (Sarasvatī), Sutlej and upper Ganga valleys. (3) Equally debatable is the postulate regarding evidence of the 'massacre' in the upper levels of Mohenjodaro. It has been demonstrated that not all skeletons belonged to the uppermost levels of the site.[18]' The causes of the collapse of Indus Civilization do not concern us here. All that emerges out of the present investigation is that the Cemetary 'H' people were not Aryans.

The Banas Culture and the Aryans

Another evidence of a postulated contact of the Harappan with the Aryan is claimed to be provided by the Banas Culture[19] which in time range extends from *circa* 2000 to 1200 B.C.[20] and is characterized principally by the use of copper and the White-painted Black-and-red Ware. In the material equipment of this culture, as revealed from the excavations at Ahar and Gilund, Agrawal recognizes two strains: western Asiatic and Harappan. An antecedent stage of this development is sought to be provided by the evidence at Desalpur in Kutch, where in a continuously evolving sequence, the appearance of the new pottery tradition[21], particularly the cream-slipped bichrome Ware and the White-painted Black-and-red Ware, etc. in Period IB is shown to mark the arrival of new people. The latter, on circumstantial evidence, have been identified with the Aryans. It has been postulated that these very people were also responsible for the collapse of the Indus Civilization in the Kutch region, the Banas Culture being the first attempt at settlement in India by the Aryans. The spread of the black-and-red ware in the Ganga-Yamuna *doab*, the lower Ganga basin and central and western India is also attributed to the early colonization by the Aryans. This hypothesis has not been found to be tenable.[22] First, the western Asiatic strain of the Banas Culture (incised decorated spindle whorls, animal headed handles and a few other pot forms, particularly, the Chandelier type dish-cum-bowl stand) is based on tenuous links of superficial similarities of certain objects found at Ahar and at Tépé Hissar, Shah Tépé, Troy, Geo Tépé and Anau,[23] sometime in disparate chronological horizon. Secondly, the White-painted Black-and-red Ware does not present any comparable ceramic tradition in western Asia, particularly at the sites where the aforesaid similarities have been noticed. Thirdly, the evidence for the contact of these nomadic Arayans (authors of the Banas Culture) with the Harappans, resulting in heavy borrowing from the latter, and also leading to the final collapse of the latter's culture, seems to be more apparent than real, unless the reported identification of some skeletal remains at Lothal[24] with the Arayans is mentioned as a significant supporting evidence. Fourthly, the cream slipped bichrome ware of Period IB at Desalpur does not seem to be a characteristic component element of the Banas Culture. Fifthly, it is inconsistent with the views of the philologists,[25] according to whom Rajasthan area was not settled by the first wave of Aryans but by a later wave associated with the Sauraseni language. Sixthly, it seems to raise new problems regarding the route which the Aryans took on their way to India, the usually accepted view being that they migrated into northern India through the passes in the Hindu Kush mountains located on the north-western frontiers of the present day West Pakistan.

The Chalcholithic Cultures and the Aryans

An equally problematic identification of the Arayans has been suggested by Sankalia with the authors of the post-Harappan Chalcolithic Cultures of Central India and Northern Deccan.[26]On the basis of the Puranic evidence, the colonization of the Narbada valley had commenced much earlier than the Mahābhārata war which was dated by Pargiter[27] to about 950 B.C. The only remains of settlement prior to 1000 B.C. in this area relate to the chalcolithic cultures of Central India and Northern Deccan, dated to circa 1700–1000 B.C. and characterized by (a) distinctive black-painted red wares, (b) microliths and blades, (c) restricted use of copper and (d) distinctive modes of burials. Their level of economy was essentially agrarian and pre-urban. A few pottery types, including certain decrotative themes, belonging to these cultures have analogues on some sites in Iran and Iraq.[28] This raises the question of interrelationship between these chalolithic cultures of India and those of comparable assemblage in Iran and Iraq. Do these similarities indicate a migration of Aryan tribes from West Asia and their subsequent settlement in central India, etc. around 1700 B.C.? If so, do these latter settlements represent colonization by Aśmakas or Assokas[29] or by the Yādavas and Haihayas of Puranic tradition? In the latter case, their relative position in a time-sequence of Aryan colonization in India would be later than the settlements in the Ganga-Yamuna *doab* which, on the basis of the Puranic history, were colonized by the forebears of the Haihayas-the Ikṣvākus- some generations earlier.

The claim of Kauśāmbī

This brings us to the evidence brought forth by the excavations at Kauśāmbī.[30] Here out of a total of twenty-five structural phases, the first four are reported to have yielded certain pottery forms which resemble those obtained from Navdatoli, Rangpur, Somnath, Mehgam, Motamachiala, etc., in post-Harappan and late Harappan contexts. On the basis of the close affinity in pottery types, Sharma claims that the earliest settlers of Kauśāmbī and those of Navdatoli belong to the same culture community, representing perhaps the first Aryan immigrants. As an additional support to this hypothesis, the theory of Hoernle, relating to the two waves of Aryan immigrants into India, has been cited. It is also surmised, though not without subjective reasoning, that this group 'sacked the Harappan cities and conquered them'. Elaborating this postulate, it has been professed that 'the urban revolution in the Ganga valley was achieved by a people who lived in close proximity of the Harappans from whom they borrowed not only the conception of a town and a citadel but also the various elements of architecture'. Except for the superficial similarities of pottery types mentioned above, these extrapolations are not warranted by archaeological evidence. In which area of the Harappan empire—Sind, Punjab, Rajasthan or Gujarat—was this contact or conquest made has nowhere been indicated. While a period of contemporaneity between the terminal or the late phase of the Harappan cities (Rangpur, Somnath, Mehgam, Motamachiala) and the early phase of the Central Indian Chalcolithic Culture (Navdatoli) could be concieved, there is no evidence of any borrowing of the element of urban architecture from or conquest of the former by the latter. From the fairly intensive evidence of excavation at more than half-a-dozen sites in central and western India, it is patently clear that the chalcolithic cultures of the region had predominantly a rural economy. Furthermore, as a composite assemblage, the Central Indian Chalcolithic Culture (typified here by Navdatoli) does not compare with the culture represented by Period I at Kauśāmbī. One of the principal component elements of the former culture, *viz.* microliths and blades, is conspicuously absent at Kauśāmbī. Conversely, the use of iron and the building of massive fortifications (battered clay rampart, revetted externally with baked bricks laid in English bonding) in the upper half of Period I at Kauśāmbī does not find any parallel development in the chalcolithic cultures of Central India and Northern Deccan. Besides, according to the known time-brackets of these cultures, the earliest settlement at Kauśāmbī began sometime around 1100 B.C., by which time the Chalcolithic Cultures of Central India and Northern Deccan were already drawing to a close. In case the similarities of pottery types have still to be given any weight for the argument of Aryan settlement of Madhyadeśa, we have to think in terms of a movement of Aryans from Central India towards Ganga-Yamuna *doab* with a chain of sites showing comparable elements of the culture millieu along the line of transmission. The available evidence does not permit any such conclusion.

The Copper Hoards and Aryans

The next hypothesis, put forward in 1936 by R. Heine Geldern,[31] and initially supported by Stuart Piggott[32] relates to the identification of the Vedic Aryans with the authors of the Copper Hoards. The conclusions were based on the typological study of the tools, particularly on the analogies of (*i*) the trunnion celt from Shalozan, (*ii*) the fan-hilted sword from Fort Munro, (*iii*) the shaft-hole axe from Shahi Tump and Chanhudaro, (*iv*) the tubular shaft-hole axe-adze from Mohenjodaro, (*v*) harpoon-heads from the sites in the Ganga valley and (*vi*) the antennae swords from Fatehgarh and Kallur with those from sites in west Asia, including northern Caucasus, Afghanistan and southern Russia, dated to circa 1200-1000 B.C. It was asserted that these tools represent archaeological traces of the Aryan invaders on their way from western Asia. By a careful analysis of the material, the above hypothesis was found to be unworkable.[33] In fact, the very basis of the whole argument was undermined by showing that the first four tool-types listed above did not form a part and parcel of the 'Copper Hoards' as presumed by Heine-Geldern. In fact, on typological grounds, two zones of the area of distribution of these Hoards were distinguished :[34] the eastern zone characterized by simpler types (flat axes, bar celts and shouldered axes) and the central *doab* by advanced types '(barbed harpoons, anthropomorphic figures, double-edged antennae swords, etc.). The discovery, during the last decade, of three more 'Copper Hoards' [from (i) Khurdi[35] in District Nagaur of Rajasthan, (ii) Mehsana,[36] (iii) Karakoram].[37] has not substantially altered the position. Daggers of the Fort Munro type, trunnion celts and axe-adzes were never found in the Ganga plains. The distinctive typology of the 'Copper Hoards', therefore, indicates a separate cultural pattern. Technological studies[38] have revealed that in the technique of both alloying and forging, the Copper Hoards were unrelated to the Harappans or other chalcolithic traditions of western and central India. Furthermore, it has also been demonstrated that the 'Copper Hoards' of the central *doab* (notably upper Ganga basin) were associated, on circumstantial evidence, with a ceramic, labelled the 'Ochre Colour Ware'[39], which has recently been also dated[40] by thermoluminiscence methods to *circa* first half of the second millennium B.C.

In 1956, Heine-Geldern again reviewed[41] the available archaeological evidences, and citing further parallels of bronze and copper objects (particularly those pointed out earlier by Piggott[42], viz. animal-headed pin from Mohenjodaro, rod from Harappa and macehead from Chanhudaro besides the seals from Chanhudaro), re-affirmed his earlier conclusions (though in a modified form) that the authors of these objects were Aryans who invaded India between 1200 and 1000 B.C. He held the view that these types belonged to a single cultural complex in western Asia and inferred that the same was the case in India. This hypothesis too remains untenable, for the evidence relating to the objects from Mohenjodaro, Harappa and Chanhudaro seems to have been examined in isolation. While in the present stage of our knowledge there is nothing to suggest that the occupation at these sites continued till about 1200 B.C. to witness the invasion,[43] the presence of these finds, essentially stray and without any diognostic associated material equipment, precludes their identification with the movement of the Aryans. It is difficult to subscribe to the view that a dynamic equestrian people like the Aryans, should have left only these traces which again are not available in the area of their further expansion in the Ganga-Yamuna *doab*. If Jhukar levels at Chanhudaro represent the Aryan occupation, as believed by Hiene-Geldern, the material equipment of the Jhukar Culture, including the distinctive pottery, is not consistently represented even at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, not to speak of sites further east of the Indus plains. Besides, apart from the metal objects referred to above, at Harappa the only non-Harappan tradition met with is represented by the occupation of the Cemetery 'H' Culture. At Mohenjodaro, direct evidence for a non-Harappan occupation of a comparable affiliation is wanting. Are we to agree to the explanation given by Stuart

Piggott that the new arrivals were predominantly conquerors who travelled light bringing with them only the portable property of seals, spears and battle axes, and adapting the pottery traditions of the regions in which they established themselves?[44]

The Quetta Valley Ghul Ware and the Aryans

Related to this hypothesis is the suggestion of Fairservis[45] to associate two distinctive Wares in the Quetta valley with the period of the Aryan occupation. One of these, labelled the Ghul Ware, is reportedly 'a heavy handmade ware decorated rather coarsely with simple designs, sometimes in polychrome, while the other, with a distribution in northern Baluchistan, is a wheel-made ware decorated with geometric and curvilinear motifs, suggesting Jhukar style. Although the stratigraphic relationship of this ware with the Ghul Ware is not sufficiently established, there is some indication to infer that the former is somewhat earlier. Both of these, however, fall within the time-span of Rana Ghundai IV. It is claimed that these ceramic traditions entered Sind via Derajat or the Zhob valley along with the Aryan invaders through Gomel Pass. This postulate suffers from the lack of internal consistency. Do these two ceramic traditions represent two different waves of Aryan immigrants? If so, how do we explain the absence of the potter's wheel and sophisticated pottery in the latter group (viz. represented by Ghul Ware), unless we assume that the users of the Ghul Ware came from an area of isolation. The claims of the Jhukar Culture, have already been commented upon above and need not be repeated here.

The Painted Grey Ware and the Aryans

The hypothesis put forward by Lal[46] relates to the identification of the authors of the Painted Grey Ware with an early wave of the Aryans in India. The relevant evidence, though entirely circumstantial, rests on four incontrovertible facts : (i) the Painted Grey Ware has been found to occur in the lower levels of a large number of sites associated with the Mahābhārata story; (ii) the distribution of this distinctive ceramic fits with the geographical foci of Vedic literature, being virtually co-terminous with the land Brahmāvarta and Brahmarṣi deśa, held holy in the Aryan literature; (iii) the people who occupied the Ghaggar (the ancient Sarasvatī Valley)—traditionally an early home of the Aryans in India—in the wake of the Harappans used the Painted Grey Ware; and (iv) a considerable part of the Painted Grey Ware settlement at Hastināpura was washed away by a heavy flood resulting in the desertion of the township for the time-being. The occurrence of the skeletal remains of the horse *(Equus caballus)*, though in the late levels of the Painted Grey Ware strata, has also been emphasized as a significant evidence. (Fig. 1).

The Painted Grey Ware might not have come from outside

This hypothesis has been disputed on two principle issues: first, the antecedant stages of the Painted Grey Ware along the route which the Aryans are believed to have taken on their way to India and secondly, the time bracket during which the Painted Grey Ware flourished. Regarding the former, Lal had cited some similarities between the Painted Grey Ware obtained from Indian sites and the Minyan Ware found on sites in Thessaly,[47] ascribable to the Bronze Age. Here it was found to be an intrusive element in a local culture continuum. Apart from sites excavated by Wace and Thompson (Tsani, Tsangli and Zerila) and referred to by Lal, painted grey ware has also been found from Otzaki (also in Thessaly)[48], a site excavated by Vladimir Milojic, the industry being represented by only a few sherds. Besides, the straight-sided bowls, no other form, much less the distinctive Indian dish with incurved sides, was available. One of the bowls had in addition, at mid-height, a sloping lug handle, painted on the upper surface, a feature altogether absent in the Indian examples. The painted patterns consisted of thick rim band with regularly spaced verticals, horizontal bands, rim-band joined by oblique lines with dots, etc. The designs in each case showed a disciplined style with no blurrings. This evidence, though alluring, failed to carry conviction largely because no chain of transmission of the pottery tradition could be built between the two regions, viz. Thessaly and India. Likewise, the suggested similarity in fabric of the fine grey ware from south of Lake Urmia with the Painted Grey Ware from the Ganga-Yamuna *doab* and the Sarasvatī valley seems to be more apparent than real, for it is not supported by any close correspondence in characteristic pot-forms excepting the corrugated stem, of which the complete shape in the Indian assemblage remains unknown. The occurrence of a few Painted Grey Ware sherds of the patent Ganga-Yamuna *doab* fabric on some sites in Siestan including, Lakhyopir in Sind, however, provides some weight to the hypothesis, but has remained geographically separated from the known area of distribution of the Ware in India. Similarly, the apparent resemblance between the Painted Grey Ware of the *doab* and that of Shahi Tump does not seem to be fully consistent in forms decoration, etc.[48a]

While conceding that the available evidence was essentially a *disjecta membra*, Lal felt that, for working out the movement of the Aryans in western Asia and southern Europe, it was desirable that the distribution of the painted and plain grey wares should be studied. Painted Grey Ware in India seems to indicate a tradition long established and fully developed. We must, therefore, on the present evidence postulate a period of development outside India. Although Baluchistan, Indus valley, and Pakistan part of the Punjab still remain largely unexplored from this angle, it would be worthwhile to review the evidence brought forth by the excavations in the Swat valley, including the Gandhara region (Gandhara Grave Culture) which has some bearing on the subject,[49] especially on the attributed source of inspiration of the Painted Grey Ware.

It has already been stated above, that about the middle of the second millennium B.C., grey ware, marking the introduction of a completely new ceramic tradition in Pakistan, was the harbinger of the Gandhara Grave Culture and that of the two waves of invasion of the grey ware culture, the first was associated with bronze and the second with iron. The Painted Grey Ware of the Ganga-Yamuna *doab* was also associated with iron. Comparing the two assemblages, Dani holds the view[50] that it may not be improper to seek the origin of the latter to the development of the grey ware of the Gandhara Grave Culture in the as yet unexplored intervening plains between the Indus and the Beas. While future investigations would no doubt extend the areas of distribution of the respective wares in this region, what is needed is a site where a stratigraphic correlation of the two wares could be established. At the present stage, the evidence seems to be only indicative and not proved. Further, no specific resemblance has been noticed in the shapes represented in the two respective wares; the distinctive type of the Gandhara Grave Culture is the tall drinking vase while that of the Painted Grey Ware the flat dish or *thali*. Does it not imply differing food habits with reflections on the social economy of the corresponding culture-group?

Coming to the date of the Painted Grey Ware, excepting a single date, 1025 B.C., most of the C-14 dates for this Ware are concentrated between 800 and 500 B.C.[51] This incidentally falls within the same time-bracket as proposed by Dani for Period III of the Gandhara Grave Culture (*circa* ninth to the middle of the sixth century B.C.) There is thus no possibility of the Painted Grey Ware being inspired by the pottery traditions of Period III of the Gandhara Grave Culture. In fact, the frequency graph of the grey ware shows a descending trend in the latter assemblage.

Archaeological Evidence : West Asia

It is widely known that in the first quarter of the second millennium B.C. there was a general break-up of Western Asiatic Civilizations, following migration of peoples. This period saw the rise of the Hittite Empire in Asia Minor. In Mesopotamia, the Guti tribes rudely, if not ruthlessly, shook the kingdom of Akkad. In the Iranian tableland, the arrival of the new comers, who were mostly barbarian potentates, is attested at Hissar II–III, Giyan III, Anau II–III, Shah Tépé II and Turang Tépé. In Soviet Central Asia, the period is marked by the appearance of nomadic tribes. These movements reflect insecurity, raids, etc., as attested by the promiscuous traits in the associated assemblages.[52] (Fig. 2)

For an archaelogical phenomenon of the above evidence, we may examine the ceramic industries of the comparable period in Anatolia, north Mesopotamia, including Syria, northern Iran and Soviet Central Asia (notably Tajikistan).[53] (Fig. 3)

The exotic hand-made polychrome Cappadocian Ware along with the wheelmade monochrome red or black burnished ware formed the ceramic industries of the Hittites, covering also the period of the Assyrian colonists in Anatolia. The designs in grey, black or red on a light background in the Cappadocian Ware included, occasionally, stylized representations of birds, zigzag bands, lozenges, double axes, etc. The Anatolian character of spouts and handles is amply clear in the forms (fondness for cutway lip, rhytons in the form of animals and model-shoes). An eastern derivation for this Ware is indicated by its connections of Anau and the occurrence of some cognate forms of Geo Tépé in Azerbaijan.[54] The monochrome ware was unrelivedly black or red with a tendency to burnishing or polish and showing individualistic shapes, more characteristic of local taste. This ware gradually became predominant as the Cappadocian Ware went out of use. Another ceramic which is associated with the movement of peoples in Anatolia and Palestine is the Khirbet Kerak Ware (*circa* second half of third millennium B.C.) which is associated by some archaeologists with Hittites or proto-Hittites. The original home of this Ware which is handmade and heavily burnished (occassionally red all-over, more often black, but quite often black-and-red with the inside showing red and outside black or red below and black above) is believed to be in the Araxes valley. In the Jordan valley (Amuq plains), it was an indicator of a foreign ethnic element.[55] In northern Mesopotamia, the ceramic industries of the period, meriting our attention comprised the Habur and the Nuzi Wares. The former (*circa* 1900–1200 B.C.) which both preceded and overlapped the latter in chronological sequence, is painted in black over light-red background and shows in its design repertoire notably the double axe motif, horizontal triangles in bands, zigzag metops, etc.—influences from north Iran (Tépé Giyan II–III) and Armenia, both nuclear regions of potential cultures in the beginning of the second millennium B.C. The Nuzi Ware (alternatively termed as the Hurrian, Subartu or the Atchana Ware) which is widely known as a Mittani ceramic dates from the sixteenth to the twelfth century B.C. and is considered as a fashion adaptation from Crete with an impulse from mural paintings. It is painted in white over dark surface. The patterns, showing zonal form of decoration, have an ornamental character and consist of tendrils and creepers, geometric elements and sometimes even birds.

All these ceramic traditions are sudden intrusions in their respective areas, and as such could have resulted only from the admixture of a new element in the population.

In northern Iran, towards the middle of the third millennium B.C., the existing pottery traditions at Tépé Hissar,[56] Tépé Giyan,[57] and Shah Tépé,[58] are found to be interrupted by the appearance of plain, burnished grey or black ware. At Turang Tépé,[59] where no earlier occupation of painted pottery was reached, the habitation started with the grey ware occupation. At Sialk[60] similar ware has been attested in Cemeteries A and B (respectively Periods V and VI), assignable to *circa* 1400–1000 B.C. In the neighbouring region of Turkmenia, similar evidence of the grey ware intruding upon and finally supplanting the painted pottery tradition is available at Anau. This unpainted grey ware, marked by different traditions of kiln and firing, seemed to be more than a change in ceramic fashion and could only mean the arrival of new comers in this region with decisive outer influences. As regards the associated objects of this striking ceramic, attention may be drawn notably to the occurrence of a new type of tools and weapons of copper or bronze; (i) gypsum seal with the omnipresent filled cross; (ii) double spiral-headed pin; (iii) pins with animal or mace heads; (iv) copper stamp seals with terraced square design; (v) axe-adze with tubular shaft-hole; and (vi) a distinctive type triple-jar with tubular connections joining all the three. The use of iron was not attested in this assemblage. Some of these types would permit an excursion from Iran through Baluchistan to Mohenjodaro (above). This widespread distribution is not without significance. Equally noteworthy, however, is the evidence regarding the existence of the domesticated horse (*Equus caballus*) at Shah Tépé, both in Periods II and III.[62]

The problem concerning the origin of the grey ware is much too complex. It is not sure whether this ware is representative of an originally homogenous culture. Some analogues are known from Anatolian sites including Alishar and from the Uruk Ware in Mesopotamia,[63] but cannot offer a reasonable explanation.

In south Russia, the basic culture towards the end of the third millennium B.C. and early part of the second was that of agriculturists, partly nomadic, but sufficiently sedentary, as evidenced by the existence of cemeteries,[64] including the great tombs such as that of Maikop which contained metalwork types similar to those obtained from Tépé Hissar and Turang Tépé.

4. Anthropological Evidence

Let it be stated at the outset that owing to the lack of a sufficient series of skeletons of the respective periods in the areas under study, the anthropological evidence on the subject is sadly deficient. Besides, most of the anthropological studies in these regions have been based on outmoded concepts of race without the application of scientific concept of population-genetics.[65] It is, therefore, difficult to formulate any definite theory on the subject. As such our inferences on the affinities of people, represented by the skeletal remains, will be tentatives.

The craniological evidence obtained from the excavated skeletons from the Anatolian sites, including Kultépé, indicates that an extensive invasion of brachycephals occurred roughly at about 2000 B.C. The archaeolgical and philological evidences points to the Hittites (predominantly Alpine) as the invaders.[66]

As regards the Iranian sites under study, the position is as follows: among the crania available at Shah Tépé[67] no brachycephals were recorded in any of the Periods (I–III), the skulls being either dolichocephalic or mesocephalic; at Tépé Hissar,[68] in Periods I and II, among the twenty crania (respectively 4 and 16) no brachycephals were recorded and in Period III, out of the one hundred and thirtyseven crania, only one was brachycephalic (Alpine), the majority (eighty-five) of the remaining being dolichocephalic (Mediterranean); at Sialk,[69] brachycephals were found to be present in Cemeteries A and B (Periods V and VI).

Turning to the evidence obtained from the graves of the Gandhara Grave Culture, excavated in the Swat valley of Pakistan, we find that five different morphological types were represented: rugged bony proto-Europoid (Eurydolichomorph); both robust and gracile Mediterranean (Leptodolichomorph); Mongoloid; and Veddiform (Paedoeurydolichomorph). Of these, the commonest type was the gracile Mediterranean (Leptodolichomorph) met with in the graves of Period III, followed by the robust Eurydolichomorph and the robust Leptodolichomorph of Period I. According to Bernhard,[70] this evidence would suggest an immigration of a new people or at least a biological contact with a foreign population group during Period III. The gracile Mediterranean Leptodolichomorph of Period III was a widespread type in Central Asia during the Neolithic and the Bronze Ages, and was represented in Bronze Age skull series from sites in Tajikistan, South Turkmenia, Aral sea region, west Kazakistan as also from Shah Tépé and Tépé Hissar III. Statistical comparison, based on multivariate statistical method, also yielded significant similarities with the series from Tépé Hissar III, middle and east Europe and Central Asia. Identifying the gracil Mediterranean of Period III as the Aryan and the robust Leptodolichomorphs of Period I as the non-Aryan does not have any convincing anthropological or physical basis. Racially, Aryan did not comprise a single physical type but included such races as Nordic, Alpine, Armenoid, etc.[71]

In India, the anthropological evidence for the comparable period is sadly lacking. No burials have so far been recorded, belonging either to the Banas Culture or to the Copper Hoard Culture, or to the Painted Grey Ware Culture, and those found associated with the post-Harappan Chalcolithic Culture of Central India and Northern Deccan are small in number to permit any generalization.

5. Conclusions

From the foregoing it would be clear that the archaeological and the anthropological evidences, represented by the various culture-groups of the second millennium B.C., are inconsistent with the philological evidence. Even the archaeological and anthropological evidences have been found to vary from region to region—Anatolia, northern Iraq, northern Iran, Soviet Central Russia, Swat valley and Gandhara region or Pakistan and Ganga-Yamuna *doab*, southern Rajasthan, and Malwa plateau and northern Deccan of India. It is obvious, therefore, that there was no single culture associated with the Aryans in all these regions. At the same time, an interrelationship between the cultures of each region is fully attested by the occurrence of some common objects, including pottery forms. Are we to assume that the Aryans were migrants with no defined culture but with adherence to a linguistic equipment? Two things, however, emerge out of this discussion: First, between the close of the third millennium B.C. and the middle of the second, there have been movements-of land hungry peoples, marked by armed invaders in various regions of Western Asia notably Anatolia, Amouq plains, northern Mesopotamia, northern Iran and the north-western parts of Pakistan. These conquerors mingled with the survivors of the old stock in each region and with a sudden intrusion introduced their characteristic handicrafts. Secondly, the period was marked by the sudden appearance of a burnished grey ware. A tangible connection between these two phenomena and some major historical event, such as the movement of the Indo-Europeans, must be found.

In India, among the various culture groups for which identification with the Aryans has been claimed the Painted Grey Ware alone seems to fit into the sequence. The evidence admittedly is not definitive, primarily because of disputed chronology and lack of specific resemblance of the ware in areas further west of Punjab, but it has the merit of providing a workable hypothesis. The Painted Grey Ware of the Ganga-Yamuna *doab* seems to belong to the grey ware complex which had suddenly intruded upon the ceramic traditions of northern Iran towards the end of the third millennium B.C. At the same time it may be admitted that besides similarity in the tradition of firing and kiln there is little to compare the forms, fabric and the decoration of the Painted Grey Ware with those of the Iranian Ware. The latter complex probably sent out feelers far to the east, by a route that is as yet imperfectly understood. Perhaps this may explain (a) the reported likeness between certain pottery-forms of grey ware found in the Gandhara Grave Culture of the Swat valley and Periods II and III at Hissar in northern Iran, and (b) the absence of such corresponding resemblance between the Painted Grey Ware and the Swat-Iranian Ware. The link of grey ware complex, howsoever tenuous, is reinforced *a fortiori* by (a) the evidence about the use of the horse *(Equus caballus)* in association with the grey ware in northern Iran (Shah Tépé II and III). Swat valley and the Gandhara region of Pakistan (Gandhara Grave Culture) and upper India (Painted Grey Ware Culture late levels) and (b) the association of the predominently Mediterranian type of people with this grey-ware at least in northern Iran and in the Swat valley. With this generalization a loop is left open at this stage for other intermediate developments which future investigators may uncover. We must also keep in mind the inherent capacity of a culture to expand or to develop in response to local environments, which would mean that while formulating theories, due allowance for the process of Indianization should also be given.

To which wave of the movement of Indo-Aryans does the Painted Grey Ware belong, if at all it belongs to one, still remains to be established. Although its sophistication, as evidenced both by form and decoration, its date as also its association with the use of iron seem to be a few cogent points for ascribing this Ware to a later wave, the archaeological remains of the earliest wave[72] of Indo-Aryans in India still elude us.[73] At the same time, it may be reiterated that during the interregnum following the collapse of the Indus Civilization, Painted Grey Ware Culture constituted the earliest representation of an organized society in the Sutlej and the Ghaggar valleys. In the Ganga-Yamuna *doab*, being the major part of the remaining area of its distribution, this culture followed either that represented by the Ochre Colour Ware (as at Hastinapura, Ahichchatra and Jhinjhana) or that attested by the black-and-red ware (as at Atranjikhera and Noh), neither of which, as already demonstrated above, could be identified with the material remains of the Indo-Aryans. In the present impasse, can surmise be hazarded, without however any claim for a definitive assertion, that the Painted Grey Ware belongs to the early wave of Indo-Aryan immigrants in India, and that the earlier of the two floods mentioned in the Purāṇas[74] which might conceivably have submerged the Ochre Colour Ware sites,[75] occurred before the arrival of the Aryans in India with whom it was perhaps a living memory for rendering the story of the great deluge from which only Manu the great progenitor, as mentioned in the Aryan lore, was reported to have survived.

Lest the conclusions be bedevilled by extrapolations and surmises, it must be re-affirmed that the available objective evidence for the movement of Aryans into India is still inconclusive. In the present state of our knowledge or, for that matter of our ignorance, which is not as despairing as it was two decades ago, calls for a sustained work on the problem, including the ancestry of the Painted Grey Ware if it was at all there outside India.

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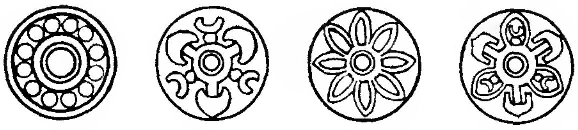

Some Western Indologists and Indian Civilization

KAILASH CHANDRA VARMA

THE WORK DONE by many European and American scholars in unravelling the past of India, by the study of Sanskrit and other Indian languages, the decipherment of the Brāhmī script and adding to the study of epigraphy contributed to the renaissance in Indian thought and culture in the nineteenth century. In particular, scholars like Sir Charles Wilkins, Sir William Jones, Sir Thomas Colebrooke, Friedrick Schlegel, James Princep, August Wilhelm Von Schlegel, Franz Bopp, Wilhelm Humbolt, Friedrick Ruckert, Eugene Burnouf, Major General Sir Alexander Cunningham, Franz Keilhorn, Hermann Jacobi, Major Seymour Sewell, and many others will always be remembered by the students of Indian history with gratitude and admiration. These scholars, poets, archaeologists and military officers devoted themselves to their self-appointed labour of love and inspite of many inevitable but bonafide mistakes, their work has a permanent value in Indic studies. All honour to them.

Biased Views of European Scholars

Unfortunately, however, coeval with the serious and dispassionate study of Sanskrit and various aspects of Indology by the scholars enumerated, there was another band of scholars whose labours, though valuable in many respects, have been vitiated by political or religious or theological bias. In short, the latter band of scholars were not objective in their studies but were propagandists for the perpetuation of foreign domination of India and endeavoured to convert India to what they considered to be the true "faith'. It is rather strange that an appreciable number of Western authors who have written about India, during the last half a century or so, have been inspired mainly by the latter band. The inevitable result has been gross misrepresentation of India and the Indians, particularly the Hindus, in the Western world and specially in the English-speaking world and the United States of America. The object of this paper is to analyze their writings and to show how some among them were guided in their study of Indian Culture by motives other than scholarly.

About the Beauty of Sanskrit Literature

II. Europe was aroused to the beauty of Sanskrit literature by the English translation of *Śākuntala* of Kālidāsa by Sir William Jones in 1789. Goethe, the German poet-dramatist, who is undoubtedly the greatest literary figure in the Western World, expressed about *Meghadūta* and *Śākuntala* of Kālidāsa thus :—

(a) *About Meghadūta*[1] : "Was will man denn vergnuglicheres wissen!
Sakontala, Nala, die muss man kussen;

Und Meghadūta, den Wolkengesandten,
Wer schickt ihn nicht gern zu seelenverwandten.

English translation : "What more pleasant, shall we know,
Thank Śākuntala, Nala, that we must kiss;
And Meghadūta, the cloud messenger,
Who is there who will not like to send him to his soul!

(b) *About Śākuntala* : Willst du die Blute des fruhen
die Fruchte des spateren Jahres,
Willst du, was reizt und entuzckt,
Willst du, was sattigt und nahrt,
Willst du den Hummel, die erde mit
Einem Namen begreifen,
Nein'ich Sakuntala, dich, und
dann ist alles gesagt.

English translation : "In case you desire to rejoice in the blossoms of early years,
the fruits of age advanced,
In case you want to have something that charms
something that is enchanting
In case you want to call both heaven and
earth by a common name,
I refer to you Śākuntala
And thus I describe these all."[2]

III. Many years later. Goethe wrote to Chezy, the French editor of the text of *Śākuntala* :[3] "When for the first time I became aware of this work of unfathomable depth, I was filled with great enthusiasm and it attracted me in such a manner that even at the time when I had hardly finished its reading, it goaded me towards the impossible undertaking of adapting it, even approachingly, for the German theatre ... I am still carrying the ineffaceable impression, that this book made on me so early. Here the poet seems to be at the height of his talents in representation of the natural order, of the finest mode of life, of the purest moral endeavour, of the most worthy sovereign and of the most sober divine meditation; still he remains in such a manner the lord and master of his creation."

IV. Another illustrious German, Schiller, wrote to Wilhelm Von Humbolt,[4] "that there is no poetical presentation of womanhood or of more beautiful a life in the whole of Greek antiquity, that might reach the *Śākuntala* even from a distance". The celebrated Wilhelm von Humbolt ranked *Bhagavadgītā* above the works of Lucretius, Parmenides and Empedokles, and declared, "that this episode of the *Mahābhārata* is the most beautiful, nay perhaps the only truly philosophical poem which we can find in all the literatures known to us."[5] Again he wrote to Fr. von Gentz in 1827, about the *Bhagavadgītā*. "It is perhaps the deepest and loftiest thing the world has to show."[6] The admiration of the German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer for the *Upaniṣads*, which he studied from a Latin translation made by a French writer, Antuetil du Perron, from the Persian translation known as the "*Sirre-Akbar*" made by Prince Dara Shikoh, son of the Mughal Emperor Shahjehan, is well known.[7] Similarly the tribute paid to Kālidāsa by A. W. Ryder, is remarkable; he writes, "Kālidāsa ranks not with Anacreon and Horace and Shelley but with Sophocles, Virgil and Milton;"[8] and again "We know that Kālidāsa is a very great poet, because the world has not been able to leave him alone."[9] H. G. Wells also has placed Buddha and Aśoka among the six greatest men the world has so far seen.[10] Vincent Arthur Smith, no partisan of India, observes: "A recent Indian author justly observes that 'India suffers today in the estimation of the world more through the world's ignorance of the achievements of the heroes of Indian history than through the absence or insignificance of such achievements."[11] Again he pays his tribute to Aśoka, "This great result is the work of Aśoka alone and entitles him to rank for all time with that small body of men who may be said to have changed the faith of the world."[12]

V. Writing about the Buddha, Edwin, A. Burtt, Sage Professor of Philosophy at Cornell University, observes: "Gautama the Buddha seems to have combined in a high degree two qualities that are rarely found together and each of which is rarely exemplified in high degree. On the one hand he was a man of rich and responsive human sympathy, of unfailing patience, strength, gentleness, and good will ... He, therefore, aroused in his followers a wondering, eager, affectionate devotion such as only the greatest leaders of men have awakened. On the other hand, he was a thinker, of unexcelled philosophic power. His was one of the giant intellects of human history, exhibiting a keenness of analytic understanding that has rarely been equalled."[13]

But this stream dried up fairly soon, though now and then some one sometimes objectively endeavoured to study about India and the Indians.

Scholars Worked for the Conversion of Hindus into Christianity

VI. The other band of scholars were, however, interested in the continued political subjection of India and a good many hoped to convert Indians to the "true faith". One of the first fruits of their endeavours was the creation of the Boden Professorship of Sanskrit, at the University of Oxford. The special objective of this foundation, as described by Sir Monier Williams was[44]: "I must draw attention to the fact that I am only the second occupant of the Boden Chair, and that its founder, Colonel Boden, stated most explicitly in his will (dated August 15, 1811 A.D.) that the special object of his munificient bequest was to promote the translation of Scriptures into Sanskrit; so as to enable his countrymen to proceed in the conversion of the natives of India to the Christian Religion ..."

Even Horace Hayman Wilson, the noble minded translator of the *Ṛgveda,* and the first holder of the Boden Professorship, was so bound by the terms of appointment that he was forced to admit[15] the reason for writing the book *'The Religious and Philosophical System of the Hindus',* in order "to help candidates for a prize of £ 200/- given by John Muir, a well known old Haileybury man and great Sanskrit scholar, for the *best refutation* of the Hindu Religious System". Rudolf Roth,[16] one of the joint editors of the St. Petersburg (later Petrograd, now Leningrad) Sanskrit-German Dictionary gave as his considered opinion that a qualified European was in a better position to interpret the Veda than a Brāhmaṇa due to the latter's theological bias. As an additional instance of his conceit he declared that with the aid of the 'German Science of Comparative Philology, he could interpret much better than Yāska, the hymns of the Veda.'[17] He was supported by the equally self-opinionated American Sanskrit scholar, William Dwight Whitney, who stated that the "principles of the German School are the only ones which can ever guide us to a true understanding of the Veda."[18] F. Max Müller, who also has done very valuable work by producing the text of the *Ṛgveda* with the *Bhāṣya* of *Sāyaṇa* and editing the *Sacred Books of the East* unfortunately was himself a bigotted and dogmatic Christian. Some of his fulminations make interesting reading as examples of a distorted judgement:

(a) "History seems to teach that the whole human race required gradual education before, in the fullness of time, it could be admitted to the truths of Christianity . . . The religion of the Buddha, has spread, far beyond the limits of the Aryan world, and, to our limited vision, it may seem to have retarded the advent of Christianity among a large portion of the human race. But in the sight of Him with whom a thousand years are but as one day, that religion, like the ancient religions of the world may have but served to prepare the way of Christ, by helping through its very errors to strengthen and to deepen the ineradicable yearning of the human heart after the truth of God."[19]

(b) "A large number of Vedic hymns are childish in the extreme, low, commonplace."[20]

(c) The intensity of Max Müller's theological intolerance is further well illustrated by his virulent attack on Dr. Spiegel, who had expressed the opinion that, perhaps, the Biblical account of the creation of the universe had been borrowed from Iranian sources. Max Müller was so enraged at this that he wrote, "A Writer like Dr. Spiegal should know that he can expect no mercy; nay, he should himself wish for no mercy, but invite the heaviest artillery against the floating battery which he has launched in the troubled waters of Biblical criticism."[21]

(d) About the Parsis, he observed, "If inspite of all this, many people, most compentent to judge, look forward with confidence to the conversion of the Parsis, it is because, in most essential points, they have already, though unconsciously, approached as near as possible, to the pure doctrine of Christinity. Let them but read the *Zend-Avesta,* in which they profess to believe, and they will find that their faith is no longer the faith of the *Yasna*, the *Venidad* and the *Vispered.* As historical relics, these works, if critically interpreted, will always retain a pre-eminent place in the great library of the ancient world. As oracles of religious faith, they are defunct and a mere anachronism in the age in which we live."[22]

(e) Again in a letter December 16, 1868, addressed to the Duke of Argyl, Under Secretary of State for India, Max Müller observed, "The ancient religion of India is doomed and if Christianity does not step in, whose fault will it be?"[23]

VII. Sir Monier Williams, to whom a reference has already been made, further expressed himself, as under :[24]

(a) "Brāhmanism, therefore, must die out. In point of fact, false ideas on the ordinary scientific subjects are so mixed up with its doctrines that the commonest education, the simplest lessons in geography without the aid of Christianity must inevitably in the end sap its foundations."

(b) "When the walls of the mighty fortress of Brāhmanism are encircled, undermined, and finally stormed by the soldiers of the Cross, the victory of Christianity must be signal and complete."

VIII. Winternitz also is not free from the theological bias : "It is true, the authors of these hymns rise but extremely seldom to the exalted flights and deep fervour of, say, the religious poetry of the Hebrews"[25] Yet the upholders of the sublimity of the poetry of the *Old Testament*, never allude to the sublimity of the *Bhagavadgītā* or the other Vedic hymns. Compare the legend of creation in the *Old Testament* with the celebrated *Nāsadīya Sūkta* of the *Ṛgveda* :[26]

Nor Aught nor Nought existed; yon bright sky
  Was not, nor heaven's broad woof outstretched above.
What covered all? What sheltered? What concealed?

Was it the water's fathomless abyss?
There was not death—yet was there nought immortal.
There was no difference betwixt day and night;
The Only One breathed breathless by itself;
Other than it there nothing since has been.
. . . .
Who knows the secret? Who proclaimed it here
Whence, whence this manifold creation sprang?
The gods themselves came later into being—
Who knows from whence this great creation sprang?
He from whom all this great creation came,
Whether his will created or was mute,
The Most High Seer that is in the highest heaven
He knows it, or per chance even He knows not?

Will Durant has commented on the above, "The loftiest of the poem is an astonishing Creation hymn, in which a subtle pantheism, even a pious scepticism appears in this the oldest book, of the most religious of people."[27] Zenaide A. Ragozin observes, "One of the great beauties of this matchless piece is that while reaching the uttermost bounds of philosophical abstraction, it is never obscure, unless to the absolutely uninitiated."[28] It has extorted unwanted admiration even from Max Müller, "Language blushes at, but her blush is a blush of triumph."[29] He goes on to observe, reluctantly, "there are hymns, though few in number, in the Veda, so full of thought and speculation that at this early period no poet in any other nation could have conceived them (*Chips from the German Workshop*, 1891, Vol. I, p. 76). In an exactly similar manner, along with poetry and religious fervour of a high order, the *Old Testament* has hundreds of lines which breath such hatred and vanom that they are unmatched and a good deal of its poetry is as puerile as any. Will Durant's[30] characterisation of Yahweh (Jehovah), and the curses he hurls is not unjustified, e.g., *Deuteronomy*, XXVIII, 16:

> "Cursed shall thou be in the City, and cursed shalt thou be in the field ... cursed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy hand ... The Lord shall smite thee with a consumption, and with a fever, and with an inflammation ... The Lord shall smite thee with the emerords (tumours), and with the scab, and with the itch, whereof thou canst be healed. The Lord shall smite thee with madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart ... Also every sickness, and every plague, which is not written in the Book of the Law, them will the Lord bring upon thee, until thou be destroyed."

IX. The massive Sanskrit-German Dictionary of St. Petersberg prepared by Rudolf Roth and Otto Bothlingk, was severely criticised by Prof. Goldstucker.[31] This enraged A. Weber, so greatly, that he used extremely undignified, even abusive language against Goldstucker. The latter was reluctantly forced to expose the conspiracy of Bothlingk, Roth, Weber and Kuhn, thus:—

> "It will, of course, be my duty to show, at the earliest opportunity, that Dr. Bothlingk is incapable of understanding even easy rules of Pāṇini, much less those of Kātyāyana and still less capable of making use of them in the understanding of classical texts. The errors in his department of the dictionary are so numerous ... that it will fill every serious Sanskritist with dismay, when he calculates the mischevious influence which they must exercise on the study of Sanskrit philology."[32]

> "Questions which, in my mind, ought to be decided with very utmost circumspection, and which could not be decided without very laborious research have been trifled with in his Wörterbuch in the most unwarranted manner.[33]

> "Again compelled by the unjustified attack on the Vedic tradition, Goldstucker, had to raise his voice against the mischevious propagandists camouflaged as critical scholars, "When I see that the most distinguished and the most learned Hindu scholars and divines—the most valuable and some times the only source of all our knowledge ancient India are scorned in theory, mutilated in print, and as a consequence, set aside in the interpretation of Vaidika texts; . . . When a clique of Sanskritists of this description vapours about giving us the sense of the Veda as it existed at the commencement of Hindu antiquity;—when I consider that this method of studying Sanskrit philology is pursued by those whose words apparently derive weight and influence from the professional position they hold; . . . then I hold that it would be want of courage and a dereliction of duty, if I did not make a stand against these Saturnalia of Sanskrit Philology."[34]

Casting Reflections on Hinduism

Sir William Dampier had the audacity to write: "Perhaps the paucity of Indian contribution to other sciences (than philosophy and Medicine) may in part be due to the Hindu religion".[35] Another writer is pleased to observe, "The curse of India is the Hindoo religion. More than two hundred million people believe a monkey-mixture of mythology that is strangling the nation. He who yearns for God in India soon looses his head as well as his heart."[36] The writer has forgotten, it seems, the demonology of the Old and New Testament, which is believed in by many Americans and Europeans, even in these days of enlightenment (vide Reverend Marlaque Summons, *The History of Witchcraft and Demonology*) though the attendence in the churches has been declining over the years, and frequently the preacher is lucky if he gets an audience of 20. Prof. McKenzie King also considers Indian ethics to be anti-social, illogical, defective and bereft of any philosophical or metaphysical foundation, and goes on to observe that Hindu philosophical idealism, "when logically applied leave no room for ethics; and that they prevent the development of a strenuous moral life."[37] Perhaps, with his background of "superior" European Christian morality which caused the massacres of even children by the Israelites, the prolonged wars of Religion in Europe, in which Catholics and Protestants (nay even their sects) fought and tore and massacred each other with unmatched ferocity, the Spanish conquest of Mexico and Peru, the institution of the 'Holy Inquisition', which murdered and burned at the stake or hanged millions in Europe and the new world all in the name of their Prince of Peace and his Heavenly Father justifies him in hurling this reproach. Professor McKenzie King has conveniently ignored the judgment of Thomas Henry Huxley: "If we could only see, in one view, the torrents of hypocrisy and cruelty, the lies, the slaughter, the violations of every obligation of humanity, which have flowed from this source along the course of the history of Christian nations, our worst imaginations of Hell would pale beside the vision." (*Lectures and Essays,* Thinker's Library No. 17, p. 164).

Aryans Projected as Invading Barbarians

X. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, supported by the redoubtable Stuart Piggott and later by Sir Leonard Woolley and A. L. Basham had decided that the invading hordes of savage Aryans, under the command of their Oberester-Kriegsherr. Indra. destroyed the Indus fortifications. and as it is a fixed article of belief among the majority of Western Indologists. that Aryans came to India. in the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C., the date of destruction of the Harappan Civilization was made to coincide with that event.[38] But unfortunately for him, a fresh examination of the site, led Dr. George F. Dales to exonerate "Indra and the Barbarian hordes". (*Expedition,* Bulletin of Pennsylavania University Museum. Vol. VI. No. 3. 1964. pp. 36–43).

In his *Early India and Pakistan* Wheeler remarks. "It is just possible that Aśoka had Seleucid blood in his veins."[38] B. B. Lal. has shown the absurd consequences that follow from this statement, since it would make Bindusāra. a father at the age of ten years![39] As usual. Wheeler has not cited any evidence for his statement. Vincent Smith quotes with disapproval from a German author, Niese, that Chandragupta Maurya accepted the sovereignty of Saleukos —the phrase used is "die Oberhoheit des Seleukos anerkannte"—inspite of the fact that contemporary Greek and Roman writers definitely mention that Seleukos was compelled to cede large territories to the great Mauryan Emperor.[40] It may also be stated that the evidence available does not support the statement that a daughter of Seleukos was married to the Indian monarch.[41] Alexander is proclaimed by almost all writers as the victor of the battle of Hydaspes (Jhelum river), but none of the Western writers had ever hinted that there is a rival Ethiopian version, which states that it was Alexander who lost the battle. The only writer who has referred to this version is Prof. H. C. Seth (*Indian History Congress*. Allahabad Session. 1938. pp. 85–91). It is also a well recognized fact that whenever the Greeks met the Persians in the battle and happened to be victorious, they had superiority both in numbers and armaments.

XI. Again some writers, e.g., Sir Mortimer Wheeler, have tried to show that the Harappan civilization was younger than and inspired by, if not derived from, that of the Sumerians, and to establish his point Wheeler fixed 2,500 B.C.[42] for the beginning of the Harappan civilization. To arrive at this result he ignored all evidence which is adverse to his hypothesis. For example neither he nor any other archaeologist has ever tried to rebut the argument of K. N. Shastri, that the relative stratigraphy of the mounds AB and F at Harappa, show that if the former is to be dated to the middle of the third millennium B.C., the latter shows that the Harappan civilization was already mature in the first half of the fourth millennium B.C.[43] F. A. Durrani, also now advocates a high date.[44] It may be mentioned that so far not a single C-14 date of the lowest stratum of Harappa or Mohenjo-daro is available.

About Indian Mathematics

XII. G. R. Kaye also was one of those who could not bear the idea of Indians being capable of original thinking, and who tried to disprove the universally acknowledged fact that the so-called Arabic numerals and the concept of zero were Indian in origin, as admitted by the Arab writers. To substantiate his view that all Indian science was borrowed from Greece. Kaye went so far as to postulate contents of Greek works on science, which have been lost,[45] and endeavoured to prove that a large number of inscriptions showing the use of zero from 595 A.D.[46] onwards were forgeries.[47] Others tried to give the credit of the invention of zero to the Babylonians, the Arabs and even the pre-Columbian Americans of 1st century A.D.[48] It has now been shown that all such attempts have failed,[49] and none of these other peoples had any idea of the concept of zero, as elaborated in India[50] and which is one of the basic concepts of modern mathematics. Curiously, the same Kaye has been forced to admit that Indians of the period of the Brāhmaṇa literature, whose *terminus post quem* is 1,500 B.C. while in all probability its *terminus ante quem* is 1700 B.C., had knowledge of the precession of equinoxes.[51]

About Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra

XIII. Similarly an indirect attempt has been made to belittle India by throwing doubts on the authenticity and date of the famous *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, by M. Winternitz,[52] O. Stein,[53] J. Jolly,[54] A. B. Keith,[55] supported by N. Nag,[56] Pran Nath,[57] V. I. Kalyanov,[58] K. C. Ojha,[59] and many others. The arguments of all these have been more than fully answered by eminent scholars like, R. Shamasastri,[60] H. Jacobi,[61] D. R. Bhandarkar,[62] B. Breloer,[63] K. P. Jayaswal,[64] N. N. Law,[65] P. V. Kane,[66] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri,[67] Ganapati Sastri,[68] A. P. Bannerji Sastri,[69] V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar,[70] J. J. Meyer,[71] Jayachandra Narang Vidyalankar,[72] R. P. Kangle.[73] Many of the arguments urged against the view that Kauṭilya wrote his work centre around the preconceived notion of the former set of scholars, that India could not have been so advanced in the 4th century B.C. as can be definitely asserted on the basis of the *Arthaśāstra*. The hollowness of such a prejudiced and subjective view is well illustrated by Winternitz, who declared that Kauṭilya was a 'Pandit' not a statesman[74] and also that the existence of highly developed technical literature was not probable in India of the 4th century B.C.! After all Gladstone was Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and yet had a profound knowledge of Greek and Latin literature and was also an adept atChristian theology, though he suffered the greatest intellectual defeat of his life at the hands of the illustrious Thomas Henry Huxley[75] and he also received a severe drubbing from Lord Macaulay.[76]

When did Pāṇini write his book on Grammar?

XIV. The dating of the great Pāṇini also has been a field of play for scholars like Max Müller, Weber, Macdonell, Keith, etc., who did not date him earlier than the 4th century B.C. Again they change their views, without assigning any reason; for example, A. A. Macdonell, first dated him to 4th century B.C.[77] and later on assigned him to the 5th century B.C.[78] In neither case did he cite any evidence. The vast majority of Indian and a few western scholars, like Sir R. G. Bhandarkar,[79] Theodore Goldstucker,[80] Pathak,[81] Rajwade,[82] C. V. Vaidya,[83] Vincent Smith,[84] S. P. Chaturvedi,[85] Ram Gopal[86] and many others assign him on very strong grounds to 850–700 B.C. Perhaps a mean date of 750–700 B.C. may be provisionally accepted. Again W. D. Whitney, after comparing the rules laid down by Pāṇini, with the facts of the Vedic texts, had pronounced the former to be inadequate and also declared that there were 1000–1200 false roots in the *Dhātupāṭha*. S. S. Bhawe[87] and Bühler[88] have shown conclusively that Whitney was very wide of the mark. Here again the attempts of these scholars have been to discredit India, by throwing doubt on the competence of the greatest grammarian that has ever lived.

When did Vikrama Era Begin?

XV. The origin of this era also remains an unsolved mystery, though it appears that many scholars have begun to believe that even though there is no contemporary inscriptional evidence for the existence of Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī in the first century B.C., the evidence of Jain texts cannot be ignored, and there is a probability of his being a ruler of flesh and blood.[90] But to what absurd lengths even profound scholars went to account for the origin of this era, is illustrated by the attempts of Dr. James Fergusson, who considered that on the day of the great National Deliverance from the thraldom of the Hūṇas, when the armies of King Harṣa of Ujjayinī, inflicted a crushing and decisive defeat on the Hūṇa forces of Mihirakula, in 544 A.D. at the great battle of Korur, the Vikram era was instituted to commemorate this heroic deed but was ante-dated back to the first century B.C.![91] This solution of the puzzle was welcome to Max Müller as it lent support to his hypothesis of Renaissance in Sanskrit Literature in the 6th century A.D., since he dated Kālidāsa also to the sixth century A.D. It is remarkable, that inspite of complete refutation of the 6th century date for Kālidāsa, by scholars like A. A. Macdonell, and others, even so sane a savant as Prof. A. W. Ryder, was led into accepting Max Müller's theory of Sanskrit Literature in the 6th century A.D.[92]

Origin of the Brāhmī Script

XVI. The speculation of the last two centuries or so, about the origin of this national script of India, well illustrate the mental reservations and prejudices of most of the Western scholars, in favour of deriving everything from outside India. Unfortunately this script comes to notice when it is fully developed, and previous evolutionary stages are absent. All scholars are now agreed that it was the one script in the world which was invented not by traders but by specialists in phonology and grammar, as it has the most scientifically designed alphabets.[93] Some scholars derived it, as usual, from Greece,[94] others gave the credit to Western Asia,[95] and a third set of scholars has advanced the arguments for its indigenous origin.[96] But the majority of Western scholars advocate the West Asiatic theory of Bühler; and among its latest supporters are David Diringer and A. H. Dani. It seems that at the most only seven pre-Aśokan inscriptions have so far been discovered, and many scholars do not accept that they are pre-Mauryan.[97]

XVII. Several scholars expressed grave doubts about the inadequacy of Bühler's theory and M. M. Gaurishankar Ojha, joined issue with him. The latter had sent to the former as a copy of his own *Bhāratīya Prāchīna Lipimālā* (1894).[98] Bühler had objected that Ojha was wrong in advocating on indigenous origin of Brāhmī.[99] Ojha replied back that if Brāhmī was derived during the period 1000–800 B.C. and the Khāroṣṭhī was also derived from the same source a couple of hundred years later, how is it, that within about seven centuries not the slightest similarity was left between the two scripts. Bühler did not reply to this objection and so far nobody else has.[100] Ojha has demonstrated very graphically, how by the application of the principles enunciated by Bühler, almost any script could be derived from another and as an example showed how ancient Brāhmī could be derived from modern English.[101] D. R. Bhandarkar has also stated that in 1905, a very intelligent and young Bengali scholar performed a similar feat.[102] Diringer has advanced some arguments in favour of Bühler's theory and they may be dealt with at this stage : He urges that :[103]

> (a) The existence of two or more successive scripts in the same country does not necessarily prove that one is derived from the other, e.g., Greek alphabet is not derived from the Linear B of Crete; (b) until it can be established that the phonetic values of the Indus script are those of Brāhmī, it cannot be held that the latter is derived from the former; (c) the Indus script is syllabic, while Brāhmī is semi-alphabetic, and there is no example of the former type becoming an alphabetic script; (d) there is no indication in Vedic literature that the Aryans knew writing and the Aryan pantheon does not have a god of writing even though they had Sarasvatī as goddess of learning; (e) only Buddhist literature gives clear references to the art of writing; (f) epigraphic evidence shows that Brāhmī was in existence in the 6th century B.C., (g) due to commerce between India and Western Asia, in the 8th-6th century B.C.; there was great advance in India also and Indian marchants derived knowledge of writing from the Semites; (h) the advent of Aryans in India is to be dated to 15th century B.C.; (i) there was profound intellectual and moral revolution in India, in the 5th century B.C.

due to rise of Buddhism and Jainism and just as knowledge of writing assisted in the spread of the two systems, they in their turn assisted in spreading independent creation though marvellous skill was shown in adopting to Indian requirements the borrowed elements; (k) the idea of representing vowels and consonantal sounds by symbols of a pure alphabetic character was derived from Western Asia and the Indian characters are semi-alphabetic; (l) Brāhmī is not a derivative from the Aramaic; only the idea of writing was accepted, even though many Brāhmī signs show Semitic influence; and as Brāhmī was written, initially, from right to left, indicates Semitic influence; (m) it is wrong to hold that Semi-alphabetic Brāhmī could be derived from the fully alphabetic phoenician or Aramaic. The advocates of this idea seem to forget that Semitic alphabets did not have vowels, and while Semitic languages could do without them the Indo-European languages could not emulate them. The Indians were less successful in their effort to develop an alphabet than the Greeks.

XVIII. These arguments of Diringer are not half so formidable as look at first sight.

(a) Diringer has omitted to mention that in Crete, the first script was pictographic; and Linear A was derived from it, and Linear B was in its turn derived from the latter.[104] Sir Alan Gardiner, has shown that the Egyptians had evolved an alphabet of 24 characters from their Heiroglyphic signs. Flinders Petrie also found these signs in the inscriptions in Sinai penninsula. These latter signs numbered only 30 and hence were alphabetic. At last six of them could be shown to correspond to Hebrew and Greek characters.[105] Moreover if the views of Diringer that alphabets cannot be developed out of pictographic scripts be conceded the mystery of the origin of alphabets will never be solved.

(b) No one has yet proved or disproved that the phonetic values of the Indus script are not the same as those of Brāhmī.

(c) already disposed of under (a) above.

(d) shows complete ignorance of Vedic literature. Bühler also accepted that there were written texts in Vedic literature.[106] Full references proving existence of writing in Vedic period have been given by Ojha.[107] While poetry in one metre throughout can be composed orally and also transmitted orally, the literature singers of folk songs, have no conception of metres and there are numerous and complicated metres in Vedic poetry. Besides, prose literature cannot be composed or transmitted orally; specially if the bulk is so great as that of the Vedic literature. Rudolf Roth has pointed out that the 'Prātiśākhyas' could not have been composed orally.[108] The reason why the Veda was taught orally was to ensure that no words were pronounced incorrectly. Besides grammatical studies, which in respect of Sanskrit began in the Brāhmaṇa period, several countries before Pāṇini, could not have been carried out on the vast scale indicated (Yāska, who is earlier than Pāṇini, the date of Pāṇini cannot be brought back later than 500 B.C., and the most probable period is 750–700 B.C. cites 18 grammarians before himself).[109] Further, in India, Goddess of Learning has always been Goddess of writing as the two were never differentiated. Moreover Brahmā is always shown with the Vedas, in bookform, in his hands. There is an image of Sarasvatī in the Lucknow Museum dating to the Ist century A.D. showing her with a book in her hands (see *Guide to Lucknow Museum,* by V. S. Agrawala).

(e) Buddhist literature never claimed that writing was invented by a Buddhist, or the Buddha. In fact they all either imply or expressly state that Buddha himself learnt various kinds of scripts.

(f) The paucity of pre-Aśokan inscriptions on imperishable material like stone, is easily explained as the barks of trees and shrubs were mostly used for the purpose and Indian monarchs were not so vainglorious as an Entemmena or a Sharrukin and did not attach too much value to earthly glory. Moreover the Vedic people did not construct temples and hence could adorn their walls with inscriptions; nor did they construct tombs. Long inscriptions have not yet been found in the Harappa remains, but everybody is convinced that there must have been much more copious records on perishable material.which have all been irretrievably lost. Perhaps the use of stone for recording monumental inscriptions began in India only in about the 6th century B.C.

(g) What is the evidence that Indian traders brought writing back to India, from Western Asia in the 8th century B.C.? Besides it has been admitted even by Bühler and Macdonell and their knowledge of the Vedic and Classical Sanskrit was much greater than that of Diringer, who probably does not know one word of them—that Brāhmī was not the creation of traders or clerks and only great thinkers and grammarians could have devised such a script. How does Diringer know that the concept of writing was not derived by these 'Pandits' from the traditions of the Harappan writings? There is also the view of archaeologists like Fairservis[110] who maintain that the Harappan civilization survived till 1200 B.C. If this be at all correct there was an overlap and the 'Pandits' could have acquired the concept during that time, even if the date of the Veda assigned by Western scholars, may not be accepted.

(h) The idea that the Aryans came to India in the 15th century B.C. is an hypothesis only; neither Diringer nor any other scholar of that view has ever offered an iota of proof. Hence mere assertion however forcibly expressed, has no value.

(i) Even if there is considerable truth in the statement that a profound revolution took place due to rise of Buddhism and Jainism, the process had started much earlier in the days of the Upaniṣads.

(j) Again this is a mere assertion of personal opinion without any evidence to support it.

(k) First part of the argument is again a mere opinion without any basis. The second part may or may not be true, but it has been admitted by all scholars, that Greek alphabets do not show scientific systematic ordering and grouping of signs according to their sounds, while Brāhmī does. How does Diringer solve this connundrum. Why did the Greeks fail here and Indians succeed?

(l) First part smacks very like the idea of Mortimer Wheeler, that the Harappans got the idea of Civilization and writing from the Sumerians and without further ado, created overnight a civilization, superior, in most respects, to the contemporary civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia. The second part has been completely disproved; Brāhmī was never written from right to left.

(m) If the contention be granted, how does he explain that Greek was written in Linear B? Or how was the Indo-European Hittite or Mitanni written in the Cuneiform characters of the Babylonians? What is the proof that the Indus script does not have vowels?

(n) Ojha[111] has pointed out that the maximum number of signs Indian could have borrowed would not have exceeded 22 for 18 sounds, from Western Asia. This implies that the Indian phonologists and grammarians had to invent letters for about

40/42 sounds. If they were competent to invent 40/42 where was the necessity for them to borrow even 22; were they incompetent to do so? Their competence is admitted even by Diringer.

It will be clear from the foregoing that there is not a shred of evidence in favour of theories of foreign derivation of Brāhmī; on the contrary strong evidence exists in favour of the theory that Brāhmī was derived from some pre-existing script, which may or may not have been Harappan. Some scholars would derive even the latter from Mesopotamia. Another example of absurd lengths to which some of these writers go may be cited. Calvin Klephart in his book, *Sanskrit: its origin, composition and diffusion,* published in Strassburg, has propounded the thesis that the language of the Goths, subsequently modified became the Classifical Sanskrit and was imposed on the Hindus of Western India in 58 B.C. and that Vedic Sanskrit was brought to India in 1400 B.C. by the Gothic invaders (vide R. N. Dandekar, *Vedic Bibliography*, 1961, p. 209).

About Indian Astronomy

XIX. One of the most determined and sustained efforts, ever since Indological studies began in Europe, has been to discredit ancient Indian astronomy. Among the most vehement denouncers were A. Weber,[112] W. D. Whitney,[113] G. Thibaut,[114] and H. Oldenberg.[115] They maintained, without a scintilla of evidence, that the Indo-Aryans were very poor at astronomical observations, did not correctly determine the length of the year, and finally that everything worthwhile in Indian astronomy was borrowed from the Greeks and the Arabs (these latter however themselves have admitted that they acquired a good deal of their astronomical knowledge from India!) One of the main onslaughts was on the origin of the Indian lunar zodiac of 27 nakṣatras. Weber started the theory of Babylonian origin[116] of this zodiac and was most vehemently supported by W. D. Whitney,[117] mildly by Bühler,[118] and again by A. B. Keith,[119] and Lehmann Haupt.[120] None of these nor any one else has brought forward an iota of evidence, inspite of the fact that more than a 100 years have passed and no reference to a lunar zodiac has been found in more than 500,000 inscribed cuneiform tablets that have been unearthed in Mesopotamia during this period.[121] In fact the Babylonian theory has been so completely refuted that but for its reiteration by some Western Indologists, it would hardly be worthwhile mentioning it. Another theory was started by Biot and supported by Hardwick[122] (even so competent a scholar as Christian Lessen[123] was misled into accepting it) to the effect that the Indian nakṣatra system was borrowed from China. This theory was also completely refuted by F. Max Müller[124] and B. V. Kameswara Aiyar, and again by Agees Mary Clarke[125]. In fact it has been shown by Kameswara Aiyar[126] and N. N. Law[127] that the upholders of the theory of Babylonian and Chinese origin of the Indian Nakṣatra system frequently did not understand the implications of their statements, and thus contradicted themselves and in many cases misunderstood the very texts which they were considering and showed themselves completely incompetent to comprehend them and yet they pronounced judgement.[128] This is one of those cases where truth has at last prevailed to such an extent that in India at least nobody now accepts foreign origin of the Indian lunar zodiac.

XX. Even this is not the end of the story. For example, Keith and other Western scholars maintain that the Vedic Aryans did not have solar reckoing, the nakṣatra ecliptic being connected with the moon only. Yet the very same Keith translates from the Yajurveda.[129]

(a) (Ye are) Madhu and Mādhava, the months of Spring
(b) (Ye are) Śukra and Śuci, the months of Summer

(c) (Ye are) Nabha and Nabhasya, the months of Rain
(d) (Ye are) Īṣa and Urja, the months of a Autumn
(e) (Ye are) Sahas and Sahasya, the months of Early Winter (i.e., Hemanta)
(f) (Ye are) Tapas and Tapasya, the months of cool Season

It is an astronomical fact that the months while are connected with season can be nothing but solar. Ironically enough Keith admits that the Vedic Aryans practised intercalation.[130] Scholar after scholar in India has protested against Macdonell and Keith's denial of solar months,[133] and yet the theory continues to be blindly accepted by Western scholars, and we in India are expected to accept the views of these gentlemen as *Brahmavākya*. But truth does triumph in the end.

The Political Motives of European Scholars

XXI. Why is it that a majority of these Western Indologists have adopted this attitude? Apart from political and theological considerations two of the main reasons, for trying to discredit India and Indians, are their bias in favour of Greek and Hebrew civilizations and the conscious and subconscious belief that the ancient Indo-Europeans were blue-eyed Nordics and a European home must be found to them. Even Gordon Childe is not free from it.[131] Thus it was essential for them, till at least 1952,[132] that the advent of the Aryans in India, should not be dated before 15th century B.C. This date was started as a pure hypothesis by F. Max Müller, who himself acknowledged the force of criticism of H. H. Wilson, W. D. Whitney, Barthelemy St. Hillaire. A majority of scholars, in the West (Dr. E. J. Thomas being one of the few exceptions) have acted on the dogma that Max Müller has proved this date; and this subjective desire has been reinforced with the wish to, somehow, show that the barbarian hordes of Aryans destroyed the Indus Civilization in the 15th century B.C. To the utter dismay of these scholars it may be told that C-14 dates place the end of the Indus Civilization in about 1750 B.C. Not one of them has offered any evidence for this dating of the Vedas, and they ignore completely the arguments advanced by other scholars, based on irrefutable evidence, of passages relating to *ṛtus*, months, years and sacrifices, nakṣatras and the solstics connected with them, discussed is the Vedic literature. So far as the Christian missionaries are concerned, the religious bias is open, as all their efforts to propagate 'Western Christianity' have not borne fruit inspite of an effort lasting two centuries under the most favourable circumstances which to a great extent continues even now. The fear entertained by them is aptly described by Fredrick Bodmer, "the custodians of Pentatuech were alarmed by the prospect that Sanskrit would bring down the Tower of Babel". It is also obvious that all the Western World, not excluding the Soviet Union, does not want to see India develop into a powerful country. All these factors are responsible for the attitudes displayed by modern Western writers on India. This is not to deny that Indians have many weaknesses and defects which must be removed if we are to progress; on the other hand we are not and we have not been so backward as we have been frequently depicted.

A Plea for Writing Unbiased History of India

It is hoped that the facts narrated in this paper will open the eyes of the younger set of Indian Indologists, many of whom, to the surprise of the present writer, seem to be unaware of the pitfalls into which they have been led and are being led. As true historians they must develop a spirit of as complete objectivity as is humanly possible, and steer clear not only of the blind prejudices of obscurantists, but also of the malicious prejudices displayed by most of the Western Indologists.

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Rāmāyaṇa in Asia

HARISH KUMAR CHATURVEDI

RĀMĀYAṆA, WHICH EPITOMIZES heroic deeds of Rāma, is a wonderful poetic composition of the sage Vālmīki. The ideals left by Rāma still enlighten the people about sincere fraternal love, true friendship and the great principles that should govern kingship. It is not therefore surprising to find that 'wherever a Hindu went he took his Rāmāyaṇa'. This may or may not be correct in all the countries he visited but it is certainly true of South-East Asia. It is not merely a coincidence that the Rāmāyaṇa scenes are depicted in one form or the other in counties as far as Indonesia and as near as Burma, not to speak of Cambodia, Thailand, etc. It is also not a coincidence that the Rāmāyaṇa is still being adored, venerated and played in various forms in several Asian countries. It is a living tradition. It is alive with all its grandeur, not only among the Hindus of these countries but also among the Muslims and the followers of other religions. The Rāmāyaṇa is a binding force, a common link, and a common repository of an ancient heritage for all the countries of South and South-East Asia.

Rāmāyaṇa, the Bible of the East

The question that comes to mind is as to how this great epic succeeded in galvanizing a seemingly heterogenous population of practically a quarter of the world? How could it become a cherished theme for portrayal on the walls of numerous temples, and in books, plays and paintings? How this 'Bible of the East' got accepted as a solid base for an edifice of great human culture? The answer of these questions is not far to seek. The Rāmāyaṇa was a book that stood more for an ideal than for a form, more for precepts than for a ritualistic complex. It, therefore, allowed great flexibility and catholicity not only in the treatment of the subject but also in its mannerism. It was capable of adapting itself to the needs and the moods of all, it happened to come in contact with. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Rāmāyaṇa had a number of versions not only in India but also outside her frontiers. Many of them had wide divergence in contents but that did not bother the Hindu mind. For example, the Rāmāyaṇa story as incorporated in the Daśaratha Jātaka. Its Chinese version depicts Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa as brothers of Sītā. The Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa concludes with the reunion of Rāma and Sītā but the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa ends in another form : it makes mother earth split and hide Sītā for ever. The Kamban Rāmāyaṇa describes that Rāvaṇa did not physically carry Sītā, he took her by lifting the big chunk of earth on which she was standing.

The diffusion of Rāmāyaṇa is closely connected with the diffusion of Hindus in time and space. The Hindus sailed to the countries of South-East Asia not only in search of new markets for their superb commodities, but they also trekked the land routes, often passing through the most inhospitable lands, for spreading culture. The combined efforts of the traders and teachers who lived and settled down in the nooks and corners of different countries in South-East Asia have won for us the glory of 'Greater India', the 'Hindu Asia'. Since these immigrants continued to have faith in their epics, we see the Rāmāyaṇa scenes nicely carved on the Śaiva temples in Java and Cambodia. Because of the same Rāmāyaṇa scenes are also depicted on the walls of Buddhist temples. Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Buddhism, etc. formed part of the great Hindu religion and culture. In the following pages an attempt has been made to focus attention on a selected examples of Rāmāyaṇa scenes in Indonesia, Cambodia, Thailand, etc., to illustrate the point I have made here.

The Rāmāyaṇa stories seem to be largely based on the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, as well as the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa. As said earlier, these versions conclude with the reunion of Rāma and Sītā after the fire ordeal and do not contain the story of Sītā's banishment as is mentioned in the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa. Stutterheim rightly suggests that the Vālmīki version was not the only source of Rāmāyaṇa episodes for the Indonesians; there might have been an earlier and common setting from which Vālmīki as well as others may have derived their own versions. It is borne out by its version contained in the Chinese Daśaratha Jātaka.

Rāma Kathā in China

Rāma-kathā was incorporated in the Buddhist Jātakas. The Sanskrit or Pālī versions of the Rāmāyaṇa stories were translated into Chinese. Thus, the Jātaka of an unnamed king, the 46th story of Roku-do-jik-kyo translated by Ko-so-e (247 A.D.) and the Nidāna of king "Ten Luxuries", the first story of Zo-ho-zo-kyo translated by Kik-ka-ya, were translated into Chinese. Their Sanskrit or Pālī originals are completely lost.

The story of the Pālī Daśaratha Jātaka was narrated to a landlord who was mourning the death of his father. According to it there was a king named Daśaratha who ruled in Banāras. He had sixteen thousand queens of whom the eldest one bore two sons and one daughter: Rāma Paṇḍita, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā. In course of time queen consort died and next one Kaikeyī became the queen consort of Daśaratha. She won the heart of the lord by her favourite deeds, hence he allowed her to ask for a boon. For the time being she requested for postponement. In the meantime she gave birth to a son named Bharata. One day when Bharata was seven years old Kaikeyī reminded the emperor to fulfil the boon which he had promised, and asked the throne for her son. The king got annoyed but at the same time he thought that attempts might be made to kill his other sons. He, therefore, asked them to go to other neighbouring kingdoms. When, according to soothsayers, the emperor was to die, he cautioned them to return after 12 years. Nine years after the departure of Rāma, Daśaratha died and the message was carried by Bharata to Rāma who heard it with courage. At the same time he was cautious to announce it before Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā. They were asked to enter into a pond and the news was thrice announced, and each time both of them fainted. At last they were brought out of the pond and Bharata requested Rāma to return to take the reigns of the kingdom in his hand. Rāma told him that he would come only after the expiry of the period of banishment, but allowed his sleepers to be carried by Bharata who ruled in the name of Rāma. After the expiry of the stipulated period Rāma and Sītā came back and ascended the throne. This story appears in the book of W. H. D. Rouse, published at Cambridge in 1901.

The Nidāna of King "Ten Luxuries" refers to Daśaratha who ruled in Yen-bu-dai (Jambūdvīpa in Sanskrit). The other details are similar to the above one. Jambūdvīpa, however, stood for the whole country, including Banaras.

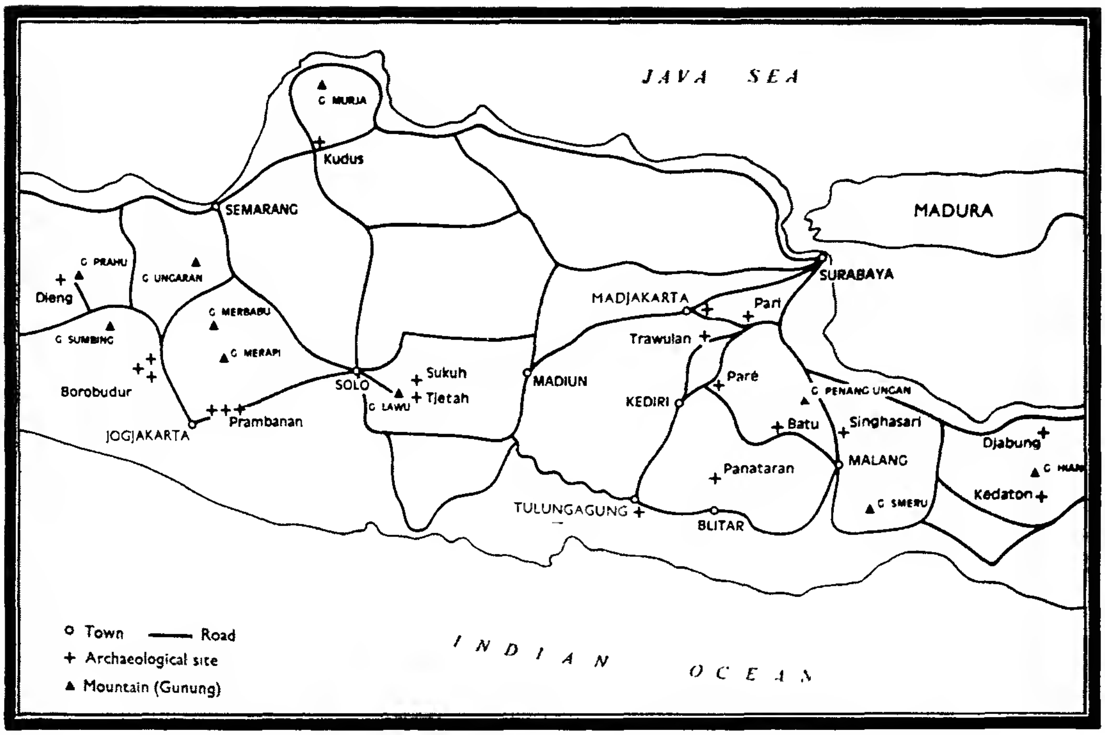
JAVA SEA
C MURIA
Kudus
SEMARANG
MADURA
C PRAHU
C UNGARAN
Dieng
C MERBABU
C SUMBING
C MERAPI
Borobudur
JOGJAKARTA
Prambanan
SOLO
Sukuh
C LAWU
Tjetah
MADIUN
MADJAKARTA
Pari
SURABAYA
Trawulan
Pare
KEDIRI
C PENANG UNGAN
Batu
Singhasari
MALANG
Djabung
Kedaton
Panataran
C SMERU
TULUNGAGUNG
BLITAR
INDIAN OCEAN
○ Town
— Road
+ Archaeological site
▲ Mountain (Gunung)

FIG 1 *Map showing Ancient Routes and Archaeological sites in Central Java*

Jātaka of an unnamed king. narrates the story of a Bodhisattva when he was a king of great moral. In his neighbourhood his maternal uncle was ruling. His wicked and treacherous nature caused great harm to Bodhisattva's kingdom. Once he decided to quit, and started living in a forest along with his queen. There was a Nāga who aspired for the queen and once took her away in the guise of a Saṁnyāsī. When the king returned he did not see his queen and went out to search her out. In the way he saw a stream of pure water. When he reached its source he found a monkey sitting on a hill top and shedding tears. On being enquired. he told the king that his uncle (monkey) had snatched his queen. The monkey promised the king that if he helped him in getting back his queen and soldiers, he would also be helping him in searching out his queen. The king acceded to his request and took his bow and arrow: seeing this the uncle monkey ran away. Now. monkeys helped the king in the search of his queen and reached a place where a wounded bird told them that a Nāga had taken the queen on a big island. Monkeys reached the place of confinement of the queen and fought with the Nāga along with the king and defeated him. Thus the queen was liberated. In the meanwhile his uncle died and the king returned to his kingdom. Now the king asked his queen about her sanctity who replied "Though I have been in the cave of a dirty worm, I was just the lotus in the mud. If there is truth in my words, let the earth split." As soon as she said this. the earth split. She said. "My truth is vindicated." The king said, "very good."

Indonesia

India had regular contacts with Indonesia from the early centuries of the Christian era although the flowering of this contact was marked from the Gupta period (5th century A.D.) onwards. In Java. there are two famous groups of temples. one is located in the western and central parts of the country, and the other in the eastern part. The former is called Prambanan group of temples and the latter is called the Panataran group of temples. The two designations have been derived from their place names (see Map). The temples of the Prambanan group (750–850 A.D.) are older than the temples of the Panataran group (930–1400 A.D.). A close analysis of the available data shows that the former group of temples was nearer in style and composition to Indian counterparts at places like Deogarh but the temples of the second group were constructed mostly in the local idiom. The style of the Prambanan sculptures, i.e., the details of ornmentation, style of dress, facial features, the mudrās, āsanas, the lotus seat of the deities and scroll ornamentation, etc., clearly speak of their Indian ancestry. They contrast with the faunal and floral representations also (in the vacant spaces) of the Panataran compositions. The composition of the Panataran sculptures shows the filling of vacant spaces with spiral figures brought out in low relief. (Fig. 1).

Rāmāyaṇa Scenes at Prambanan

The mid-ninth century at Prambanan witnessed the growth of a group of temples known as 'Loro Jonggrang' (also spelt as Lara Jonggrang). The dynasty which is responsible for these temples is known as 'Mataram'. Its rulers embraced Śaivism as their principal religion. However, the group contains temples dedicated to Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu. There is an image of Durgā, the Śakti of Śiva, hence the group of temples is named after her: 'Loro Jonggrang'. Inner parapet of the Śiva temple and the galleries of the Brahmā temple depict Rāmāyaṇa scenes. A few selected and beautiful specimens are detailed below:

Abduction of Sītā, Rāma killing a demon : (Plate 57), the top frieze contains four scenes from left to right. Sītā is being abducted by Rāvaṇa who holds her forcefully while she tries to get out of his grip. Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, Araṇyakāṇḍa, verse 17, mentions that Rāvaṇa grasped the hair of lotus-eyed Sītā with his left hand. Just as the Nakṣatra Budha caught Rohiṇī, similarly Sītā was caught by Rāvaṇa.

जग्राह रावण सीतां बुध: खे रोहिणीमिव ।
वामेन मीता पद्माक्षी मूर्धजेषु करेण स: ॥

The next scene, however, depicts Sītā sitting alongwith Rāvaṇa (closer view in Plate 56) in an aircraft, being drawn by a demon with an outspread of wings. Ten-headed Rāvaṇa with his twenty arms holds various attributes. He holds Sītā around her waist. The bird Jaṭāyū, which comes to the rescue of Sītā is being fatally wounded by a lance which Rāvaṇa holds in his another hand. Sītā hastens to give her ring to the bird who gives the same in the next scene to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa who are sitting, as if they are very tired in search of Sītā. It may be mentioned that the ring episode does not find mention in Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa. Another scene depicts Rāma in action with his bow and arrow against a demon whose face appears in his stomach. Probably, he was one of the many demons whom Rāma killed during his stay in the forest.

Rāma acts against the Sea : (Plate 59), lower left, depicts Rāma acting against the sea whose waves and vegetation along with fish and other animals have been realistically depicted. A goddess is shown emanating from the sea.

Aṅgada before Rāma; *Marching Monkeys* : (Plate 60), lower right, depicts two scenes. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa standing under parasol, being held by a man. Before them a monkey is sitting and giving description of Laṅkā. The monkey seems to be Aṅgada who was sent by Rāma as spy to Laṅkā. He came back and narrated the sufferings of Sītā. Reflecting on the sufferings Rāma speedily ordered the army of monkeys to march down to Laṅkā. Two monkeys as well as Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are holding lances in their hands in the scene and proceeding to Laṅkā.

Thirsty Rāma, Sugrīva's Sorrow: (Plate 55), depicts two scenes from left to right, Lakṣmaṇa is offering water in a bamboo tube to Rāma. Lakṣmaṇa is again depicted in the next scene, witnessing Sugrīva who is sitting on a hill and shedding tears which formed into a stream. This story also does not find mention in Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa. Other sources, however, reveal that after the elopement of Sītā, Rāma came out in her search. Prolonged walking increased his fatigue and thirsty Rāma had to rest at a place. He asked Lakṣmaṇa to bring water. Lakṣmaṇa went in the jungle where he saw a stream of water in which he filled his bamboo-tube. When Rāma started drinking this water he found it saline. He asked Lakṣmaṇa to revisit the place and locate the source. Lakṣmaṇa again went to the stream where Sugrīva was found sitting and shedding tears because his queen consort as well as his kingdom were snatched away by his brother Bālī. He had no sympathisers to cooperate with him, hence he was weeping.

Fight between Sugrīva and Bālī, Coronation of Sugrīva : A figure depicts three scenes, from left to right Rāma witnessing the fight between Bālī and Sugrīva. The fighting gets tougher in the next scene and Rāma now prepares to strike with his bow and arrow because Sugrīva is badly mauled in the fight. Rāma selected an arrow for the purpose of slaying Bālī, and the hero stretched his bow with the shaft resembling a venomous serpent. (Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, Araṇyakāṇḍa, verse 33) :

नतो धनुषि सन्धाय शरमाशीविषोपमम् ।
पूरयामास तच्चापं कालचक्रमिवान्तक ॥

Bālī receives fatal wounds, subsequently dies and the kingdom goes to Sugrīva. In the last scene Sugrīva is sitting on the throne with his courtiers at Kiṣkindhā. Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa says that the anointment of Sugrīva and Aṅgada made the monkeys happy and the whole of Kiṣkiṇdhā was filled with numerous people. Flags and banners beautified the whole scene (Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, verse 40).:

प्रीताश्च तुष्टुवुः सर्वे तादृशे तत्र वर्तिति ।
हृष्टपुष्टजना — कीर्ण — पताकाध्वज — शोभिता
बभूव नगरी रम्या किष्किन्धा गिरिगह्वरे ॥

Kumbhakarṇa being aroused from sleep (Plate 61) : The great titan Kumbhakarṇa was sleeping when Rāvaṇa got crushing defeat at the hands of Rāma. The messengers were sent to him but he could not be aroused as he used to sleep for days and months together. Even though shrieks of human voice and conch-shell were made in his ears, daggers and goads were pierced into his body, and horses and elephants strolled upon his entire body, the titan did not realise their impact and went on sleeping. In the scene Kumbhakarṇa is sleeping while the demons are busy arousing him in various ways.

Panataran Rāmāyaṇa Scenes

The activities of the Mataram dynasty shifted to East Java about 930 A.D., hence we find a panorama of Śaiva temples flourishing there.The Rāmāyaṇa scenes which occur in the panels show enormous ornamentation and stiffness in the figures. They are found in the Mount Penaggunan Site IX (1323–1347 A.D.) and Chandī temple (1369 A.D.), Plate 63.

Wounded Hanumān : (Plate 64), depicts Hanumān in the air with an arrow in his thigh.

At the instance of Rāma, Hanumān comes to Laṅkā in order to locate Sītā. After meeting Sītā he goes to Aśoka vātikā of Laṅkā and destroys the garden as well as some demons. At last he is wounded. Here the demons are shown running to inform Rāvaṇa who sends his son Indrajit to fight Hanumān. After prolonged fight when neither party wins, Indrajit uses the most dreadful weapon, the Brahmāstra which causes Hanumān to come down.

Cambodia

In Cambodia (Kambuja) the influence of Indian art was predominant from the early centuries of the Christian era till the advent of Khmers in the 7th century A.D. Buddhist and Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava arts which flourished during this period clearly establish this fact. The Sātavāhana, Gupta and Pallava art of Amarāvatī, Deogarh and Māmallapuram respectively have been reproduced on Cambodian temples. The art of this period is noted for voluptuous modelling and does not have architectural background. As against this, the Khmer phase which witnessed the Cambodian scene from the 7th to 12th century creates a distinction in Cambodian art. Like their predecessors the Khmer rulers also favoured Hinduism; hence numerous Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples sprang up during this period in the capital Angkor wherein finest executions were accomplished. When the capital was shifted to Kohker the activites of temple building also shifted there. The pediments, lintels and niches of these temples depict the Rāmāyaṇa story. A temple bearing Rāmāyaṇa at Kohker was built by Jayavarman IV in 921. The temple is known as Prasat An Temple and lies some 60 miles north-west of Angkor. At Angkor a famous Rāmāyaṇa bearing temple is called Banteay Srei Temple (Plate 62) which was constructed in 967 A.D. by a Brāhmaṇa of the royal blood named Yajñavarāha, a tax collector for Rajendravarman and Jayavarman. During the 11th–12th centuries a few more beautiful temples were built, e.g., the Baphoun Mountain temple was built by king Adityavarman II (1050–66) and Thommanon Temple was built by king Sūryavarman II (1113–52). The latter also built the grand Angkor Vat (Plate 75) Temple which was dedicated to Viṣṇu. A close look of the facial features of the images show straight line of the hair, level brows, sloping eyes and full and wide lips. Besides, the images are characterised by facial calmness and smile. Some sculptures relating to the Rāmāyaṇa are described below:

Fighting between Rāma and Rāvaṇa: (Plate 65). Fighting between Rāma and Rāvaṇa flares up on the arrival of Rāma at Laṅkā. The scene is beautifully depicted in four panels between the decorative strips of foliage of the Baphoun Mountain temple. From top to bottom, Rāvaṇa who has ten heads and twenty hands is riding a chariot being drawn by a horse having anthropomorphic face. He shoots arrow after arrow, sometimes three at a time, towards Rāma who replies in the same tune. The panel shows Hanumān grappling with the horse and tying his arm round the neck of the horse. Rāma, however, continues to rain arrows at Rāvaṇa. The might of the horse is subdued in the next panel and Hanumān is shown above the horse, grappling with Rāvaṇa. Hanumān pushes him off the chariot when another monkey comes to his rescue from behind. The next panel shows an enemy monkey striking against Rāma with the help of a club. Rāma anticipates the incident and defends himself. He is shown rescued by monkey guards. The last panel shows victorious Rāma riding and moving on a chariot drawn by two horses. He is holding a bow and arrow in his hands, and is followed by armed guards.

Thailand

Formerly known as Siam, Thailand came into existence during the 13th century A.D.

when Thai people established their rule in this region. Prior to this, the region was a part of a larger dominion, embracing Cambodia (Kambuja), Siam and Vietnam (Campā) and ruled by different dynasties such as Funan, Mon and Khmers. Irrespective of the dynasties that ruled the region Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism had predominant influence over the cultural climate of the area. (Fig. 2).

Ramakīrti—The Thia Rāmāyaṇa

The Rāmāyaṇa of Thailand is known as *Rāmakīrti*, a poetic composition executed in 1781 Ratna-Koṣindra period. The story relating to Rāma, as it occurs in the Thai text, resembles the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa with a few minor variations. While Vālmīki provides Rāma the supreme position among all the gods, Rāmakīrti recognizes only one God, at whose initiative Rāma acts. The poetic way in which the interesting Rāma stories are narrated has received wide response from the masses with the result that a large number of stories are translated in sculptures and murals. Besides this, Rāmakīrti stories are enacted in theatres and shadow-plays. Coloured puppets cut out from leather are manipulated by human hands. Even actors and actresses with the masks of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān perform plays which are based on Rāmakīrti stories. A few selected examples relating to Rāmakīrti are detailed below :

Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in battlefield : (Plate 66). A beautiful wall painting from Phrakheo Vat, Bangkok, depicts Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa riding on a chariot being drawn by two horses, an army of monkeys accompanies the warriors and Hanumān destroying the soul of Rāvaṇa (not illustrated). A beautiful miniature painting depicts Hanumān destroying the soul of Rāvaṇa, which is kept in an aviary. In the background is a scene of Laṅkā. Rāvaṇa was blessed that none of his heads would be reduced, even if they were cut several times. Rama had a problem, how to kill Rāvaṇa? Fortunately he came to know of the soul of Rāvaṇa kept separately in an aviary which was deposited with the teacher of Rāvaṇa named Goputra. Hanumān and Aṅgada were sent to bring that aviary. They changed their loyalty temporarily and came in close touch with the person with whom the aviary was kept. By a stratagem they brought back the soul of Rāvaṇa. When the soul was killed, Rāvaṇa's life came to an end.

Conclusion

A retrospective review of the art relating to Rāmāyaṇa, which flourished in the Prambanan temples in Java or the Banteay Srei and Angkor Vat temples at Cambodia, reveals the highest water mark that the artists had achieved. The beautiful narrative secenes are self-explanatory. The superb and sumptuous art conceals hands about which we have yet to know. It may, however, be seen that most perfect art traditions, which were tried and tested in India, were employed on the best specimens of the South-East Asian art. Just as we try to imitate scientific development of the advanced western countries so the South-East Asian countries were imitating Indian art traditions which were on the peak during these times. The standard of development was measured on one point : how closely an Indian example was reproduced? Thus we see marvels flourishing at Angkor Vat and Prambanan. Frederic Louis says, "India has enabled her many, varied peoples to find a solid basis on which to build civilizations whose splendid vestiges remain an outstanding evidence of intelligence and skill of Asiatic people at a period when Europe was still on the throes of barbarism".

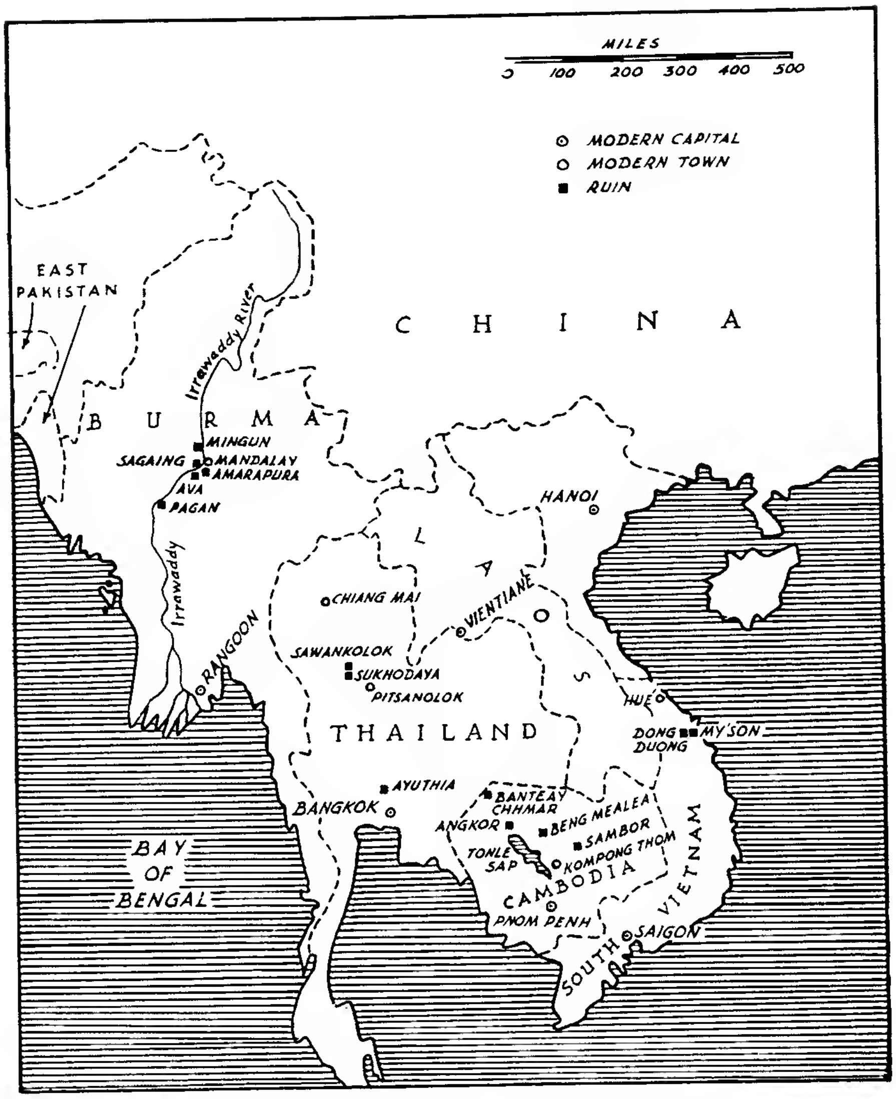
MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
MODERN CAPITAL
MODERN TOWN
RUIN
CHINA
EAST PAKISTAN
BURMA
Irrawaddy River
MINGUN
SAGAING
MANDALAY
AMARAPURA
AVA
PAGAN
Irrawaddy
RANGOON
LAOS
HANOI
VIENTIANE
CHIANG MAI
SAWANKOLOK
SUKHODAYA
PITSANOLOK
THAILAND
HUE
DONG DUONG
MY SON
AYUTHIA
BANGKOK
BANTEAY CHHMAR
ANGKOR
BENG MEALEA
SAMBOR
KOMPONG THOM
TONLE SAP
CAMBODIA
PNOM PENH
SAIGON
SOUTH VIETNAM
BAY OF BENGAL

FIG. 2. *Map showing Archaeological sites of South-East Asia*.

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Some Observations on Harappan Script

B. B. LAL

Introduction

THE YEAR 1969 has been a bumper crop year in so far as announcements on archaeological discoveries are concerned. The Archaeological Survey of India discovered in January this year the remains of a field having furrow marks, at Kalibangan, the now famous site of the Indus Civilization in Rajasthan. The field seems to have been so fertile that within two months three announcements have been made regarding the decipherment of the Indus Script. Two of these emanate from scholars in India, who read Sanskrit or proto-Sanskrit in it, while a third comes from a Finnish team announcing that the Indus Valley people spoke a proto-Dravidian tongue.

The two Indians who have tried to read Sanskrit in the Indus seals are Mr. M.V.N. Krishna Rao,[1] a Technical Assistant in the Archaeological Survey of India, and Dr. Fateh Singh,[2] Director, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur. The Finnish team, standing for the Dravidian language, comprises Dr. Asko H.S. Parpola,[3] Mr. Seppo J. Koskenniemi. Dr. Simo K.A. Parpola and Professor Dr. Pentti Aalto.

In a restricted article like this it is obviously not possible to go into the nuances of the arguments which incidentally require the printing of a large number of symbols and seals. An attempt, therefore, will be made to assess these claims in broad outlines and to find out if and how far some of these approaches are on the right lines.

India's Oldest Script still Undeciphered

The inscriptions on the Harappan seals, tablets, pottery, etc. have not so far been deciphered : no attempt has got very far, for none can satisfactorily explain all the inscriptions, and, in most cases, the arguments are in a circle, starting with certain assumptions and ending up with the same. Be that as it may, the pity is that even on a fundamental aspect of the problem, viz. the direction from which the script is to be read, there is no agreement among scholars. Some say that it is to be read from right to left, while others hold that it should be vice versa.

The Direction of Writing was Right to Left

With so little progress so far, one welcomes the light thrown by two inscribed potsherds which I found recently at the Harappan site, Kalibangan, in District Ganganagar, Rajasthan. In the inscriptions, some of the letters (symbols) overlap others inscribed immediately either on the right or the left. This raises the question as to which letter was incised first and which

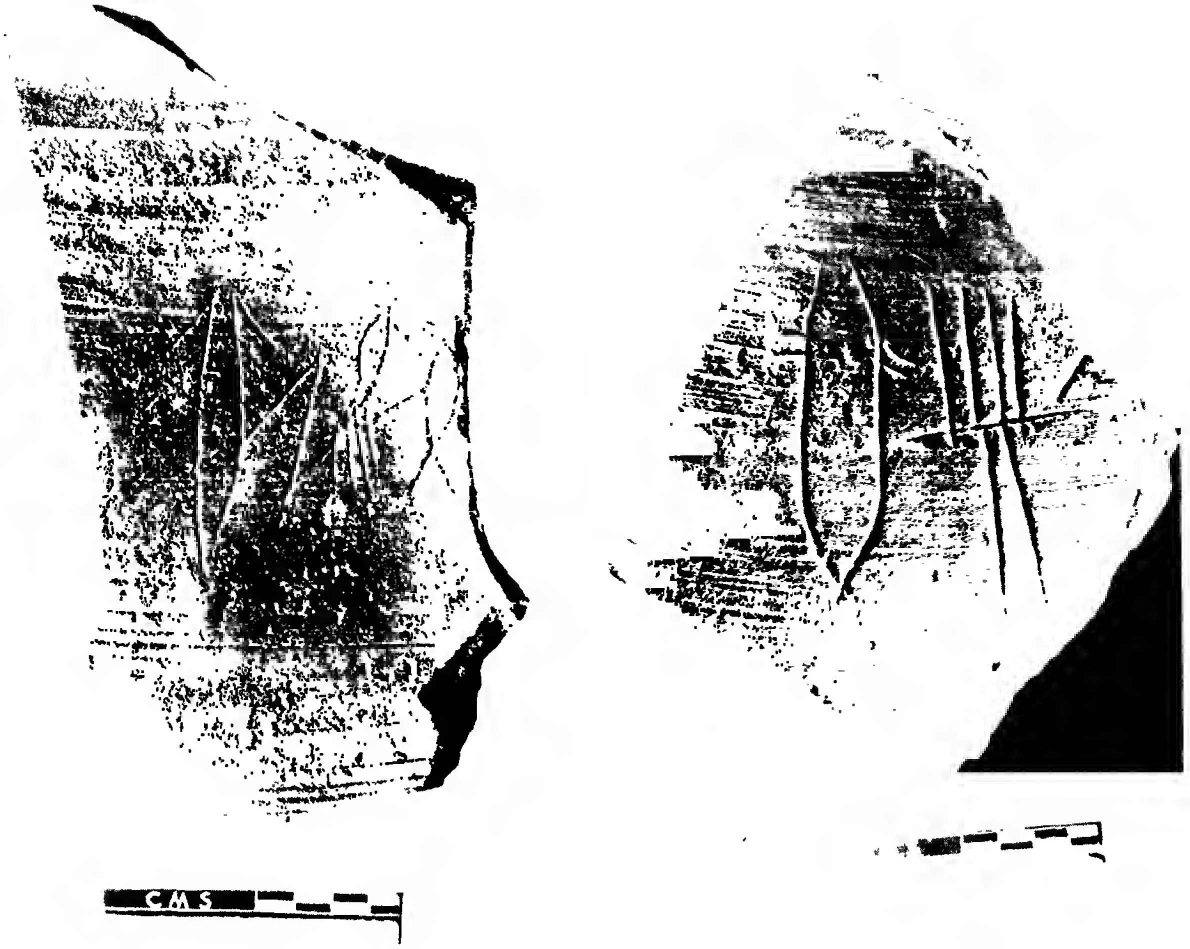

Fig. 1. Fig. 2.

Fig 1–2. *Kalibangan, Inscribed potsherds.*

afterwards. And the answer is not far to seek. When an incision is cut by another incision, two things are apparent at the intersection : first, the two 'edges' of the earlier incision are damaged, howsoever minutely, by the later incision; and secondly the later incision goes deeper than the earlier one. In this way the sequence of incision of overlapping letters may be determined. And the sequence of incision is evidently linked up with the direction of writing, unless it is argued that the scribe wilfully adopted a reverse course!

The Principle of Overlap

The two inscribed sherds from Kalibangan are illustrated. On the first pot sherd (Fig. 1), three letters may be seen. Whether there were more letters on the right cannot be said, but judging from the distance in between the three existing letters, it is evident that there was no other letter on the left. This would mean that the existing letter on the left was either the first or the last in the whole sequence. Let us now see how the sequence unfolds itself.

Of the available three letters (Fig. 1), the one on the right is what is commonly called the

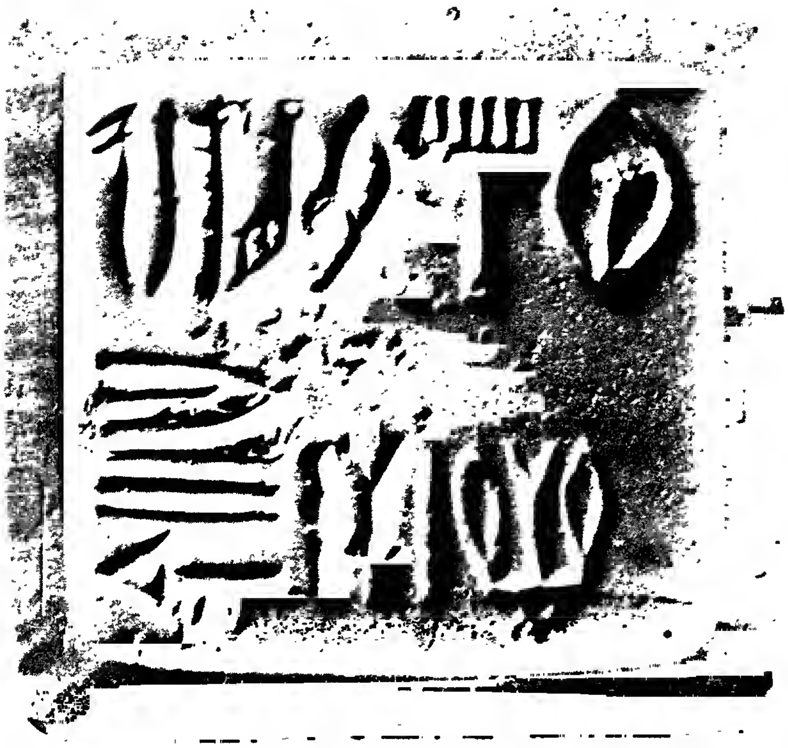

FIG. 3 *Harappan Seal*

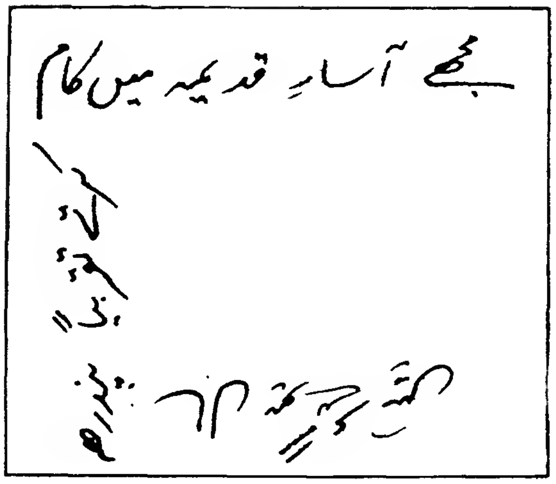
مجھے آثارِ قدیمہ میں کام
کرتے ہوئے

FIG. 4. *Urdu specimen*

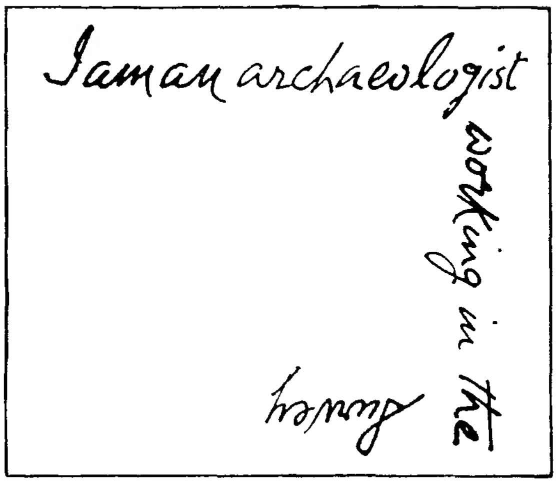
I am an archaeologist
working in the
Survey

FIG. 5. *English specimen*

'fish' symbol. Its principal part consists of two arcs placed opposite each other in such a way that their upper ends meet while the lower parts intersect each other. A closer examination would show that the arc curving in to the left overrides the other at the point of intersection. (In the photograph this can be made out from the fact that the white-and-black line representing the letter is interrupted). This would show that the arc curving in to the right was written first.

The letter has also an oblique stroke touching or 'taking off' from the left-hand arc. As there is insufficient intersection, the evidence is very meagre; but if it shows anything at all it is that the oblique stroke partly overrides the arc, signifying that the former was incised later.

Thus, the sequence of incision of the three parts of the letter was as follows. The arc incurving to the right was written first. Then came the arc incurving to the left. The oblique stroke also followed the former arc, but its relationship with the latter arc cannot be determined, as there is no overlap between the two. This evidence, though not throwing any light on the sequence between the letter under consideration and its neighbour, is all the same of use, for it shows the order in which the various parts of the letter itself were incised.

To pass on to the letter in the middle. It seems to consist of three parts : one, resembling the script form of the English letter 'I' ; another, a group of four, more or less parallel strokes, slightly tilting from the vertical; and an 'angle' opening downwards.

Applying the aforesaid criterion of continuous or broken lines, it would at once be seen that it is the 'I' part that is overridden by the other two. It would mean that the 'I' was inscribed first and then were the group of strokes and the 'angle'. (The sequence inter se of the latter two cannot be determined as they do not overlap each other.) The sequence between the 'I' and the 'angle' shows that the right-hand part of the letter was written first and the left-hand one afterwards.

To come to the letter on the left. Its principal part resembles the English letter 'V'. In addition, there are two sets of parallel strokes, each touching or cutting the corresponding vertical stroke of the 'V'.

It would be seen that the left-hand arm of the 'angle' forming an integral part of the middle letter has an intersection with the right-hand vertical stroke of the 'V' of the letter on the left. A closer examination of the intersection would show that while the white-and-black line (in the photograph) representing the vertical stroke of the 'V' is continuous, the one representing the arm of the 'angle' is interrupted, showing thereby that the former overrides the latter. In terms of sequence, it would mean that, between the two, the middle letter was written first and the left-hand one afterwards.

In the last letter, one more point may be observed. Of the two oblique strokes on the left-hand side, the lower one is unusually long, suggestive of a kind of 'flourish' which usually characterizes the finishing-off of the last letter in script. If this observation is correct, it would be an additional ground for regarding the left-hand letter as one occurring at the end of the inscription.

On the second sherd (Fig. 2) there are two clear letters, while traces of another (damaged) letter may also be seen on the extreme right. Judging from the spacing of letters in the inscription, it is evident that there was no other letter to the left of the one resembling the English 'V'.

As the details of the damaged letter on the extreme right are not clear, nothing can be said about the sequence of incision of its various parts. It was perhaps the 'fish' symbol.

The letter in the middle consists of three parts; a group of four parallel vertical strokes

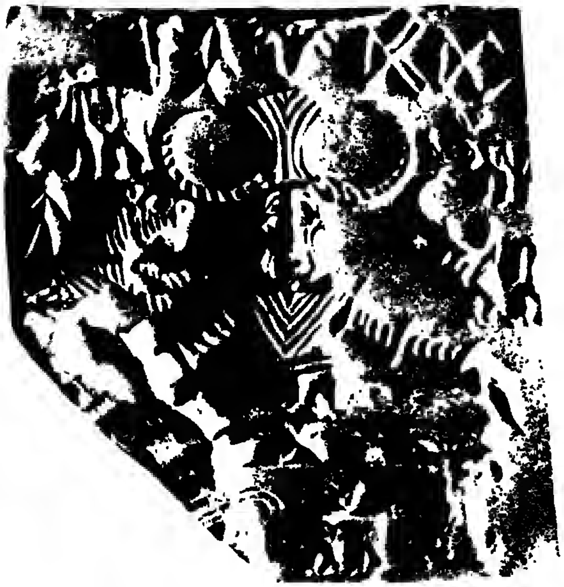

FIG. 6

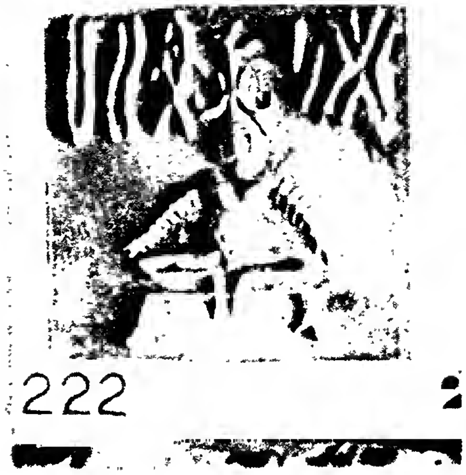

FIG 7

FIG 6–7 *Seals from Mohenjodaro.*

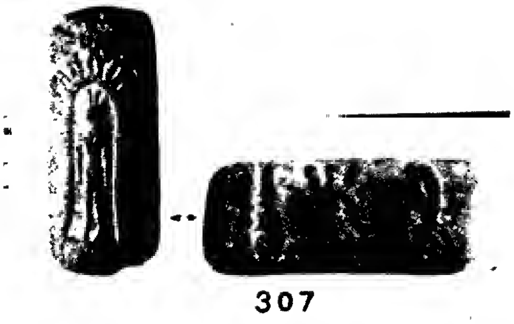

FIG. 8

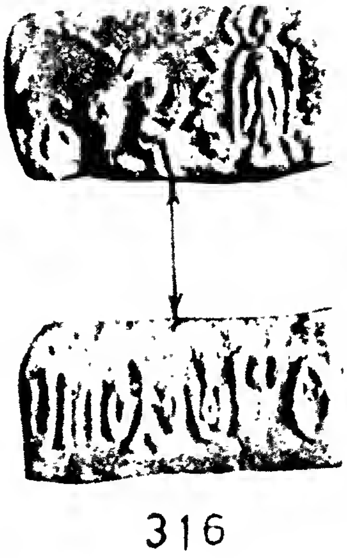

FIG 9

FIG 8–9 *Sealings from Mohenjodaro.*

comprising the upper half; a group of two parallel vertical strokes comprising the lower half; and an elongated stroke placed horizontally in between the two groups.

It is this horizontal stroke that is of great importance in the present discussion. As may be seen, this stroke continues far beyond the 'normal' space mentally allotted by the scribe to the letter. As a result, there is an intersection between this horizontal stroke and the right-hand vertical stroke of the letter 'V' which lies on the left. A closer examination of the inter-section shows that the white-and-black line (in the photograph) representing the vertical stroke is continuous, whereas the corresponding line representing the horizontal stroke is interrupted, signifying that the vertical stroke overrides the horizontal. In terms of sequence, it would mean that the letter on the extreme left was written after the one on its right.

As already stated above, the sequence of incision of the letters is intimately linked up with the direction of writing. And as in the case of the two sherds discussed above it has been seen that letters falling on the right were incised first and then came those on the left, it is evident that the direction of writing was from the right to the left.

The conclusion arrived at above is not a new one. Quite a few writers in the past have held the view that the direction of writing in the Harappan script was from the right to the left. The point to be noted, however, is that the evidence dwelt upon here is purely of an objective kind. Hence its importance.

In this context, attention may also be drawn to a seal found at Harappa, an impression of which is reproduced here (Fig. 3).[4] On it may be seen an inscription, running along three of the edges. The problem is or rather was to determine the beginning of the inscription, for on it would depend the direction of writing.

An Unconventional Approach

An unconventional approach was made to solve the problem. Two persons were each given a squarish sheet of paper and were requested to write along its edges some sentence of their choice, respectively in Urdu, which is written from the right to the left, and in English, which is written the other way about. The results are reproduced here (Figs. 4 and 5).

The specimens of both Urdu and English show that the first line runs from one corner to the other. The second line does not begin at a corner, for the corner concerned is already filled by the last letter or letters of the first line; but it does continue to the other (bottom) corner. Like the second line, the third also does not begin at a corner. It comes to an end in the middle, for the sentence is over. Had the sentence not been over, the third line too would have continued up to the other corner. Hypothetically, the fourth line would not have reached either of the corners, for they would already be occupied by the concerned parts of the third and first lines respectively.

Applying this observation to the seal-impression in question, it would be evident that the line at the top, running from one corner to the other, was the first one to be written. The vertically placed line on the left-hand side could not be started in the (upper) corner as the matter of the first line was already there. It, however, continued freely to the other (lower) conrer, where there was no obstruction. The line at the bottom could not be started in the corner as the matter of the vertically placed line was already there.[5] It did not continue to the other corner, evidently because the text-matter had come to an end.

The sequence would thus be : first, the top line; then the vertically placed line; and finally, the bottom line. This makes it patently clear that the direction of writing was from the right to the left.[6]

Recently, I have come across some potsherds found by Aurel Stein at Tor-Dherai in northern Baluchistan,[7] and now lodged in the Central Antiquities Collection, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi. They bear inscription in black paint in Brāhmī or Kharoṣṭhī script. On a few of them occur also overlaps of letters. One of the sherds is illustrated here (Fig. 18). It will be seen that there is an overlap successively between the first, second, third and fourth letters (counting from the right). In each case it would also be seen that the paint of the letter on the left rides over the paint of the letter on the right. This clearly shows that the letters on the right were written first and then came the letters on the left, i.e. the direction of writing was from the right to the left. And this indeed was so in the case of this script, Kharoṣṭhī, as we know from other well-established evidence. I now come to the question of language.

Krishna Rao's Theory of Sanskrit Language

The key-seal of Rao is the one having the figure of a seated deity, surrounded by animals and commonly believed to be Paśupati (Fig. 6). The inscription on the top of the seal has five symbols which Rao connects with five of the animals and human figures shown on the seal. Then comes his basic and, therefore, crucial, argument : "It is known to us all that the Vedas are our earliest literature. Therefore, there is no harm in speculating that the language of the Indus people might be nearer to the Vedic language or one of its early forms." (In fact, continuing his thesis, he even goes on to say that early Egyptians, Sumerians, Elamites, Hittites, Cretans, Germanic races, Celts, Slavs, etc. were all Aryans.) Thus, taking for granted that the language used by the Indus people was Sanskrit or one of its early forms, and using the principle of acrophony, he gives to the five symbols phonetic values equivalent to the first sounds of the Sanskrit names of the five animals. Thus he reads the first symbol (starting from the right) as 'Ma', derived from "Mahiṣa" (buffalo), the second as "Kha", 'Khaḍgī' (rhinoceros), and so on, and gets the reading of the inscription as "Makhanāśana," "an epithet of Indra, as destroyer of demon Makha or Asur Makhas, the Asura priests."

Mr. Rao then proceeds to his next seal (Fig. 7). It has five symbols in a row along the top. Rao does not give any phonetic value to the first two symbols (starting from the right). He, however, thinks that the vertical projection above the head is a symbol and, on the basis of a similar symbol in the phoenecian script, assigns to it the phonetic value of "i". The fish-like and U-like symbols had already been assigned the values of 'śa' and 'na' while dealing with Fig. no. 6. For the intermediary symbols, comprising two parallel vertical curved lines, he draws upon the Sumerian script and, thereby, reads it as "a". The inscription is thus transcribed as "Īśāna", a name of "one of the forms of Rudra".

From both the foregoing examples it is clear that Rao regards the inscriptions as mentioning the names of the deities that are depicted on the seals. There can be little doubt that the deity represented in both the cases is the same. How can then it be simultaneously "Makhanāśana" as well as 'Iśāna'? Prima facie, there is something wrong somewhere!

Exactly the same thing happens in the case of two other seals whose readings Rao has announced (Figs. 8 and 9). The figure standing within the arch with a radiating design is the same in both the cases. Yet Rao identifies it as "Syona", meaning the sun in the case of no. 3 and as "Ishtar," "the Aryan and Babylonian goddess of war", in the case of no. 4. There is thus a patent internal inconsistency in Rao's own readings.

For assigning phonetic values to the various symbols on the seals Rao has adopted the system of acrophony only in one case (Fig. 6). In other cases, he has freely drawn upon the

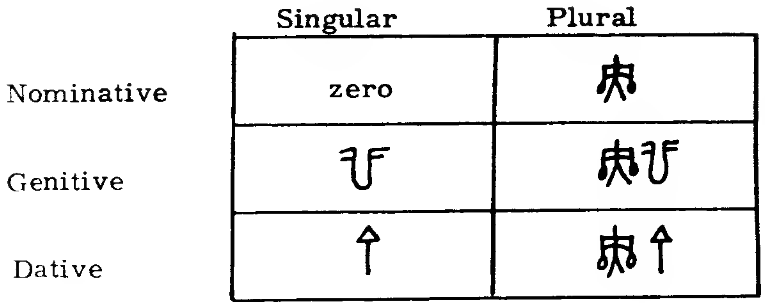

Fig. 10 *Some Harappan Symbols.*

phonetic values of similar symbols occurring in a very large number of languages, cutting across all frontiers of space and time. Thus, his borrowings range from England to Mesopotamia and from the third millennium B.C. to the early centuries A.D. : Egyptian, Sumerian, Phoenecian, Ogham and Runic are all deeply involved in this affair. One really wonders as to when and where the Indus Valley people organised a conferrence to evolve a script for themselves in which they could borrow not only from the past scripts but also from the ones which had yet to come!

Getting himself involved in these long-range parallels, Rao is led to another conclusion : "Thus I feel that the occurrence of these Sumerian, Egyptian, Phoenecian, Ogham and Runic signs would indicate the long duration of the existence of the Indus Civilization from third millennium B.C. to ninth century B.C." All known evidence however indicates that the Indus Civilization had lost all its pristine glory much before 1500 B.C.

Besides mentioning the names of the Vedic gods and Aryan kings, Rao holds that "the seals also mention a number of foreign rulers such as the legendary Mana who is identical with Narmer of the first dynasty of Egypt; the kings of the third dynasty of the Biblical fame." Assuming, for the time being, though not without reluctance, that the names of these foreign rulers do occur on the seals, I would urge Rao to check up the stratigraphic occurrence of the seals in question. I would not be surprized if on the evidence of the relative stratigraphy of the seals Rao now finds that the Third Dynasty of Ur (assignable to the period about 2000 B.C.) prospered in the first millennium B.C. or that Solomon (10th century B.C.) was earlier than the Third Dynasty of Ur as well as Narmer (around 3000 B.C.)!

Parpola's Theory of Dravidian Language

The starting point of the Finnish scholars is the widely-held view that the Indus Civilization was pre- and non-Aryan. With this premise, they argue that if this civilization was non-Aryan, it would have been either Dravidian or Munda Speaking. (Any other possibility for example that the Indus Civilization might represent an as yet unidentified culture is not at all taken into consideration.) They further hold that it is the Dravidian that is the more likely candidate. Some of the arguments advanced in its favour are as follows :

"The bearers of the Indus culture were most probably Dravidians, and among the several factors leading to this judgment, one of the most important is the iconography of the Indus seals. A "proto-Siva" is depicted as a horned deity with three faces squatting on his heels inside a circle of animals, only too reminiscent of the principal deity of classical Hinduism and of contemporary South-Indian Dravidians."

"Quite as important a factor in connecting the Dravidians with the Indus culture is their

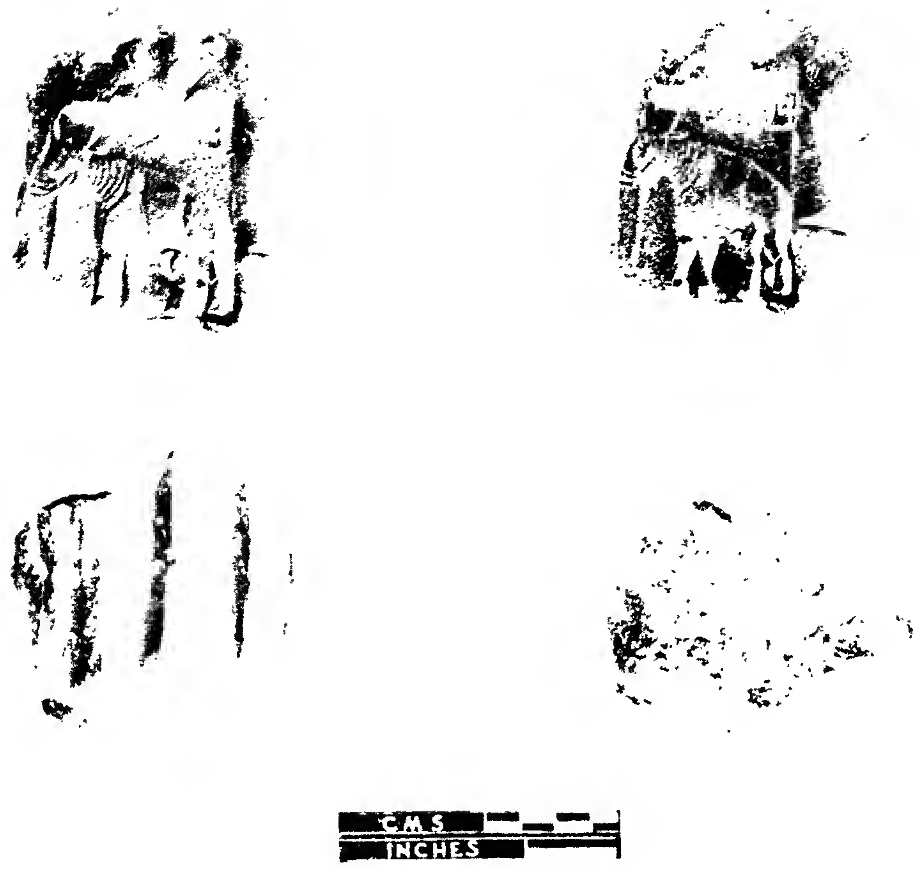

FIG. 11 *Four pieces of a clay-sealing from Kālibangan.*

high and original culture in historical times in comparison with the Mundas, the other pre-Aryan candidate, and particularly their reputation as seafarers, which goes back to earliest recorded history".

"The baths and drainage systems of Indus cities point to precautions against pollution; the ideas of pollution dominate the Hindu caste-system and the taboos are particularly strict in southern India."

"Reference must be made to the strongly held tradition of three successive literary academies of the ancient Tamils, mentioned for the first time in the commentary on Iraiyanar Ahapporul, which may be of the 8th or 9th century A.D. According to the story, the first academy

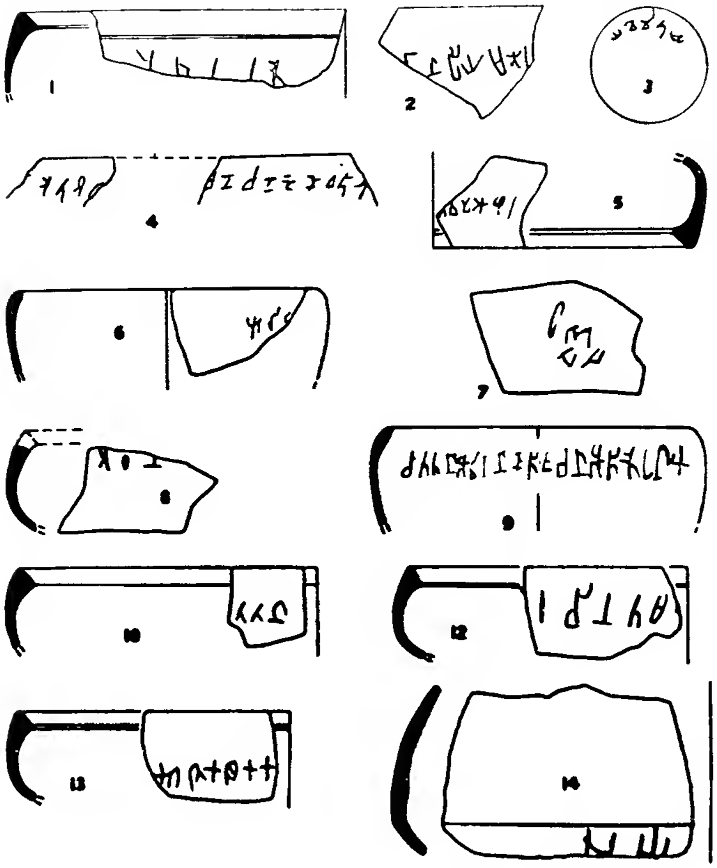

FIG 12. *Inscribed Pot-sherds of the Historical Period.*

had 549 poets as its members during its 4440 years of existence in the old city of Madurai, which was once situated to the south of Cape Comorin, but was eventually washed away by the sea. The second academy, lasting 3700 years, and giving its approval to the works of 3700 poets, had its seat in a city called Kapadanpuram, which was also lost. During the last period of 1850 years the academy worked in the modern Madurai in Tamil Land, accepting the works of 449 poets."

The last mentioned argument seems to have been brought in order to ward off any comments on the antiquity of the Dravidian literature. However, if any reliance is to be placed on "the tradition of the three successive literary academies of the ancient Tamils", it would follow that the Tamil literature goes back to the ninth millennium B.C. This is against all known evidence which does not take the Tamil literature earlier than the second or third century B.C.

Be that as it may, let us accept, as a working hypothesis, that the language of the Indus seals was a Dravidian one, and then try to follow the findings of Asko Parpola and his colleagues.

A positional study of the symbols shows that some of these tend to occur at the end, for example the symbol resembling the English U with a pair of horizontal storkes at the top of each of the vertical lines, and the symbol resembling an arrow (cf. Fig. 10). These have been taken by Parpola et al to represent respectively the genitive and dative case-suffixes.

This brings us to a very important question, namely what was the use of the seals or what was it that the inscriptions on pots, bronze, axes, etc. were meant to denote? The earliest

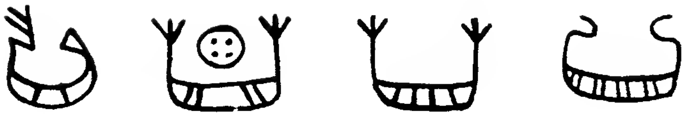

FIG. 13 *Sumerian symbols*

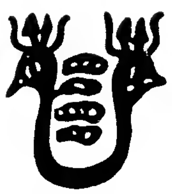

FIG. 14 *Painted symbol on an earthen pot from cemetry 'H', Harappa*

Signs denoting gender.

Sign	frequencies		
	total	final	initial
	112	56	10
	172	132	6

FIG 15 *Some Harappan signs*

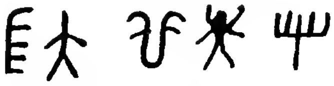

FIG. 16 *Some Harappan symbols*

Numeral	Signs in one row	Signs in two rows	Numeral	Signs in one row	Signs in two rows
1	| (52)		6	|||||| 1-0-0	||| ||| 25-2-10
2	|| (52)	| | ?numeral	7	||||||| 7-2-0	|||| ||| 47-1-6
3	||| 95-6-33	|| | ?numeral	8		|||| |||| 6-2-3
4	|||| 36-1-19	|| || ?numeral	9		||||| |||| 4-0-1
5	||||| 24-0-12	||| || 5-0-2	10	|||||||||| 1-1-1	||||| ||||| 1-1-1

FIG 17 *Chart showing numerals prepared by the Finish Scholars*

deciphered seals of India, dating to a couple of centuries before the Christian era, are known to have been used primarily either to mark off packages as being the property of say X, or for stamping off tokens whose bearers could be identified as being the representatives of Y. Inscriptions on pots have been found to bear almost exclusively proper names, evidently of the owners. It would thus seem quite likely that the inscriptions on the Indus seals, pottery, etc. also bear names of persons, may be along with their attributes, such as profession, etc. That at least some of the Indus seals were actually used for sealing packages is borne out .by the discovery of lumps of clay bearing the impressions of reed and knotted twine on one side and of seal or seals on the other (cf. Fig. 11).

Now if we accept the views of Parpola *et al,* namely that (i) the language of the Indus seals is Dravidian and that (ii) the U-like symbol represents the genitive, and weigh these against the use of seals as enunciated in the preceding paragraph, it would follow that in the Dravidian language a genitive suffix is used at the end of a name occurring on sealings, pottery, etc. However, all known evidence goes against such a hypothesis. On fig. 12 are reproduced some of the Tamil inscriptions (together with a Prakrit one, no. 3 occurring on the pottery found at Arikamedu near Pondicherry. These are ascribable to the beginning of the Christian era and are almost the earliest examples of the kind in the Tamil language. All these inscriptions represent the names of the individuals concerned and have a nominative ending and not the genitive one. In fact, it is only the Prakrit inscription which has a genitive ending, the reading being Ya kha mi ta "sa", i.e., "of" Ya kha mi ta (Sanskrit Yakṣamitra). Thus, the very hypothesis of Parpola *et al* that the inscriptions have a genitive ending goes against their theory that the language used is a Dravidian one.

The line of argument used by Parpola *et al* to give to the U-like symbol the value of a genitive suffix is as follows. He regards this symbol as representing a ship which in the Dravidian languages is called "ota." Using the principle of homophony, he argues that the symbol also represents a similar sound, namely-otu -otu, the modern comitative suffix. This may sound quite a reasonable proposition provided there was a good case for identifying the U-like symbol with a ship. The Sumerian parallels quoted by these authors (cf. Fig. 13) are not wholly convincing. However, even if one persuaded oneself to accept this Sumerian parallelism, one gets nothing but a jolt when the authors cite an Indian parallel (shows in Fig. 14). In the first place, this painting occurs on a pot which, though found at Harappa, does not belong to the Indus Civilization, but to the succeeding Cemetery H Culture, there also being a time-lag between the two cultures. Secondly, the Cemetery H symbol has very little in common with a ship. On the Cemetery H pottery peacocks are frequently delineated, and it is more likely than not that the motif in question represents a pair of stylized peacocks shown by their necks, beaks and eyes, etc. (The latter two are very clear in the original publication, namely excavations at Harappa by the late M.S. Vats.) For the authors to say that the picture may possibly represent the "boat of death" mentioned in the Vedic literature, seems to be still more unfortunate, for why should have they invoked a Vedic concept when, according to themselves, the Indus Civilization was avowedly pre- and non-Aryan?

In the right-hand column of figure 10 are shown what are claimed to be plurals, respectively of the nominative, genitive and dative cases. While there may not be much difficulty in accepting the proposition in so far as the nominative case is concerned, it is indeed insuperable with regard to the genitive and dative cases. According to the proposition of Parpola *et al*, the plural suffix follows the ones for genitive or dative (reading from the right), but this is never the case in the Dravidian languages. For example, in Tamil one would always say "paiyan-

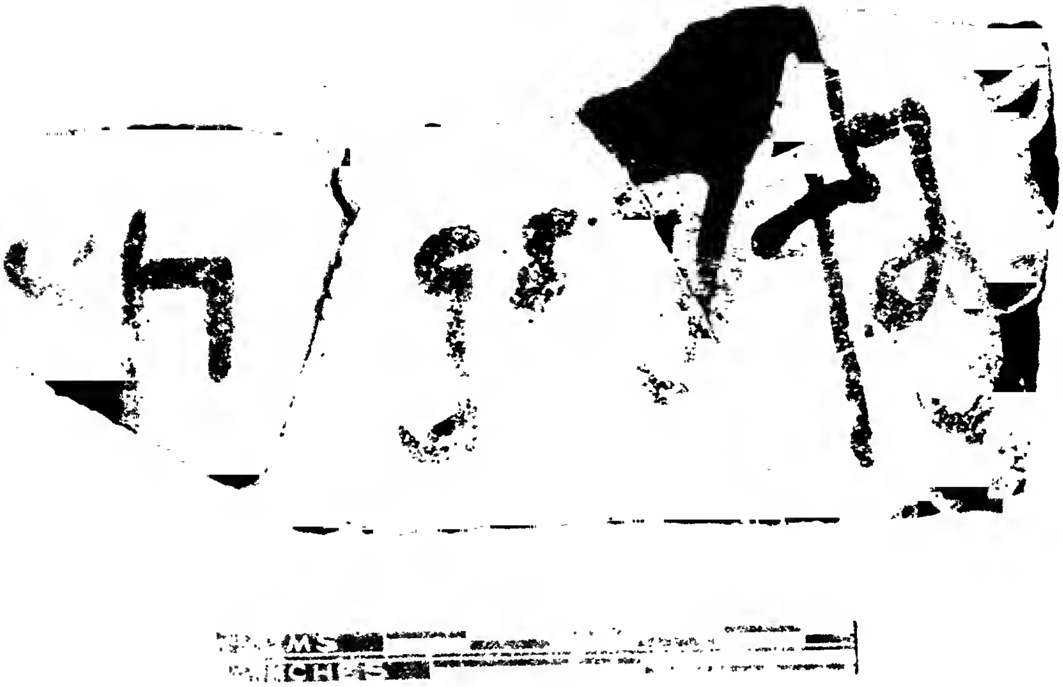

FIG 18. *A pot-sherd with Kharosthī Inscription from Tor Dhari*

kal-uḍaya" (—boy plus plural suffix plus genitive suffix—of the boys) or 'paiyan-kalu-kku' (—boy plus plural suffix plus dative suffix—to the boys) and not paiyan-uḍayakal or paiyan-kku-kal.

Parpola *et al* regard the two symbols shown in figure 15 as representing the masculine and feminine genders : the human figure can easily be taken to represent the male, while the comb like figure has been taken to signify the female because the Dravidian word for comb, namely "pentike," is not much different in sound (principle of homophony) from "penti," the word for woman or female in that language-group. All this would have worked perhaps successfully had there been no case like the one shown in figure 16, where both the male and female symbols co-occur, unless it is argued that the person concerned was a hermaphrodite.

Another argument put forward by Parpola *et al* in favour of associating the Indus language with Dravidian is that the numeral system in both these is octonary, a change being effected at the number 8. They affirm : "It is no more coincidence that the Dravidian languages bear close testimony of the use of an octonary system by the Dravidians in ancient times." While it may be all right to say that the Dravidian languages show the use of an octonary system, the table (Fig. 17) reproduced from the publication of Parpola *et al* themselves clearly shows that the system continues beyond 8. In act, besides 8, 9 and 10, shown in the table itself, other numbers, including 12, also occur. Thus, there does not seem to be much weight in this argument also.

In their publication discussed here Parpola *et al* have not gone much beyond indicating their general line of approach, and stating that certain symbols represent case-suffixes, gender-suffixes or professional determinatives, etc. Readings of full inscriptions have yet to be announced. It is then alone that one would be able clearly to assess if an how far Parpola *et al* have succeeded in their decipherment.

Harappan Language Perhaps Lost Now

From the foregoing review of the work of Rao and Parpola *et al* it would be seen that no case has yet been established to prove that the language used by the Indus people was either Sanskrit or Dravidian. This is not to say that the Indus language could not have been either of these. Far from it. All that has been demonstrated here is that there are internal inconsistencies in the above-mentioned two attempts, although, as already stated, more has to be seen in the work of Parpola *et al,* which certainly is on more scientific lines than that of Rao. However, one wonders as to why the Indus language must necessarily be either Sanskrit or Dravidian. Is it impossible that it could have been yet another language which is since dead? After all, what happened in Egypt and Mesopotamia could as well have happened in India.[8]

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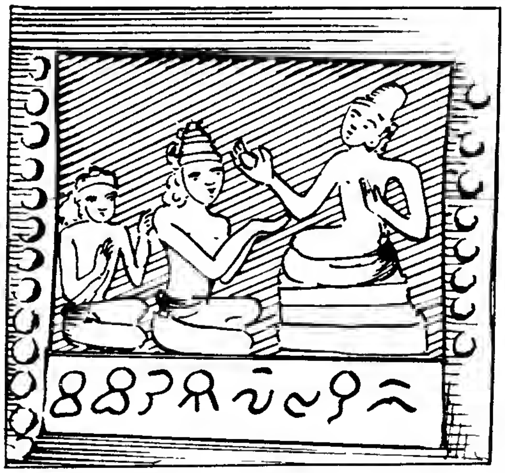
2. *Ibid*
3. Asoka Parpola *et al*, *Decipherment of The Proto-Dravidian Inscriptions of the Indus Civilization*, Copenhagen, 1969.
4. Madho Sarup Vata, *Excavations At Harappa*, Delhi, 1940, pl. XCI, 254
5. In all the three lines the tops of the letters are towards the edge.
6. In seals where the matter runs into a second, horizontal line, the style becomes boustrophedon.
7. Aurel Stein, *An Archaeological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no 37. Calcutta. 1929. 68–9 and 93–7 and pls XVII-XIX
8. Part I of this article was published in Antiquity, March 1966, and Part II in Hindustan Times (Delhi) 6th April, 1969. To both these organizations the editors are thankful for giving permission to reproduce the articles.



Indian Scripts and Languages in Asian Countries

C. SIVARAMAMURTI

and

KRISHNA DEVA

Cultural Unity of India

THE GREATEST BOND in this vast country has been India's cultural unity. If the pilgrim of North India craves for a dip in the Saṅgama or the confluence of Ratnākara and Mahodadhi (Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea) the South Indian equally yearns for a bath in the holy stream of the Gaṅgā or the confluence of the three rivers at Prayāga, Allahabad. Jagannāthapurī, Puṣkara, and Dvārakā are places of similar importance. In ancient India, students travelled from distant universities at Taxila, Banaras, Nalanda and Kanchi. Great philosophers like Śaṅkara established centres of learning for the dissemination of knowledge all over the land and Śaṅkara went all the way to meet Kumārilabhaṭṭa in distant Bihar. Rājendra Coḷa brought great Śaivite teachers from the banks of the Gaṅgā and established them in his capital. But the greatest bond was due to the influence of *śruti, smṛti* and *itihāsa*. If the Vedas and Purāṇas appeared like an overlord or a friend respectively in the voice of their mandates, *kāvya* came in with greater appeal like the sportive voice of the beloved one. The language of the *kāvya* has had the greatest appeal and it is this that enjoyed the position of the language of the court. Whether Jagannātha wrote from Delhi or Appayya Dīkṣita wrote from Viriñcipuram, the scholars who read and appreciated their works, hailed from all over the land. The state language of India was Sanskrit, whether the inscriptions were from the north or the south, whether the dynasties were the Guptas or the Vākāṭakas, the Vardhanas, Maukharis, Pratīhāras, Paramāras, Candellas, Pālas, Senas, Gahaḍavālas, Haihayas, Gangas, Pallavas, Coḷas, Pāṇḍyas, Cāḷukyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas or the Vijayanagara monarchs. Even where the regional languages were used in the royal *meyakīrtis* a preface in Sanskrit proclaimed the honoured place for this language of our nation, equally worshipped all over the land. Though the great and numerous *Meyakīrtis* or eulogies of royal dynasties in Tamil, that supply most of the material for the history of Coḷa and Pāṇḍya dynasties, are patterns of composition in themselves, the preliminary Sanskrit composition shows how great an importance was attached to the language.

The keynote of Indian civilization lies in one basic culture that permeated the whole land, geographically divided by long rivers and large mountains but culturally knit by a constant unifying factor of common faith and ideals underlying the apparent diversity. In Indian two thousand years ago when communications were more difficult than now, the bonds of this affinity were closer. The emphasis on difference is a later factor. The barrier of river and mountain was not so great as the barrier of conflicting dynasties. Aśoka by combining under the sceptre the whole of the land greatly overcame those barriers, but his successors like the Śuṅgas.

Sātavāhanas and Kaliṅgas slightly undid his work by the very division of the country into fragments. The great Gupta emperors succeeded once again in establishing a very well-knit empire. If we find the grace of Gupta sculpture at distant Elephanta in Western India or Ananta in the Deccan, it is because the Maitrakas of Valabhi ruled as Sāmantas of the Guptas in Western India and the Vākāṭakas were close kinsmen fostering common cultural and political ideals along with the Gupta emperors. The script of the Guptas not only influenced palaeographic development in Western India and the Deccan but even spread to the distant dominions of the Kadambas and Pallavas and accounts for the false box-head occurring in the letters of early Kadamba and Pallava inscriptions of the 5th century A.D.

Medieval sculpture is different from the Gupta or early sculpture of the same area and with the tendency for local development, local varieties developed from the medieval period with sharper contrast with the efflux of time. The shade of the single umbrella of a single king being eliminated different and numerous parasols produced a cheqeured effect of light and shade; and so the complex school of Indian culture. But the underlying vein was however the same.

The earliest inscriptions in India like the edicts of Aśoka are in Prākrit but there are very early inscriptions also in Sanskrit. The Girnar inscription of Rudradāman is a very early example. A similar Sanskrit inscription is of Usavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, from the Nasik cave. Sanskrit enjoyed a great position at the royal court. Patañjali, the great grammarian, was amongst the most noteworthy persons of his time, who helped Puṣyamitra, the Śunga king, in the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. Correct spelling, pronunciation and usage were everything for this great grammarian, and the language was looked on as the heavenly cow. It was not without any adequate basis that a privileged position was claimed for this supreme language of languages described by Daṇḍin as the language of the gods, revealed to the world by great sages : *Saṃskṛtam nāma daivī vāg-anvākhyātā maharṣibhiḥ.*

When Sanskrit came to displace Prakrit in the inscriptions, it became so popular that the composers of the *praśastis* vied with one another in preparing poetic compositions. Some of the long *praśastis*, as for instance the Mau inscription of Madanavarman, the Dewal *praśasti* of Lalla, the Khajuraho inscription, the Batesvar inscription of Paramardideva, the inscription of Parabala, the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena, the Cebrolu inscription of Jaya, the Svapnesvar inscription from Bhuvanesvar, the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, and the *praśasti* of Yaśodharman, can be cited as splendid examples of epigraphic poetry. They give us samples of other literary *pākas* besides *drākṣā pāka* in which Vālmīki and Kālidāsa were adepts. There is no *rīti* or *pāka* which is absent in this branch of epigraphical literature, nor is there any lack of enthusiasm on the part of the composer of *praśastis* to introduce a great variety of *śabda* and *arthālaṅkāras* at their disposal. Often the model of earlier classical poetry has been before them, and the rich contribution of the composers of the *praśastis* has greatly added to the wealth of Sanskrit literature.

Indian Culture Unified East Asia into a single Cultural Unit

This unifying factor of Indian culture has spread beyond the mainland and widened the sphere of cultural bond. In distant Java as in Cambodia, Annam and other parts of South-eastern Asia. Indian culture from the mainland has ingrained itself in the soil and has made possible the rise of such monuments as the stupa of Borobodur, the Rāmāyaṇa reliefs at the Śiva temple at Prambanan and the great monuments at Angkor Thom and Angkor Vat, the latter giving the most inspiring and amazing translation into sculptural dexterity the entire treasure house of Indian mythology of the Purāṇas pertaining to the exploits of Viṣṇu—*Viṣṇuparākrama*.

One who has seen and gone around the amazing walls of the temple at Angkor Vat can never forget that here is the place where occur vividly the details of the story of *amṛtamanthana*, where Viṣṇu not only supported the mountain as a giant tortoise and held it firm by sitting right on top of its crest, but also pulled the churnstring, Vāsuki, along with the Devas simultaneously. No more inspiring sculpture than this illustrating this theme has been found anywhere in the world, even in the mainland itself. The row of Asuras and Devas holding Vāsuki, as a pair of long projecting parapets facing the four directions near the Mandara-like temple, showing the four-faced Girīśa himself, almost as swallowing up the poison arising from the milky ocean, which is suggested by the entire expanse around at Angkor Thom, is a great cultural achievement.

Nowhere has the glory of Kāraikkālammaiyār, the great and pious devotee of Śiva, been more picturesquely presented than at Banteay Srei near Angkor.

The colossal metal piece representing the bust of Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu now preserved in the National Museum at Phnom Penh cannot but recall the similar forms at Mahabalipuram and Srirangam. The forms of Padmanābha and Naṭarāja are as popular in the monuments at Combodia as they are in south India, where their related existance is a special feature.

Even the reliefs at Deogarh, Mandor, Pattadakal and Ellora cannot claim the singular charm in artistic representation and narrative elegance that distinguish the series at Prambanan illustrating the Rāmāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇāyana.

These earlier figures from Java, Cambodia, Champa, Malaya with all the grace of the Gupta-Vākāṭaka and Pallava-Cāḷukya sculptures suggest affinities to the picturesque shadow figures of the wayang which only indicate the persistence of a great culture in spite of the snap of contact from the mainland. This cultural flow to and from South-east Asia, more than in colonization and the effects of the brilliant conquests like those of the Coḷa emperor Rājendra, has survived. The discovery of bronzes at Nagapattinam, showing Javanese influence in the case of some, and that of the copper plate of Dharmapāla at Nalanda, point only to the cultural comradeship of the empires in India and Java.

East Asian Countries Derived their Scripts from Indian Brāhmī

The scripts of south India which embody all the epigraphical literature have contributed enormously to the spread of Indian culture overseas. The script of Ceylon is derived from Grantha Tamil. The script of the inscriptions in Java like those of Pūrṇavarman closely resembles the early script of south India. The same also applies to the characters used in the inscriptions of Annam or Champa. It is therefore clear that the contribution of Indian epigraphy is considerable not only in the development of languages in the country but also in the spread and evolution of the script which has travelled beyond the seas to supply characters for writing in the many islands of the Pacific. The crowning achievement of this cultural link between India and South-East Asia is the great military conquest of Malaya by Rājendra Coḷa who had the finest navy that India ever possessed and brought India and the East Indies into closer touch.

The Burmese Script

In Burma, the script of the 5th century A.D. in the Maunggun plates resembles closely the Śālaṅkāyana script which was in vogue in the Kṛṣṇa valley a little earlier. A couple of centuries later, a further development in the script used there is recorded in the Pyu inscriptions. The modern Burmese script is a development from this script, though a thousand years and more have brought about infinite changes here as in the scripts in the mainland of India. Here may be observed affinities with Grantha-Tamil in some cases. The peculiar case of medieval *e* wherein the letter from the Grantha-Tamil is substitued for the full vowel in modern Burmese script is an instance in point.

The Ceylonese Script

In Ceylon, the early script used in the 3rd century B.C. was quite akin to the contemporary Brāhmī script in India in the inscriptions in the caves in Tinnevelly, Madurai, Tiruchirapali, etc. In the 2nd century A.D. the development is similar to that in the Kṛṣṇa valley and in the inscriptions from Maharatmale the letters are exactly like the contemporary ones at Amaravati. It may be here recalled that some sculptures similar to the carvings of Amaravati have been discovered in Ceylon, and the moon-stones with the beautiful decoration of rows of geese, elephant, etc., occurring in Nagarjunakonda are clearly borrowed from Ceylon. The inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda indicate that there was cultural and religious contact between this part of the Andhra country and Ceylon. Later, during the time of Narasiṃhavarman Pallava, a contemporary king of Ceylon who was his friend was restored to his throne by the help of the navy of the mighty Pallava monarch. The pictursque description of the great fleet and of the royal ship given in the Ceylonese Chronicle *Mahāvaṃsa* is easily visualised by a look at the two types of large ships from the magnificent panels from Borobudur, as the types occurring in Java represent similar ones from south India about the same time. In the Ceylonese inscriptions of the 10th century A.D., the type of alphabet is similar to that obtaining in south India at that time. The influence of both Grantha and Vaṭṭeḷuttu can be seen in the script used. This is not only due to the geographical proximity but also the frequent conquests of the island by the kings of south India, specially the great Coḷa emperors Rājarāja and Rājendra. In the modern script of Ceylon, the peculiar slanting type of *ta* and *na* in the inscriptions in Vaṭṭeḷuttu are significant. Here, as in Malabar, the script has not materially changed since the medieval period.

The Ancient Scripts in Cambodia and Annam

In Cambodia and Annam, the evolution of the script has been similar. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. the script is very similar to that in the then contemporary India. In the 4th and 5th centuries, though there is a further development, the earlier type is still preserved. In the 8th century, the script changes and approximates to the script in Vengi or in the Andhra area and thereafter the further development in the 10th century shows the influence of the Pallava script and even later Tamil script. Here the letter *ka* tends to shape itself like the letter *ka* in Tamil. *Ga* is shaped after the Canarese and Telugu type. *Ca* is shaped similarly. *Ya* tends more towards the Telugu-Canarese variety. In all these cases, a peculiar box-head shaped or semi-circular head added to such letter distinguishes it, like the serif in contemporary south Indian letters.

The Script of Malayan Inscriptions

An inscribed slab from Malaya, mentioning Budhagupta, a *Mahānāvika*, captain of a ship, shows the occurrence of a similar script in Malaya also. The inscription is about the 5th century A.D. judging from its palaeographic features. The place mentioned in this inscription, Raktamṛttikā, is identified with Rangmati in Bengal, and the close similarity of the letters with the southern variety in the Kṛṣṇā area about the same time proclaims the unity of culture.

The Ligor inscription, one of the most important from Malaya Peninsula, is not only an example of skill in Sanskrit composition but also of the peculiar independent development of the earlier Brāhmī script in far-off islands by about the 8th century A.D.

The discovery of the interesting *Yūpa* inscriptions of Mūlavarman in Kutei in Borneo, apart from proving clearly a highly vigorous Hindu faith and powerful Hindu rule in distant islands, shows the cultural affinity, a clear evidence of which is supplied by the close similarity between south Indian Pallava script of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. and the script of these inscriptions.

The Javanese Script

In the inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman from Java, we can see clearly the palaeography of Pallava script of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The numerous Sanskrit inscriptions found in these distant islands show the extent to which Indian culture penetrated which is also testified by the sculpture and architecture in these places.

The language of the inscriptions found in all these places has been mostly Sanskrit and the affection bestowed on this language in all these distant islands is clearly seen in the meticulous care with which this language has been fostered and used. The monumental volumes of Professor Coedès show what a rich literary wealth in Sanskrit is preserved in this epigraphical treasure-house. One cannot but be struck by the constant touch of the great pioneer poets in Sanskrit like Vālmīki and Kālidāsa in all these compositions. The Sanskrit texts from Bali edited by Professor Sylvain Lévi reveal the devoted care of the Balinese for preserving the textual heritage of *Itihāsa, Purāṇa* and *Āgama*.

No one can fail to see the close similarity between the Mahendrataṭāka inscription of Pallava Mahendravarman and similar inscription of another Mahendravarman also pertaining to a reservoir of water, Śaṅkarataṭāka, in identical script from Cambodia, preserved in the National Museum of Bangkok, all nearly of the same date.

A really interesting and revealing inscription is the long *Praśasti* of Śivasoma, the royal priest, which describes him as the devout pupil of Bhagavatpāda Śaṅkarācārya at whose feet at Kāñcī, he had studied the Śāstras : *yenādhītāni śāstrāṇi bhagavac-Chaṅkarāhvayāt niśśeṣa-suri-murdhāli-mālālīḍhāṅghrī-paṅkajāt.*

Another fragmentary inscription, an earlier one from Cambodia, mentions the close contact with Kāñcī as seen in the words : *ākāñcīpura*. Kāñcī was a great seat of learning, mentioned even by the great grammarian Patañjali himself in the 2nd century B.C., and resorted to by very earnest scholars like the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, Mayūraśarman, who had repaired to the *ghaṭika* at Kāñcī for perfecting his education at the highest level. It is no wonder Śivasoma and probably several others like him flocked from distant islands to study at the feet of renowned masters like Bhagavatpāda Śaṅkara himself as the inscription vividly puts it.

India's Language and Script were the Golden Links between Asian Countries

The language and script travelled together. The role of Brāhmī in India till its latest phase in the sixth century has been very great. If it was a great unifying factor in the main land, it was even more so in other parts of Asia. If Gupta script found its way to Central Asia and Tibet, Vākāṭaka, Pallava and Cāḷukyan and still earlier versions from the Kṛṣṇa valley and the extreme end of the peninsula enriched the palaeography of Burma, Ceylon, Campā, Annam, Cambodia, Malaya, Java, Bali and Borneo. (For part I see figure 1).

II

India and Central Asia

Even before the commencement of the Christian era Indian culture spread to Eastern Turkistan or Central Asia.[1] Although the primary inspiration of the intercourse between India and China, two ancient civilizations of the Orient, was trade and commerce, missionary activity and culture also travelled along the Silk Route and explorations have actually revealed flourishing cities along the route with rich sanctuaries and elements of culture which are surprisingly Indian in flavour and content. The Silk Route bifurcated near Kashgar and the two arteries respectively coursing to the north and south of the inhospitable Taklamakan Desert, converged on the Chinese frontier at Tu-men-Kuang (the Jade Gate), not far from Tun-huang. Along the two routes have been explored ruined cities where Indians settled and lived their own life introducing their art, religion, script, language and even their social and political organization. The principal Indian colonies on the southern route have been identified at Kashgar (Śaila-deśa), Yarkand (Chokkuka), Khotan (Khotaṃna), Niya, Dandan-oilik, Endere, Lou-lan and Miran, while those on the northern route were located at Aqsu (Bharuka), Kucha (Kuchi), Qara Shahr (Agni-deśa) and Turfan, etc. Buddhism was the prevailing religion as is shown by the discovery of not only copious images and remains of hundreds of Buddhist shrines, stūpas and monasteries of designs inspired by India, but also by many Buddhist texts written in Sanskrit, Prakrit or local languages, largely in the Indian scripts, Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī. Sanskrit dramas and texts on medicine, astronomy and astrology, written in Brāhmī, have also been discovered in Central Asia. Besides, hundreds of cocuments of administrative, commercial, legal and miscellaneous kinds, drafted in Sanskrit, Prakrit or Central Asian dialects, and written in the Indian scripts, as well as complete alphabets of the Brāhmī script have also been found from Central Asian sites, attesting a deep and abiding impact of Indian culture. (See figure 2).

We shall review below the Indian contacts of the more important Central Asian sites.

Khotan : There is a strong tradition that the ruling family of Khotan migrated from India and introduced Indian culture and civilization in that region in the first century A.D. This process was facilitated by the strong organization of the vast Kuṣāṇa empire which stretched from the Gangetic plains to the borders of Central Asia. After the foundation of the Indian kingdom of Khotan the throne of Khotan was occupied, according to the Chinese and Tibetan annals, by a long succession of kings whose names began with 'Vijita'. The first of these was Vijita-sambhava who introduced Buddhism into Khotan and was followed by thirteen kings ending with Vijita-kīrti, who was a powerful king reputed to have carried arms into India in the third century A.D. No details are available about the next ten or eleven generations when Khotan appears to have had alien rule of the Hephthalites and the Western Turks. Vijita-saṃgrāma is said to have freed the kingdom from the oppression of the Turks and sent envoys to the Chinese court in A.D. 632 and 635. He was succeeded by Vijita-siṃha who also had close diplomatic relations with China and received the Chinese pilgrim Heiun Tsang when he visited Khotan during his return journey. The 'Vijita' dynasty ruled for at least another century, its last king being Vijita-bohan or Visavaham whose name occurs in two Central Asian documents in the Indian script.

Khotan was the greatest centre of Buddhist religion and learning in Central Asia. Glowing accounts have been left by the Chinese pilgrims, Fahien and Hiuen Tsang, of the flourishing condition of Buddhism in Khotan which was dotted with hundreds of Buddhist shrines and monasteries, each inhabited by numerous monks who were known for their learning, piety and exemplary decorum. These monks had live contacts with Buddhist scholars of India in general and Kashmir in particular and engaged themselves in studying Buddhist works and translating them from Sanskrit. Four monasteries were better known of which the most renowned was the Gomatī-Vihāra having three thousand monks. Many Indians lived there and the learned scholars of the Gomatī-Vihāra composed texts which were considered almost canonical and attracted students from China who flocked there for higher studies instead of proceeding to India.

Fahien has stated that the royal family and the people of Khotan were all Buddhists and each family had its own domestic chapel with a stūpa. There was an annual car-festival which was celebrated as a national event for fourteen days, each day being allotted to a monastery when it took out its images in procession. Fahien also mentions the king's New Monastery which was one of the grandest monasteries of Central Asia, constructed in eighty years, and for which six kings of Eastern Turkistan had contributed all their valuables.

From a site near Khotan comes the text of the *Dhammapada* written on the birch-bark in the Kharoṣṭhī script of the 1st–2nd century A.D. in the Prakrit language. The ancient sites at and near Khotan have also yielded Khotanese texts of *Vajracchedikā-Prajñāpāramitā* and *Aparimitāyuḥ-Sūtra*, two important Buddhist texts, besides quite a few fragments in the late Gupta script.[2]

Kucha : Kucha (ancient Kuchi) was the leading Indian colony on the northern route, corresponding to Khotan on the southern. Its kings had Indian names, such as Haripuṣpa, Suvarṇapuṣpa, Haradeva, Suvarṇadeva, etc. The local culture being predominantly Buddhist, the place teemed with Buddhist shrines and monasteries of which abundant remains have been traced. Like art and architecture, the local literature and curriculum also followed the Indian model. Sanskrit was methodically taught in the monastic schools of Kucha. After learning the Brāhmī alphabet, of which complete tables have been recovered in fair number, a student had to study Sanskrit grammar according to the Kātantra system and then learnt to translate Sanskrit into Kuchean. We have extensive literature, both religious and secular, translated from the Sanskrit original into Kuchean or Tokharian, which is a language belonging to the Indo-European family. The *Udānavarga* which is an important text of the Sarvāstivāda School of Buddhism is an example of a religious book thus rendered from Sanskrit into Kuchean. From Mingoi near Kucha have been discovered fragmentary Sanskrit texts written in the early Brāhmī script of the 2nd century A.D. Another site near Kucha has yielded the famous Bower Manuscripts containing three medical treatises, besides other texts written in Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit in the Brāhmī script of the early 6th century A.D.

Kuchi was also an important centre for the propagation of Buddhism in other lands including China. Kumārajīva, born of an Indian father and a Kuchean mother, was a renowned Buddhist scholar and missionary of Kucha, who played a pioneering role in the spread of Buddhism. He was invited to China where he translated more than a hundred Sanskrit texts into Chinese and did yeomans service in interpreting Mahāyāna philosophy in China.

The kingdom of Kucha, according to the Chinese chronicles, had 10000 Buddhist stūpa and temples and numerous monasteries and nunneries in the fourth century A.D. Hiuen Tsang records that Kucha had a hundred monasteries housing more than 5000 monks who studied the original Indian texts and followed the Indian doctrines and rules of monastic discipline. He adds that every five years a religious assembly was held in front of two colossal images of Buddha outside the capital town for ten days and the event was celebrated as a national festival.

Religious processions were also a regular feature of Kucha as of Khotan. Further, we learn from Hiuen-Tsang and other Chinese sources that the Kucheans were extremely fond of Indian music and musicians. Kucha thus loomed large as a veritable outpost of Indian culture.[3]

Qara Shahr (Agni-deśa) was another prominent Indian colony on the northern route and a leading centre for the propagation of Buddhism in other countries including China. Its rulers bore Indian names such as Indrārjuna, Chandrārjuna, etc. The Buddhist site of Khora near Qara Shahr has yielded Sanskrit texts of the *Śatapañcāśatāka* and the *Catuḥśataka*, two important and internationally popular *stotras* by Mātṛceṭa, written in the Gupta Brāhmī characters.

Bezeklik, situated not far from Qara Shahr, was another Buddhist centre with hundreds of shrines containing elaborate wall-paintings. Some of the paintings represent Indian monks in yallow robes with names writtên in Brāhmī.

The Indian colony of Turfan, situated further east was also an important Buddhist centre. From Turfan have been discovered three Sanskrit dramas, by the celebrated Buddhist author Aśvaghoṣa written in the Brāhmī script of the first century A.D. These are the earliest known Sanskrit dramas fully conforming to the rules and techniques of Indian dramaturgy.[4] The three dramas are fragmentary and appear in the same palm-leaf manuscript and only one of them, viz. the *Śāriputra-prakaraṇa* records the name of the author in the colophon. All the three are Buddhist in theme and aim at religious edification and in two of them, viz. the *Śāriputra-prakaraṇa* and the allegorical drama the Buddha appears in person. The *Śāriputra-prakaraṇa* as well as the last drama introduce the familar Vidūṣaka speaking Prakrit, while the latter also brings in the Hetaera and the Duṣṭa (rogue) as characters and includes the scenes of drive in vehicles and picnic-party *(samāja)* as in the later Sanskrit dramas like the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

Turfan has also yielded the important Buddhist text of *Kalpanāmaṇḍatikā* written in chaste Sanskrit in the early Gupta Brāhmī script.

Chien-fo-tung (the Caves of Thousand Buddhas), excavated in the slopes of the Nan Shan mountains are embellished with a remarkable series of wall-paintings dating from the seventh to tenth centuries A.D. Numerous important Buddhist texts written in the Brāhmī script of the Kuṣāṇa to Late Gupta times come from this unique Buddhist site and the neighbouring site of Tun-huang. The *Udānavarga*, which was a highly popular canonical Buddhist work of the Sarvāstivāda School, was known from translations into Chinese, Tibetan and other languages until fragments of its Sanskrit original were found in Central Asia of which the oldest has been traced from Tun-huang in the Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī characters. Tun-huang has also yielded Khotanese versions of the *Vajracchedikā-Prajñāpāramitā* and the *Aparimitāyuḥ-Sūtra*, besides fragments of the Sanskrit original of Mātṛceṭa's *Śatapañcāśataka-stotra*, written in the Gupta Brāhmī script.[5]

Shen-shen, situated near Lop Nor at the eastern extremity of Central Asia is described by Fahien as a flourishing Buddhist centre with numerous Buddhist temples and monasteries inhabited by more than four thousand Buddhist monks who all studied Indian books and the Sanskrit language and followed the monastic rules of India somewhat loosely. This picture holds good also for Aqsu (Bharuka), Yen-ki, etc. on the northern route and for Kashgar (Śaila-deśa), Yarkand (Chokkuka), Domoko, Niya, Dandan-oilik, Endere, Lou-lan, Rawak and Miran, etc. on the southern route in Central Asia. The literary, artistic and architectural remains found in the numerous sites of Central Asia attest the strong impact of Indian Culture in its varied aspects.

India and Tibet

Tibet owes much of its religious, artistic and literary inspiration to India. According to Tibetan tradition its first royal dynasty had Indian origin, but the real contact with Indian culture started in the time of its powerful and distinguished ruler Srong-tsan-gampo, the founder of the capital city of Lhasa (639 A.D.). He introduced Buddhism into Tibet in which he was helped by his two devout Buddhist queens, one a Chinese princess and the other, a daughter of king Aṃśuvarman of Nepal. For this supreme gift the grateful posterity deified them and revered them as incarnations respectively of Avalokiteśvara, Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī. Srong-tsan-gampo built hundreds of Buddhist shrines and monasteries and imported sacred relics and images from both India and China. But his greatest contribution to Tibet was the introduction of alphabet and grammar for which we may quote below the account preserved in the Tibetan annals :

"The king clearly saw that a written language was most essential to the establishment of religion, and more particularly to the institution of laws for the good of the people. He therefore sent Sambhota, with sixteen companions, to study carefully the Sanskrit language and thereby obtain access to the sacred literature of the Indian Buddhists. He also instructed them to devise means for the invention of a written language for Tibet by adapting the Sanskrit alphabet to the phonetic peculiarities of the Tibetan dialect. He furnished the members of the mission with a large quantity of gold to make presents to the Professors.

"Sambhota and his companions reached India and acquired a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit language, Buddhist scriptures, and Indian scripts. After returning to Tibet they framed the system of Tibetan characters and composed a grammatical work. The king ordered the intelligent class of people to be taught the art of reading and writing and many Sanskrit Buddhist books to be translated into Tibetan. He then required all his subjects by royal edicts to observe the ten virtues besides a code of sixteen moral virtues specified by him."[6]

It is thus clear that the Tibetan script is modelled after the late Gupta script of the seventh century. The present Tibetan grammar is also almost the same as was devised by Sambhota on the Indian pattern. The Tibetan literature was enriched by translation of not only all the standard Buddhist texts, both canonical and expository, but by the rendering of the cream of Sanskrit literature, as will be evident from the known Tibetan translations of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*, the lexicon *Amarakośa*, Vāgbhata's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛadya* and many works on grammar and Nītiśāstra. It redounds to the credit of Tibetan scholarship that they translated even the formidable and abstruse grammar of Pāṇini, which no other Asian country dared to attempt. The work of translation of Buddhist literature, started in the time of Srong-tsan-gampo, continued for centuries with the active collaboration of the Tibetan scholars and eminent Indian Pandits including Padmasambhava and Atiśa (11th century) and embodied in the two great collections known as the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur*, which are veritable mines of literary works. The *Kanjur* is a collection of 1114 canonical Buddhist texts, containing mostly the teachings and sermons of the Buddha and the *Vinaya* rules, while the Tanjur comprises as many as 3559 books dealing largely with Buddhist treatises and expositions and including subjects as varied as history, language, logic, medicine, arts and crafts. The supreme importance of the *Kanjur* and *Tanjur* lies in the fact that most of the original Sanskrit texts being lost, they are the only repositories of the knowledge of the lost treatises.[7]

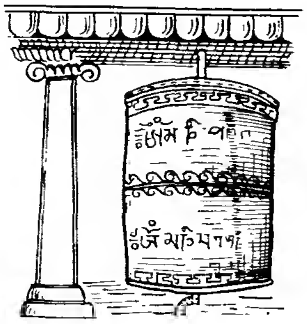
India and Countries of the Far East

Tibet was an important centre for the propagation of Buddhism, Indian script and literature in countries of the Far East, some of which also received these influences direct from India. By the order of Kublai Khan, the great Mongolian emperor of the 13th century, the Tibetan script was modified and adopted as the official script of his vast empire. Mongolia and Manchuria also enriched their culture by rendering into their dialects Tibetan translations of many Sanskrit works including Pāṇini's grammatical aphorisms.

The great Buddhist savant of India Bodhisena was specially invited to Japan where he was appointed the head of the Buddhist order and was called the Baramon Sojo (Brāhmaṇa Bishop). He taught Sanskrit and the Mahāyāna doctrine of *Gaṇḍavyūha* in three different monasteries of Japan until his death in 760 A.D. The arrangement of Japanese syallabary in fifty letters following the Sanskrit alphabet, traditionally credited to Bodhisena, is certainly due to cultural intercourse with India which is demonstrated more vividly by the find in Japan of fragments of Sanskrit manuscripts written in the fourth century Brāhmī and the more important palmleaf Sanskrit manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* from Horyuji monastery, written in the Brāhmī script of the 6th century A.D.[8]

India and Nepal

India is closest to her northern neighbour, Nepal, historically, culturally and traditionally as well as geographically. Lumbinī and Kapilavastu, the birth place and the native capital town of the Buddha, are situated in the Nepal Tarai, the former place having been visited by Aśoka the Great, who set up an inscribed pillar to commemorate his pilgrimage to the holy spot. Buddhism was carried to Nepal by the missionaries of Aśoka, one of whose daughters, Cārumatī is traditionally believed to have settled down in Nepal and lived in a monastery at Chabel (Cāru-vihāra) said to have been built by her. Patan has the earliest stūpas of Nepal, which are traditionally attributed to Aśoka and may well date from his times. Although Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the Nepal Valley, it has been deeply influenced by Śaivism and Śāktism which are reflected in her religion, philosophy, art and iconography. Nepal provided haven of refuge to the Buddhist monks of Bihar and Bengal on the dispersal of the Buddhist centres there following the Muslim invasions, with the result that the monks came in large numbers with their precious cargo of images and manuscripts which enriched the art and literature of Nepal. Henceforth Nepal became an important centre of Buddhist art and learning and has preserved numerous Mahāyāna Sanskrit texts like the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* of which the originals are lost in India. Like her art and religion, Nepalese language and script have also been profoundly influenced by India. The dynastic, social and religious history of Nepal between the fifth and the eight centuries A.D. rests on the solid foundation of hundreds of Sanskrit inscriptions written in beautiful Gupta-Brāhmī characters. In fact, Nepal has preserved more numerous Gupta-Brāhmī inscriptions than even India, which indeed speaks volumes for the vitality of Indian culture.



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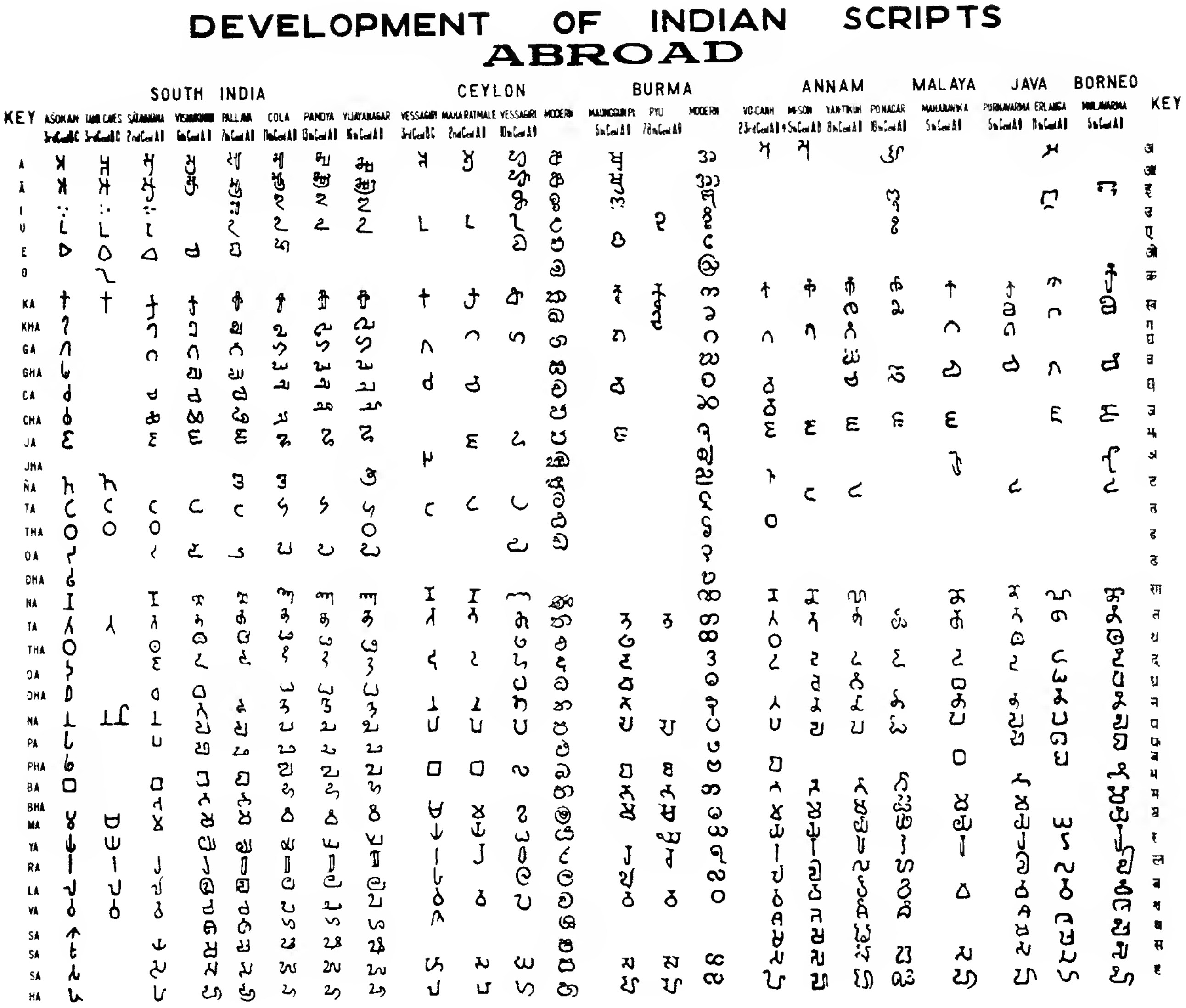
DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN SCRIPTS ABROAD
SOUTH INDIA
CEYLON
BURMA
ANNAM
MALAYA
JAVA
BORNEO
KEY
AŚOKAN
TAMIL CAVES
SĀTAVAHANA
VISHNUKUNDI
PALLAVA
COLA
PANDYA
VIJAYANAGAR
VESSAGIRI
MAHARATMALE
VESSAGIRI
MODERN
MAUNGGUN PL
PYU
MODERN
VO-CANH
MI-SON
YAN-TIKUH
PO NAGAR
MAHANAVIKA
PURNAVARMA
ERLANGA
MULAVARMA
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FIG 1

DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN SCRIPTS ABROAD

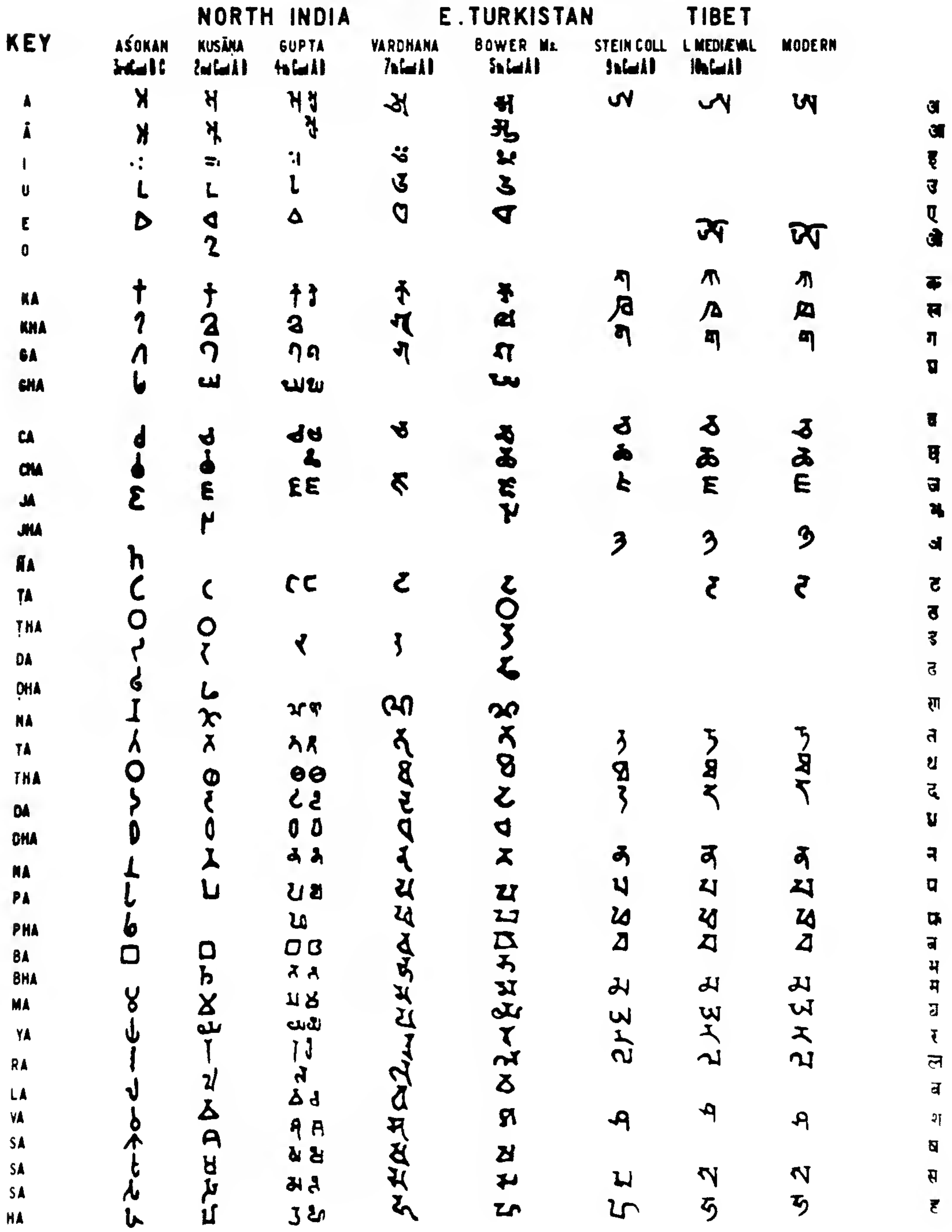
NORTH INDIA
E.TURKISTAN
TIBET
KEY
AŚOKAN 3rd Cent B.C
KUSĀNA 2nd Cent A.D
GUPTA 4th Cent A.D
VARDHANA 7th Cent A.D
BOWER Ms. 5th Cent A.D
STEIN COLL. 9th Cent A.D
L.MEDIÆVAL 10th Cent A.D
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FIG. 2.

Hindu Sculptures in Ancient Afghanistan

P. BANERJEE

and

R. C. AGRAWALA

THE HISTORY OF Afghanistan, situated in the heart of Central Asia, is a fascinating study and it is of special importance to us as Afghanistan formed part of ancient India both culturally and politically. The object of this paper is to bring to light this aspect of the history of Afghanistan.

India and Afghanistan in Protohistoric Times

As the archaeological researches show, Afghanistan passed through different stages of cultural evolution from the Stone Age to Bronze Age. Protohistoric sites with similar cultural traits have been found both in Afghanistan and on the Indian soil. Terracottas, kiln-baked bricks, decorated pottery, jewellery, mother-goddess figurines, etc. found in the excavations of Mundigak, resemble those from the Indus Valley and several other Harappan sites.

Vedic References Prove that Afghanistan was the Cradle of Early Aryans

Afghanistan and north-western India can be considered to be the cradle of early Aryan civilization. The Ṛgvedic hymns would show that while the early Aryans largely settled in the territory of the Punjab watered by the Vitasta (Jhelum), the Asikni (the Chenab), the Paruṣṇi (the Ravi), the Vipāśā (the Beas) and the Śatudri (the Sutlej), some of the Vedic people occupied also the farther side of the Indus i.e. from 'the Kubha (Kabul) with its main affluent to the north, the Suvastu, "river of fair dwellings" (now Swat) to the Krumu and Gomati, "abounding in cows" (now Gomal), farther South'.

The *Ṛgveda* speaks of the *Sapta-saindhava*, which meant the above five Punjab rivers and the Indus and Kabul rivers. The same expression (*hapta hindu* occurs also in the *Avesta*, though here it is restricted to only that part of "Indian territory that lay in Eastern Kabulistan."

Again, to show the position of Afghanistan in relation to India, we may refer to the fact that some of the Vedic Chiefs who settled in the Hindukush took part in the battle of the 'Ten Kings' (a coalition of ten kings against Sudāsa, chief of the Tritsus) fought on the bank of the Parushni. Of these, the Alinas perhaps belonged to the north-east of modern Kafiristan, while the Bhalanases and the Pakhts to the region of the Bolan Pass.[2]

In the Later Vedic Period also Afghanistan not out of India

The later Indian literature including the Yāska's *Nirukta*, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini* (who was a Śālāturīya) and the *Mahābhārata* throw considerable light on the people of Gandhāra[3] and Afghanistan (Pakhtan and Balkh).[4] During the Mahābhārata War, the Bahlika, Kamboja and Gandhāra people, among others, joined the Kaurava side. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the Bahlikas are said to be the people of the west of the Punjab while the Kamboja country is identified by certain scholars with Badak-shan, which was an important Aryan settlement. The teachers of Kamboja were known for Vedic learning.[5]

Culturally Afghanistan Formed Part of India in Early Historical Times

The Achaemenian occupation of Afghanistan (6th-5th centuries B.C.) brought India into closer contacts with the West, especially with Iran which was another stronghold of the Aryans. It is well known that the Indians, along with the Bactrians and Soghdians, fought on behalf of the House of the Achaemenians against the Macedonian invaders, in 330 B.C. The Persian conquests, referred to above, spread the.use of Aramaic script and knowledge of the Iranian system of book-keeping and architecture in Afghanistan and India. Scholars have not only noticed affinities between Iranian and Indian architecture but have also suggested that the Kharoṣṭhī script is based on Perso-Aramaic script or writing system.

The Achaemenian supermacy in Afghanistan came to an end with the invasions of the land, by Alexander (who inflicted a crushing defeat on the ill-fated Darius III (at the memorable field of Arbela). Many Alexandrias were established in Afghanistan where the Greeks took their abode. Among these Greek colonies, the important are Alexandria under the Caucasus (modern Charikar to the north of Kabul) and Nicasa (somewhere between Charikar and the Kabul river).

Alexander's invasion further strengthened the commercial and cultural ties between India, Afghanistan and the mediterranean world. Further, from the narrative of Alexander's campaign we learn that an Indian chief called Sisykattos (Sasigupta) ruled over a small principality in the Hindukush and the Indian tribes Aspasioi and Assakenoi (Assakas) were in occupation of the rough and inhospitable hilly country watered by the rivers Kunar, Panjkora, and Swat of the present times. "The Greek records inform us at the same time of a number of Indian place names belonging to the tract of country west of the Indus. Such are the river Souastos and Gouraios identified respectively with the Suvastu and Gauri and the town Peukalaotis which is a Greek transliteration of the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit Puṣkarāvatī. The continued existence of Indian place-names in this region is attested, from the second century after Christ, by the geographer Ptolemy who mentions the district of Souastene below the sources of Souastos and that of Goryaia below the Lambatai. Both the Suvastu and the Gauri, it may be mentioned, occur in juxtaposition in a long list of river-names in the Mahābhārata."[6] From this it is clear that in spite of Greek advance or during the Greek advance Indian territorial boundaries included several parts of Afghanistan.

Mauryan Period

The Greek dominion in India was brought to an end by Chandragupta Maurya. He defeated Seleukos, Alexander's successor in West Asia. The latter concluded a treaty by surrendering the provinces of Paropanisadi, Areia and Arachosia to the Indian emperor. These territories appear to have been included also in the far-flung kingdom of Aśoka. According to his inscriptions he sent his *dharma-mahāmātras* also to his dominion among the Yavanas and Kambojas and the rest. It is also interesting to note that Aśoka's inscriptions in Greek and Aramaic scripts have been found in Afghanistan. After the death of Aśoka, the tract to the south of Hindukush was ruled (about 206 B.C.) by the Indian king Subhagasena.

During the Indo-Greek Period Indian Culture Remained Intact

The Greek power asserted itself again in Afghanistan with the decline of the power of the Imperial Mauryas. Between 206 and 190 B.C. Euthydemos, the King of Bactria, and his famous son Demetrius I conquered the Kabul valley along with Arachosia and the Punjab. Eucratides, rival of the house of Euthydemos, not only conquered Bactria, but also Kapiśā and Gandhāra. During the subsequent centuries also, a greater part of Afghanistan came successively into the possession of the Sákas, Parthians, the Indo-Scythic people including the Kuṣāṇas, the Sassanians, the Kidara Kuṣāṇas and the Hepthalites or white Huṇas.

In spite of the foreign occupation of Afghanistan during all these centuries, Indian traditions continued to flourish there without any break. Some of the Greek kings, as is well known, issued coins, having Greek legend on the obverse and Prakrit legend in Kharoṣṭhi script on the reverse. The coins of Agathocles and Panthaleon show not only the use of Prakrit legends but also Brāhmī script. An interesting type of coins of Eucratides contain the legend *Kavisiye-nagaradevatā* in Kharoṣṭhī.[7]

Again on certain coins of Eucratides, Antialkidas and some other Indo-Greek kings we find the figure of an enthroned deity with the figure of an elephant or a forepart of an elephant with its trunk upraised in front of it. A particular type of coins of Antialkidas shows the same deity walking by the side of the elephant. This deity also finds representation on some of the coins of Maues. Here he is shown as placing his hand on the head of a personified vajra (the thunder bolt).[8] According to some scholars, these devices were adopted to represent Indra who was easily identified by the Greeks with their Zeus on the basis of an explicit statement in the *Mahāmāyurī* as well as on the observations of Hiuen T'sang, it may be said that Indra was the tutelary deity of Svetavatalaya or Indrapura, a locality in the neighbourhood of ancient Kapiśā.[9] Again the worship of Lakṣmī in the ancient Indo-Afghan region can be presumed from the occurrence of a female figure or the so-called dancing girl (with ear-ornaments and oriental trousers on the coins of Agathocles and Pantaleon) identified by Coomaraswami as Lakṣmī. Śiva (Dionysus) was also worshipped in the region as the accounts of Megasthenes would tend to show. The numismatic evidence would also point to the fact that the god was worshipped in the form of a bull during the Indo-Greek times.

Śiva also appears on certain coins of Gondopharnes and Maues. The epithet 'deva' on the coins of Gondopharnes is significant. The word 'deva' is likely to mean here 'Śiva' only. As an analogy we may cite here Hiuen-Tsang's reference in his *Si-yu-ki* to a Śiva temple outside the gate of the city of Puṣkalāvatī, simply as a 'Deva' temple. Most of the authorities agree that 'deva' here stands for 'Śiva'.

The Kuṣhāṇas kept Afghanistan one with India, Culturally and Politically

The Kuṣāṇa occupation of Afghanistan (about 50 A.D.) and also of northern India is of utmost significance as during their (Kuṣāṇa) rule India's culture, religion and art spread extensively to the West Asia, Central Asia and China. During this time both Śaivism and Buddhism were equally popular in north-western parts of India and Afghanistan. Siva appears in various forms and with various attributes on Kuṣāṇa money. Vima Kadphises issued an extensive gold and copper coinage of beautiful workmanship. On the obverse of his coins he is described as a devotee of Śiva, while on the reverse there is a two-handed Śiva figure leaning against a bull. On the coins of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka, there appear the two-handed and four-handed forms of Śiva. Some of their coins also contain representations of Umā (Śiva's consort) and his son, Skanda-Kumāra, Mahāsena and Viṣākha. It may be mentioned here that in Kunduz has been found a figure of Śiva (1st–2nd century A.D.) with four-arms and three heads, and the deity wears a lion skin.[10] It is quite possible that this type of Śiva figure migrated later to Eastern Turkistan as is evident by the occurrence of three-headed and four-armed figures of Śiva on Dandan-Uliq wooden panels.[11]

Further, during the Kuṣāṇa rule (early centuries of the Christian era) Afghanistan witnessed many flourishing centres of Buddhism and Buddhist art (closely affiliated to Gandhāra style) at Bimaran, near Jelalabad, Begram, Hadda, Shotorak and Paitava, Kunduz, and Bamiyan (of the later Kuṣāṇa and the Sassanian times). The Kuṣāṇa art traditions also continued later on as is attested by the finds of Fondukistan, etc.

Kaniṣka was a great patron of Buddhism. Under his patronage Buddhism was not only firmly established in Afghanistan, but found way also to Eastern Turkestan. It is needless to refer here to the well-known Buddhist sculptures, stūpas and monasteries of Kuṣāṇa times in Afghanistan, but for the sake of convenience mention should be made of the activities of certain distinguished monks of Tochārestan, namely Ghoṣaka, Dharmamitra, Lokakṣema, Dharmarakṣa, etc., during the early centuries of the Christian era. Ghoshaka took an active part in the compilation of *Vibhāṣa*, a commentary on the *Abhidharmapiṭaka* of the Sarvāstivāda School. He is also the author of an original text like the *Abhidharmamṛta*.[12] The importance of Balkh as an important Vaibhāṣika centre is also known from other sources including the fact that Āryacandra, who to his credit translated the *Maitreya Samiti* was a Vaibhāṣika. Further Ācārya Dharmamitra who composed the *Vinaya-sūtra-ṭīkā* was also a native of Tochārestan. Another Tukhara monk of rare learning was Lokakṣema who went to Loyang in 147 A.D. and translated some of the most important Buddhist texts into Chinese. The Monk Dharmarakṣa of Tukhara settled in Tun-huang in the third century A.D. He knew thirty-six languages and translated 200 Buddhist texts into Chinese. This shows that the Ancient Afghanistan, during the early centuries of the Christian era, was a very important centre of Buddhist learning[13] and culturally it formed part of India.

Thus, during the Kuṣāṇa rule the intercourse between India, Afghanistan and neighbouring countries increased. As a result of the active use of the trade route connecting China with the West and also India through Afghanistan, the merchants, preachers and artists from different regions came into close contacts with one another.[14] Afghanistan became the meeting place of different cultures and races.

Afghanistan Remained with India Even in Early Post-Gupta Period

During the later part of the sixth century, Western Turks appeared on the political scene of Afghanistan and all the dominion enjoyed by the white Hūṇas came to their possessions. At the time of Hiuen-Tsang's visit in 633 A.D. "the vast country of Tu-ho-lo (Tokhara) extending from Karakorum to Persia and from the celebrate defile of the Iron Gates to Hindukuśa was divided into twenty-seven states, all subject to the Turks."

The Western Turks were tolerant in their religious outlook; Zoroastriansism, Nestorian Christianity and Buddhism, all found support from them. In 626 Shir-hu-Kagan warmly received Prabhākaramitra and his companions on their way to China. A few years later he gave a warm welcome also to Hiuen-Tsang and arranged his safe journey to India. Hiuen-Tsang supplies us with an interesting account of the condition of Buddhism in Tocharestan in the seventh century A.D. During this time every state in Tocharestan possessed some Buddhist monasteries: "In Termez there were 10 monasteries with 1000 monks, in Gaz about 10 monasteries with about 100 monks and in Kunduz also about 10 monasteries with a few hundred monks.[16] Kunduz had both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna sects, while in Gaz there were only Hīnayānists of the Sarvāstivāda school. Andarab had monasteries of the Mahā-Sanghikā school. The most important Buddhist centre was, however, Balkh with the Navasanghārāma monastery which was destroyed by the Arabs in the end of the seventh century. The teachers of this monastery were known for their knowledge of the *Śāstras*.

In Kunduz Hiuen-Tsang met the great Buddhist teacher Dharmasimha. He was a great law-maker (*fa-tsang*) and an important scholar of the *Vibhāsa*. The Buddhists of all countries, including Kashgar and Khotan, held him in high esteem.

The Glorious Fight that the Hindu Shāhi Kings Gave to Muslim Invaders

The history of Afghanistan took a sudden turn with the advance of the Arabs and the propagation of Islam which gradually eliminated the earlier cultures of the land. The Muslim rulers launched expedition against the Hindu Shāhī dynasties of Kabul. The history of the Kabul Shāhī kings is replete with strenuous fights to keep India free from Muslim invasion for 150 years. It is a different matter that sometimes they were badly defeated since at least upto 1000 A.D. they could not be removed from the scene.

Afghanistan Remained with India till about 1000 A.D.

In 631 A.D. at Nehawand, the Arabs, followers of Mohammed, brought the Persian empire to an end. In 652, they occupied Khorasan and in 658 Kizkanan (modern Kalat). Kabul was invaded by them in 664. As some scholars hold, Ratnapāla, the Buddhist ruler checked temporarily the Arab invasion. With this, however, ensured a protracted struggle between the Muhammadans and the Hindus. For a long time neither side gained any decisive victory. It appears from the account of wars in Siestan that the Ranbils or Ratnapālas were the rulers of Kabul till 866. But the history of Kashmir would show that in 883 the Ratnapāla dynasty no longer existed and the Hindu Shāhī dynasty founded by Brāhmana Kallar or Lalliya came to power.

The events of history would show that Lalliya came to power sometime between 866-883. During the period the Buddhist rulers of Kabul lost their power. Another important event during this time was the raid of Kabul by the Saffarid Yakub. As a result of this Lalliya had to transfer his capital from Kabul to Udabhanda, on the right bank of Sindhu, fifteen miles above Attock. Lalliya was, however, a brave king and his achievements have been highly praised by Kalhana.

Jaipāla, The Last Great Hindu King of Afghanistan

After Lalliya's death the throne seems to have been occupied by Samanta. He was, however, deposed by the king of Kashmir and a new king, Toramāṇa or Kamaluka was placed on the throne of Udabhanda. Kamaluka was succeeded by Bhīma. The next king, according to Muslim Chronicles, was Jaipāla, who probably ascended the throne about 975 A.D. He annexed the kingdom of Lohur in 999 A.D., and he ruled over a vast empire from Sirhind to Lamghan (or Laghman) and from Kashmir borders to Multan. Thus his kingdom included the western Punjab, the North-Western Frontier Province and Eastern Afghanistan. Jayapāla's position was, however, soon assailed by the Muslim dynasty established in Ghazni. The history of Jayapāla and his successors is the history of the long drawn struggle against the Ghaznavides.[17]

Sabuk-tgin ascended the throne of Ghazni in 997, and soon after his accession he conquered Bust, Dawar, Quesdar, Bamiyan, Turkistan and Ghur and also led an expedition against the

Shāhīs of Udabhanda. According to some authorities, these military campaigns were looked upon as holy wars for propagation of Islam. Shāhī Jayapāla organised his army and met Sabuk-tgin and his son Mahmud between Lamghan and Gazni. In spite of initial victories, Jayapāla lost the battle. Lamghan was annexed by Sabuk-tgin. As a brave king Jayapāla made again a dertermined effort to regain his lost territory but this time also victory eluded him.

On Sabuk-tgin's death Mahmud ascended the throne of Ghazni in 997 A.D. He led an expedition against India in 1000 A.D. and occupied some fortresses in Peshawar. Jayapāla organised a huge army to meet the challenge, but his army was routed and he was taken a prisoner. On his release he burnt himself to death to get rid of the humiliation of defeats.[18] Thus came to an end the career of a great fighter, king and patriot who made determined efforts, though without success, to prevent the onsluaughts of Islam into the heart of India.

Jayapāla's son, Anandapāla also opposed Mahmud several times but was defeated. Convinced of the futility of further opposition, he entered into a treaty with Mahmud. After Anandapāla's death Mahmud renewed his hostilities against his son Trilochanapāla. Trilochana's son, Bhimapāla opposed the invading army but met with a defeat. Mahmud occupied the western and central portions of the Shāhī kingdom.

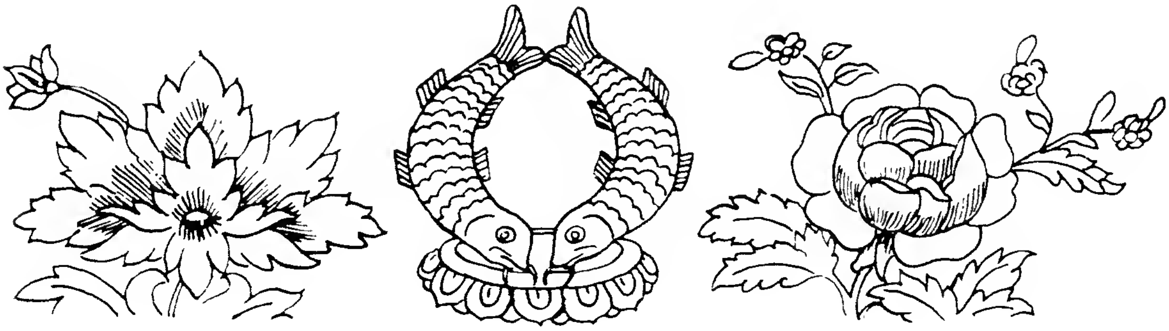
A Plea for Reassessing the History of Hindu Afghanistan

The history of the Hindu Shāhī kings is one of great valour and tenacity. Though ultimately defeated, they have left examples of great patriotism and untold sacrifices and sufferings to save the honour of the motherland against heavy onslaughts of the Ghazhnavides.

During the rule of the Hindu Shāhīs a vigorous school of Hindu art flourished in Kabul and neighbouring sites. As is well known, some very interesting Śaivite antiquities, attributable to the seventh-eighth century have come to light from Tagao, Gardez and other places during the last forty years. They bear clear influence of the classical Gupta and Kashmir style.

Among these antiquities, mention may be made of a head of Śiva, and Durgā overcoming Mahiṣāsura (Gardez), the Sun-god Sūrya and a Gaṇeśa image from Khair Khaneh near Kabul.[19] They are all made of white marble and doubtlessly specimens of good workmanship.

Thus the archaeological and literary sources would show that Afghanistan formed, during the early and medieval periods, part of India—a fact which people have almost forgotten now.



II

India's cultural contacts with the neighbouring region of Afghanistan are very well known to every student of ancient Indian History. Enough literature has been published about the impact of Buddhism and Buddhist art in that region. It is now proposed to present a brief survey of some ancient Hindu sculptures discovered in Afghanistan.

Śiva

The cult of Śiva was very popular in ancient Kāpiśi[1] (modern Kafiristan) and the Gandhāra region. Rudra was worshipped in the Mūjavanta Pradeśa (i.e. modern Munjāna) to the south of Vaṅkṣu river. According to a passage in the *Yajurveda* (III, 61), Rudra, who is closely associated with skin garments, serpents, bow, etc., is asked to move across the Mūjavanta. In the *Atharvaveda*, the Great Bull of Śiva finds its association with this region. The Greek authors mention 'Dionysos' as the Indian god of mountains (including the Afghan mountains) which lead the scholars to suggest with sufficient justification that Dionysos is identical with Girīśa, i.e., Śiva.

FIG. 1 *Head of Śiva from Kotal Khera Khana Afghanistan*

The Indo-Parthian king Gondopharnes was a Śaiva by faith because we notice not only the figure of Śiva on his coins but also because he is described as *Devavrata* Dr. V. S. Pathak,[2] equates this title on the coins of Gondopharnes with the technical term *Mahāvrata*, denoting the 'vow of the Kāpālikas' a sect of the Śaiva pantheon. If this suggestion carries any weight, then we may trace the order of the Kāpālikas to the beginning of the Christian era, as suggested by Dr. J. N. Banerjea.[3] The figure of a bull was frequently used as a coin-device by many of the Indo-Greek rulers like Apollodotus and others in Gandhāra and Punjab. There is little doubt that the god represented in most cases is Śiva in his theriomorphic form. When the early Greek writer Hesychius wrote that the 'bull' was worshipped by the Indians in Gandhāra, he evidently referred to the worship of Śiva in this form in the region.[4] Śiva was the presiding deity of Puṣkalāvatī (Peshawar) as evident from the legend on a particular group of coins; there the bull stands for Śiva and female figure is his consort Umā-Pārvati. Dr. J. N Banerjea identifies the male deity, holding a trident, on the coins of Gondopharnes as Śiva and not Poseidon because of *jaṭā* (matted locks) marks.

The cult of Śiva appears to have been very much popular in N. W. Frontier of India during the Kuṣāṇa times. On hundreds of their coins we find Śiva accompanied by a bull On some earlier Kuṣāṇa coins Śiva even carries the thunderbolt and goad which are so characteristic of Indra; he holds the mace of Viṣṇu, thus combining the weapons of these two Hindu deities as well. It is very much regretted that such an early sculpture or terracotta depicting Śiva has not been reported from Afghanistan so far. The *Trimūrti* from Saozma-Kala,[5] now preserved in the Museum of Mazari Sharif in Afghanistan, has rightly been proved to be a fake specimen. At the same time, we must not forget the statements of Chinese travellers who mention the existence of a great number of *Deva* (i.e., Śaiva) temples in Afghanistan, thus testifying to the popularity of Śiva cult during the contemporary period. The Shahi rulers of Kabul gave a great impetus to the Hindu religion, during the early medieval period. A number of white marble sculptures were carved for worship at different places in Afghanistan itself. From Gardez has been reported an excellent Śiva[6] head, having a vertical third-eye *(trinetra)* mark in the centre of the forehead and curly hair tied by a ribbon on the head above. The latter is further decorated by the crescent mark, thus justifying the *Candra-mauli* aspect of Great Mahādeva. It is a superb sculpture measuring about 28 cms. in height and depicting the mighty impact of Gupta art. A Śiva-liṅga from Tagab[7] is equally interesting.

During the regime of the Shahi rulers of Kabul, the impact of Kashmiri art was quite evident both in Gandhāra and Eastern Afghanistan. Douglas Barret[8] has rightly suggested the influence of Kashmiri art in the aforesaid Śiva head from Gardez datable to the 7–8th century. The stone image of Śiva-Pārvatī,[9] seated on a bull in *āliṅgana* pose, is all the more charming. The six-armed and three-headed male divinity (i.e. Śiva) is shown as *ūrdhvaretas*; he carries a wheel in the uppermost left hand and a crescent in uppermost right hand. This particular feature recalls to our minds a somewhat similar trait in the 7th-8th century wooden panel from Dandanuiliq and Balawaste wall painting from Central Asia. All these refer to the association of *Candra* and *Sūrya* as emblems of Śiva, shows as *Ūrdhvaretas* in all these reliefs. This finds further support from the famous Śiva-Pārvatī terracotta relief from Raṅgamahal[10] now preserved in Bikaner Museum; a proper scrutiny of Śiva's emblems therein has not been made so far. Sun and Moon motifs as emblems of Śiva, have recently been reported in the Kuṣāṇa Śiva relief at Mūsānagar, near Kanpur, in Indian territory. It is therefore quite evident that this early Indian Śaiva trait was later on depicted in post-Gupta Śiva sculptures and panels in Gandhāra and subsequently in Central Asia. The *Nīlamata Purāṇa*[11] refers to sun and moon as emblems of Śiva. In all these reliefs we notice Śiva as a perfect Yogī and having more than one face. Pārvatī's nether garment, in the aforesaid Śiva-Pārvatī image from N. W. Frontier region, consists of a *lahaṅgā* with typical folds of Gandhāra workmanship as also in the Rangamahal plaque discussed above.

The white marble statue in the form of a male torso from Tagab[12] is equally interesting. Carved in round, it depicts him putting on a *dhoti* in an Indian manner; it is datable to the 7th–8th century A.D. It is quite possible that it represents Śiva or Yakṣa in the early-medieval art of Afghanistan.

Mention may also be made of two wooden Shahi reliefs from the Smats Cave at Yusufzai now preserved in the British Museum at London.[13] A close study of their iconographic details bears ample testimony to the popularity of Śaiva themes in that area during the 7–8th century A.D. The dancing Bhṛṅgī is one of the very few independent representations of this Śaiva devotee in Indian art while the other depicts a portion of the famous story relating to the 'descent of Gaṅgā'. One is also reminded of an interesting ivory statue carved in round and excavated at Begram (ancient *Kapiśā*) in Afghanistan itself. Datable to the first-second century A.D., the Begram ivory presents the sacred river Gaṅgā standing on a crocodile, a motif which was very dear to the sculptors and artists in India. This decorative piece from Begram may well be regarded as the earliest carving of this goddess in ivory at the present moment.

The discovery of a number of rock-cut Buddhist statues in the region of Swat and bordering Afghanistan is quite interesting. An archaeological survey by the Italian Delegation also brought to light at Manichinar,[14] a stela representing the standing figure of Śiva; he holds a *triśūla* in his upper right hand, *ḍamaru* in upper left and *kamaṇḍalu* in left hand. This testifies to the existence of Śaiva images and temples in Swat region as also recorded by Chinese pilgrim Hüsan-Tsang. In the words of Dr. Tucci, this is in fact the only relic of that non-Buddhist religion of Swat so far.

Composite Images

Archaeological excavations at Butkara I (Swat) by the Italian Delegation yielded two Hindu reliefs as well. Of these, one depicts Śiva and Pārvatī standing in amorous pose; Śiva holds a garland in both hands while Pārvatī carries a mirror in her left hand. Both of them have a vertical third eye *(trinetra)* mark on their foreheads, thus representing the *Vivāha-mūrti*[15] aspect in an unusual manner. The other relief[16], on a stone jamb, presents a single headed male divinity in standing pose; he had probably more than six hands out of which the left hands now carry a long spear and wheel; the right hand holds a thunderbolt and a sword quite clearly, thus testifying to the blending of several Brāhmaṇic traits in one form. The wheel was a weapon of Viṣṇu whereas the thunderbolt was meant both for Śiva and Indra in early Indian iconography. The carving of a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* (crown) on the head of the main deity suggests blending of non-Śaiva traits quite clearly. This particular statue depicts the composite aspect of Śiva and Viṣṇu quite definitely. It reminds us of the famous motif on 'Nicolo Seal' where the details are very well corroborated, by epigraphic evidence, in favour of the blending of Viṣṇu-Śiva and Mihira (Sūrya) in one form.[17] These particular specimens have got an important bearing on early Hindu art and iconography in N. W. Frontier of India and its vicinity.

Viṣṇu

Independent carvings of Viṣṇu in a well-preserved condition have not been reported from Afghanistan proper so far. But the cult of *Vaikuṇṭha-Viṣṇu* appears to have reached the Gandhāra region, thus displaying the impact of Kashmiri Hindu art during the Shahi regime. The British Museum[18] at London procured a white marble statue in the above reference; the central face therein is that of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu, the sideheads are those of a lion and a boar, this representing Saṃkarṣaṇa and Pradyumna respectively. The fourth face on the back is a demonic one and presents Kapila aspect. This particular motif was very popular in Kashmir during the 8–9th centuries but the Kashmiri sculptors frequently made use of black stone for their carvings. The above statue in white marble is thus of great interest; it was probably carved by some Kashmiri sculptor at Attock, on the western border of Gandhāra region. An earlier bronze statue of this group, now in a state of satisfactory preservation, is exhibited in the Indian Art Museum at West Berlin (Germany); it does not present the fourth face at all. The absence of such an image from Afghanistan proper proves beyond doubt that this particular sect of Vaiṣṇavism was not much popular in that region during the sway of Shahi rulers.

Sūrya

It is more than 30 years ago that Mr. Hackin discovered a superb white marble statue of Sūrya[19] at Khair-Khaneh, near Kabul in Afghanistan. Now preserved in the Kabul Museum as no. 63.21.1., it measures about 32 cms in height; it is exhibited in a very well preserved condition. The main deity (Sun) is seated in a chariot driven by horses; he is dressed like a Sassanian king, wearing long boots and a round apron-like tunic fringed with peals. On sides appear Daṇḍi and Piṅgala in a traditional manner while the driver Aruṇa appears just below the seat of Sūrya. The horses are well caparisoned with saddles, a feature which is not to be seen in Indian sculptures. A number of scholars have suggested 5–6th century as the probable date of this particular Sun image. In our humble opinion, it may also be grouped with the marble statues of 7th century A.D. From the artistic point of view as well, it is one of the finished products of Shahi workmanship during the post-Gupta period.

The depiction of Sun and Moon together in the wall-paintings at Fondukistan in Afghanistan is also worth taking note of. The moon-god on this panel is provided with a crescent mark behind his head as also in early-medieval Indian art.

Indra

An independent statue or terracotta of Indra has not been reported from Afghanistan so far, though we have already noted some of the traits of Indra in the early Śaiva iconography of the Gandhāra region. Hsüan-Tsang refers to elephant as the presiding genius of the *Pi-lo-sho-lo* mountain, to the south-west of Kapiśā; he also mentions the suburb of Kapiśā as *Si-po-ti-fa-la-tzu* which is the Chinese translation of *Śvetavatālaya* according to Watters. This lead Dr. J. N. Banerjea[20] to feel that *Śvetavatālaya* (residence of *Śvetavata*, a name of Indra) and Indrapura are probably one and the same as the *Mahāmāyuri* tells us that Indra was the tutelary deity of Indrapura. Indrapura is probably to be located in the north-west on account of its association with Varuṇ, another locality in the same region. It is therefore highly probable that the *Kaviśiye Nagaradevatā* type of coins represent Indra enthroned, though some scholars are inclined to look for the depiction of god 'Zeus' therein.

Brahmā

The Kabul Museum has preserved an interesting white marble statue of Brahmā, discovered from Ghazni in 8 pieces a few years ago.[21] It is purely Indian in workmanship and appears to have reached Ghazni through the Muslim invaders. Stylistically too the statue is quite different from the Shāhī sculptures discussed above. The main deity, in the existing medieval Brahmā relief, is shown as three-headed; the central one alone is a bearded face while matted locks are shown on all the three heads. The hands and the portion below the chest of Brahmā are broken up to the knees. On sides below appear human attendants and the 'swan' vehicle to his left. The spoked-wheel halo behind his head is surmounted by a semi-circular arch resting on miniature carvings of seated Viṣṇu to his left and Śiva to the right. This is a solitary image of Brahmā found in Afghanistan so far.

Skanda-Kārttikeya

The cult of Śiva appears to have been quite popular in Afghanistan and Gandhāra region. A number of images of his son Skanda-Kārttikeya have also been discovered but none so far from Afghanistan proper. The Gandhāra statues include a few interesting specimens wherein Skanda is actually shown wearing a coat of mail *(kavaca)*—a feature which is hardly to be seen in contemporary Indian sculptures. The Gandhāra sculptors had laid greater emphasis on associating a warrior's dress with Skanda Kumāra because he was supposed to have been the Commander-in-chief of the army of Hindu Gods. Besides this, one statue from Taxila even depicts long boots of Sūrya worn by Skanda himself. Elsewhere Kārttikeya has been provided with prominent rays on both sides of his head as also in Indian images of god Agni, thus testifying to the *Agni-sūnu*[22] aspect of Skanda Kumāra. All these statues are of great iconographic interest for every student of Indian art. The coins of Huviṣka further support the popularity of this deity in the Gandhāra region, towards the beginning of Christian Era.

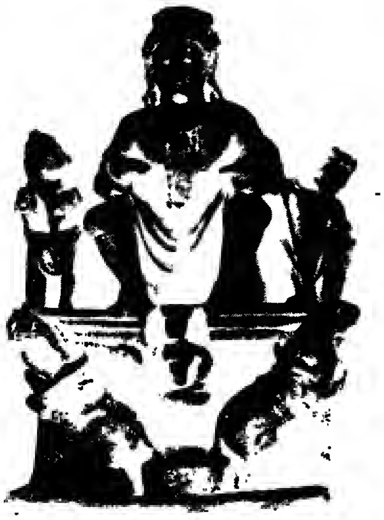


FIG. 2. *Marble image of Sūrya (Afghanistan).*

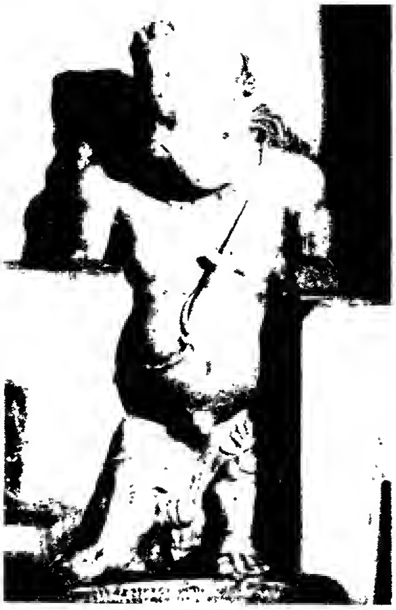


FIG 3 *Ganeśa from Pir Ratan Nath's Dargah (Afghanistan)*

Ūrdhvaretas Gaṇeśa

The sculptural remains from Afghanistan are most noteworthy because of the discovery of two well-preserved white marble statues of standing Gaṇeśa. One of them, found in the vicinity of Gardez, was later on removed to the Pir Ratan Nath Dargah, near Pamir Cinema at Kabul. Measuring about 28 inches in height, it bears an inscription in the *Brāhmī* script of post-Gupta period. It appears to have been a superb sculpture of the early Shāhī art of Afghanistan. The two line inscription on its pedestal records that "this image of *Mahāvināyaka* was installed by Parama-Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Shāhī Khiṅgila, on the 13th day of the bright half of Jyeṣṭha month in the year 8", apparently of the Shāhī ruler, "when the constellation was Viśākhā and the *Lagna* was Siṃha." Dr. Tucci feels that the ruler might be Shāhī Khiṅgila of the coins and Khiṃkhila of the Kashmir chronicle; Dr. D. C. Sircar suggests that he may as well be regarded as some ruler of Kapiśā or Kabul.[23] The importance of the above statue is enhanced by the ūrdhvaretas aspect of Gaṇeśa and the *siṃha-charma* worn as his nether garment. Another statue of this type has not been discovered in Indian territory so far, though the Gupta Gaṇeśa from Udayagiri (near Sanchi, M.P.) does depict the *Ūrdhvaretas* trait quite prominently. The *Viṣṅudharmottara Purāṇa* 3.71, 13–16 further emphasises the *vyāghra-carma* garment of Vināyaka (Gaṇeśa). A blending of both these devices is very well delineated in the existing Gaṇeśa sculpture from Gardez in Afghanistan. Equally superb is another Gaṇapati statue from Sakar Dhar, 10 miles from Kabul and now preserved in the Shor Bazar at Kabul. Here also we find all the above traits, in addition to the depiction of *āyudha puruṣa* on the sides below; the pedestal does not bear any inscription at all. The cult of Gaṇapati had spread up to Dandanuiliq, as early as the 7–8th century A.D., but the Central Asian representations of this Hindu deity fail to present his *Ūrdhvaretas* aspect. Viewed in this light, the Gaṇeśa statues from Afghanistan are most precious treasures of early Brāhmaṇic art and iconography of Afghanistan. Stylistically too, both of them are of sufficient importance.[24] In both of them Gaṇapati has been shown just like his father Śiva, both *Urdhvaretas* pose and putting on *vyāghra-charma* as the nether-garment.

Mahiṣamardinī Gurgā

A few white marble statues of goddess Durgā from Afghanistan have also got an important bearing of the popularity of *Śiva-Śakti* cult in the region, during the post-Gupta period. The stone head from Tagao[25] now exhibited in the Kabul Museum, is datable to the early 8th century. It depicts the charming head of Durgā (Śakti of Śiva), having a vertical third-eye *(trinetra)* mark on the forehead, prominent ear lobes, curly hair tied by a ribbon which is further studded with lotus flowers at intervals. Durgā'a face is round while the almond-shaped eyes are half-closed; the impact of Gupta art is quite evident at a mere glance.

Dr. D. Schlumberger has published a powerful fragmentary statue of Mahiṣamardinī Durgā from Kabul region. It reminds us of early Indian sculptural reliefs from Badami, Ellora and Rajasthan wherein we find the goddess Durgā twisting the very neck of the Buffalo Demon. The broken statue from Afghanistan, under review, is in the same tradition. It is really a very powerful statue. The goddess has placed her right foot on the back on the *mahiṣāsura* shown in full animal form; she pierces the demon with a trident held in one of her right hands. The portion above the navel and the right hands of Durgā[26] are completely missing. She is shown with a *sari* covering the lower portion of her body and puts on bangles on her right fore-arm. The statue may well be assigned to the 7–8th century A.D. This particular motif of twisting the neck became very much popular in Indian art during the post-Gupta period and survived as late as the 10th century A.D. as in the sculptural art of Jagat, near Udaipur in Indian territory.

Another marble statue of headless goddess Durgā from Gardez[27] (Afghanistan) is all the more interesting. Here she holds the right arm of the human demon coming out of the detruncated body of the Buffalo. The facial expression of the demon is quite awful. The existing statue thus presents in another motif in the iconography of Durgā from Afghanistan.

Dr. Klaus Fischer has also reported the discovery of a few fragments of a Viṣṇu image from Gardez which has yielded a number of Hindu sculptures discussed above. We can therefore postulate the popularity, and even the existence of a Hindu temple at this site (Gardez) during the 7–8th century. A close scrutiny of several architectural remains studded into the tombs in the cemetery of Chigha-Sarai[28] in Kunnar Valley has further added much information to our existing knowledge about the Hindu temple remains in Eastern Afghanistan. Some of them may even be identified as *āmalaka* and *kuḍu* pieces carved for Hindu shrines during the 8–9th century.

New Discoveries

Archaeological excavations by the Italian Mission under the direction of Dr. M. Taddei of ISMEO, at Tépé Sardar mound near Ghazni brought to light very interesting results in years 1968 and 1969. The operations of year 1969 as per the kind information from Dr. Taddei himself yielded a few terracotta fragments of goddess Mahiṣamardinī at this site and those too in a Buddhist monastery. This has got an important bearing on the popularity of Buddhist and Brahmanic pantheons in Afghanistan during the early Shahi period. It also testifies to the harmonious relations between the followers of these sects, who seem to have been closely associated with each other during the contemporary period. This is therefore quite a unique discovery in this distant land and the first of its kind in the realm of ancient terracotta art of Afghanistan, in relation to the depiction of Mahiṣamardinī in different materials other than stone.

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4 In the first Chapter of the Avesta (Vd 1 7) Balkh, the ancient northern capital has been described as a beautiful city with banners floating from its high walls The modern capital Kabul appears in the *Avesta* (Vd 1 9) as Vaekerta, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 1955, p 158

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14. The stream of contact between India and Western Asia from the time immemorial blowed through two main routes "In the tract just north of the head of the Kabul river, a single though lofty mountina-ridge, that of the Hindukush, flanked by low ground on other side, is all that separates the valley of the Oxus from that of the Indus This route after crossing the Indus at or near its junction with the Kabul river, assends the basin of the latter, and after piercing the Hindukush, debouches upon the plain of Bactria, whence it leads to Persia and the far west. The other route, after issuing from the lower Indus plain and ascending a mountainous country leads by an easy way across the open plateau from Kandahar to Herat and thence along the southern slopes of Mount Elburz to the lands of Western Asia Of these two routes the first has played by far the more important part in linking up India with its neighbouring countries. It has been trod not only by the most of the mighty invaders of India like Darius the Great, Alexander, Seleucus and the Kusāna king Kadphises I and also by the pious pilgrims like the illustrious Hiuen-tsang It course is marked by a succession of cities which have played a historic part in ancient times such Taksaśilā, Nagarahāra, Kapiśā, Bamiyan and Balkh" U.N. Ghoshal *Indian Culture in Afghanistan*, Greater India, Bombay, 1960, p 274

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II

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6. *Arts Asiatiques*, Paris, II (2), 1955, p 117, figure 2

7. Ibid, p. 114 quoting A. Foucher, *Vieille route de Bactres* a *Taxila*. MDAFA. Paris, I (1). 1947. p 149, plate XXXI–B

8. Douglas Barret, *Oriental Art*, London, III (2). 1957. p 59

9. Ibid, p. 59, figure 12 on p 58

10. The fourth human bust, just above the Central head of Śiva, represents the fourth face of Śiva and carries a 'wheel' in the right hand and 'crescent' in the left

11. Verse 171 i.e. *śambhus tadā Candradivākarau dvau jagrāha kara-dvayena*, cf G Tucci, *East and West*, Rome, XIV (3-4), 1963, p. 136 Sun and Moon subsequently became popular in the Buddhist art of Central Asia as well.

12. Height 65 cms.; *Arts Asiatiques*, Paris, II (2), 1955, figure 1 on p 116

13. R.C. Agrawala's paper in *East and West*, Rome, XVII (1–2), 1967, pp 86–87, figures 1–2.

1. G Tucci, *East and West*, IX(4), 1958, p. 314, figure 26 on p 307

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16. R.C. Agrawala. *East and West*. XVI(1–2), 1966, pp. 82–83, figure 1
17 J N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*. 1956, Calcutta, p 124, plate XI, figure 2
18. Barret, *Oriental Art*, III (2), *op. cit.*, figures I A and B p 55. A well-preserved statue of single-headed Viṣṇu from Taxila has been published by Banerjea, *op. cit*, Plate XXI; the knotted mace therein suggests the impact of Gandhāra art as also in the Nicolo seal cited above.
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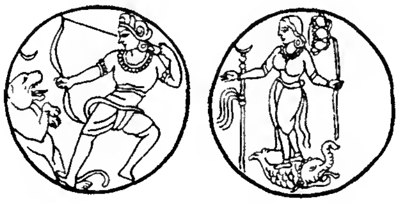


Buddhist Centres in Afghanistan

K.N. DIKSHIT

Introduction

THE CULTURAL TIES between India and Afghanistan have a hoary past; hence the cultural evolution in either of the countries should not be treated as an isolated feature. The early historical phase of Indo-Afghan relations is connected more with Buddhism than with political events. Marshall has truly remarked that 'to know Indian Art in India alone is to know but half its story. To apprehend it to the full, we must follow it in the wake of Buddhism. . . .'[1] The excavations and explorations carried out in Afghanistan and its bordering regions have further testified the centuries old relations between India and Afghanistan. The credit of bringing these forlorn objects and monuments before the world goes to the Royal Afghanistan Government and Archaeological Missions from France, India, Italy and Japan, besides individual scholars.

The records of the travels of various Chinese Buddhist pilgrims[2] who visited India and Afghanistan during the early centuries of the Christian era have considerably broadened our knowledge of Buddhism. The travels of Fa-Hien (400 A.D.), Sung-Yun (518 A.D.) and Hiuen-Tsang (629 A.D.), not only depict the sincerity and enthusiasm of the travellers but also speak of the geography, history, manners and religion of the people they came across.

Afghanistan, which almost forms a gentle slope from west to east to meet the great central ranges of Hindukush, is bounded on the north by the U.S.S.R., on the west by Iran, on the east and south by West Pakistan and in the north-east by Sinkiang region of China and Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. The barrier of the Hindukush Range is crossed by long passes. The gorges of the tributaries of the Indus also serve as passes for entering India across the Sulaiman Range. The ancient most passes of Tochi and Gomel are even mentioned in the Vedas, but normally no large-scale traffic is possible through these passes.

Afghanistan was known to the Chinese as *Kao-fu*[3] in the second century B.C. It is described as being divided between the Parthians, the Indians and the *Su* of Kapin. Ptolemy[4] and other geographers assigned the name *Āryānā* to the present Afghanistan including the province of Khorāsān. Hiuen-Tsang, who visited Afghanistan in the early 7th century A.D., calls it once *O-Po-Kien*, wheras the Indian writer Varāha-mihira refers it in Sanskrit as *Āvagana* or *Avagāna Bṛhatsaṃhitā* XI, p. 61 and XVI, p. 38). Cunningham accepts *O-po-Kien* or *Avakan* as rendered by M. Julien with the name of Afghan. Avesta[5] also mentions names of a few places like Sarasvatī in Arghandab through Harahvatī, Sarayū, in Harayu, Balhika in Balkh, Gandar in Kandahar, Suvāstu in Swat and the river names Kubhā in Kabul and Gomati in Gomal which fall in the present limits of Afghanistan. The Pakthana of Ṛgveda is perhaps the origin of Pakhtoon and Pathan and Aśvakāyana (Greek: Assakenoi) of Afghan. The Pakhtoon tribes, viz. Afridis and Mohammedans, were known to the Mahābhārata and to Pāṇini as Aprita and Madhumants.

Historical Background

The written events in the history of Afghanistan start with the records of the Achaemenids of Persia, the accounts left by the Classical writers of the time of Alexander the Great, Mauryan inscriptions and the Annals of the Han Empire of China, but it does not mean that Afghanistan has no place in the making of civilization. The presence of a Mousterian type flake industry at Balkh[6] and Haibak (Kara-Kamor cave), polished stone axes at Shamsher Ghar and the Chalcolithic pottery at Mundigak,[7] all point to a link between Afghanistan and India right from the prehistoric period.

When the curtain rises in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., the region of Afghanistan is found as a state of the Achaeminid Empire[8] of Persia. The six Achaeminian satrapies—Zaranka (Seistan), Areia (Herat), Bactria (Balkh), Gandara (Kabul Valley), Thatagush (Hazare area), and Harauvati (Kandaka)—practically comprised what is Afghanistan of today. Alexander overran the Achaeminid empire between 334 and 331 B.C. and finally destroyed Darius III, the last ruler of the dynasty, at Arbela. He entered India in 327 B.C. He could not penetrate into the valley of the Gaṅgā and had to go back in 325 B.C. from the bank of Beas (Hyphasis). After the death of Alexander, Seleucus succeeded in establishing his authority from the Euphrates to the Oxus and the Indus, but in 305 B.C. he ceded parts of the satrapies of Arachosia and the Parapamisadae to the Indian monarch Candragupta Maurya.

The Maurya king Aśoka[9], grandson of Candragupta, responsible for propagating Buddhism in far-off places, had put up for his Greek and Aramaic subjects a bilingual inscription at Shar-i-Quna (old city of Kandhar) incorporating the tenets of Dharma. The other inscription reported from this region in 1965 is only in the Greek language and script. Exclusive Aramaic inscriptions of this monarch have also been reported from Pul-i-Darunta near Jalalabad and Lampaka identified with modern Lamghan. The Lampaka inscription refers to the setting up of a pillar by Devānāṃpiya.

In 246 B.C., Diodorus, the Greek Governor of Bactria became an independent ruler and in due course established his suzerainty over a greater part of Panjab. The Greek King Menander who flourished in or about the first century B.C. was a great patron and supporter of Buddhism. By the time Hermaios, the last Greek king, came to the throne, Bactria was invaded by the Śakas, the Parthians and the tribe of Yueh-chi (known as Kuṣāṇa). Kujula Kadphises was successful in replacing Hermaios about 40 A.D. Kujula's successor Wema Kadphises over-threw both the Greeks and the Śakas from northern India but the zenith of the Kuṣāṇa power reached under Kaniṣka who extended the boundaries of his empire from Central Asia to Kashmir and the Gaṅgā. Being an ardent devotee of the Buddha in his later years, he called the Fourth Great Buddhist Council and helped the growth of the Mahāyāna Buddhism.

With the rise of Sassanians in the West and the Gupta in the East, the Kuṣāṇa authority started diminishing. The Ephthalites, a branch of Hūṇas, invaded Afghanistan and held Kabul and a part of Punjab about 500 A.D. but they could not assert their supremacy for a long time. In the 6th century A.D., Afghanistan was facing a political crisis and it gave an opportunity to Sassanians to annex Seistan, Herat and Balkh but after some time the Sassanians also lost them to the Arabs, the harbingers of Islam in this region, in the battle at Nehavand in 639 A.D.

The Routes

Afghanistan has witnessed the great drama of oriental history, as it has been the scene of frequent human migrations and invasions. It also formed, at different times, the territory of the great empires of the Persians, the Greeks, the Mauryas and the Kuṣāṇas. The net work of caravan routes[10] also made Afghanistan the meeting place of diverse civilizations. The decision of Wu-ti, the Han Emperor of China (140–87 B.C.), to export silk to the Mediterranean region across Ferghana, Soghdia and Chorasmia to northern Iran and Ecbatana from where these goods could be diverted to Syria and Asia Minor brought stability to this region. To make the road clear for the caravans loaded with precious goods, he also invaded Hūṇas and established cordial relations with the Parthians. As the Parthians controlled a vital section of this route, they levied heavy taxes on the caravans passing through the area under their control. The caravan route from India to Bactria and to the regions beyond the Oxus was used to provide the West with food, cotton, jewels, ivory,dyes, etc. In exchange for Indian goods, the merchants brought lapis-lazuli from northern Afghanistan. When the Parthian interference became intolerable, traders from India started shipping their goods from Barygaza to Charax on the Persian Gulf for onward transmission to Alexandria.

Centres of Buddhist Temples

Before the beginning of the Christian era, Hīnayāna form of Buddhism, had found its way through the caravan-route into the country of Gandhāra, identified with the north-west region of West Pakistan and the adjoining part of Afghanistan. The zealous and ardent Indian Buddhist missionaries also propagated Buddhism outside the political confines of India under the royal patronage of Maurya king Aśoka and Indo-Greek king Menandar and later on under the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka. Gandhāra was also the home of many Buddhist scholars like Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. The two great Indian Arhats Mātaṅga-Kāśyapa and Bharaṇa Pandit were invited to China by Emperor Ming-Ti in 67 A.D. in order to spread the benefits of Buddhism among his countrymen. The art of the region known as Gandhāra art is also credited, like Mathura School, with the first representations of the Buddha in anthropomorphic form. In the beginning, Maitreya was represented (as the Buddha of the future) but later on a number of statues of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and reliefs with multiple Buddha images were carried out. From the beginning, the Gandhāra area was open to cultural encounters and fusions from the east and the west. The spread of religion also carried with it the accepted motif used in sculpture and painting. The practice of excavating shrines from living rock travelled with the Buddhist faith from India.

The Buddhist sites in Afghanistan are generally located along or adjacent to caravan-routes passing through Khyber Pass and Balkh. In Kabul valley alone more than 50 Buddhist establishments exist. They are generally of stone masonry composed of schist. In the earlier structures ordinary rubble was used but about the Ist century A.D. a masonry known as diaper-patterned rubble appeared. The large blocks of schist were thoroughly dressed before laying in position, and the space was filled by stone pieces and later on by the courses of small bricks. A gradual development of this masonry produced the finest buildings in the time of Kaniṣka. A survey of these important sites having stūpas, vihāras and rock-cut monasteries will shed light on the impact of Indian culture on Afghanistan (Fig. 1).

Bimaran

The ruined *stūpa* at Bimaran[11] near Jelalabad is a find-spot of the earliest extant image of Buddha in Afghanistan. The standing figure of a Buddha, flanked by Indra and Brahmā, is on the famous reliquary of gold set with rubies found inside a stone vessel from stūpa No. 2 alongwith the coins of Azes. The base is decorated with the Indian lotus. The figure represents Buddha in *abhaya-mudrā*. According to Benjamin Rowland the arches of the arcade have the familiar ogee form of the Chaitya-window, which may well be verified in the stone relief from Shotorak. Stylistically this figure which has a marked impact of Indian elements, is typically Gandhāran and can be placed somewhere between the Ist and the 2nd centuries A.D.

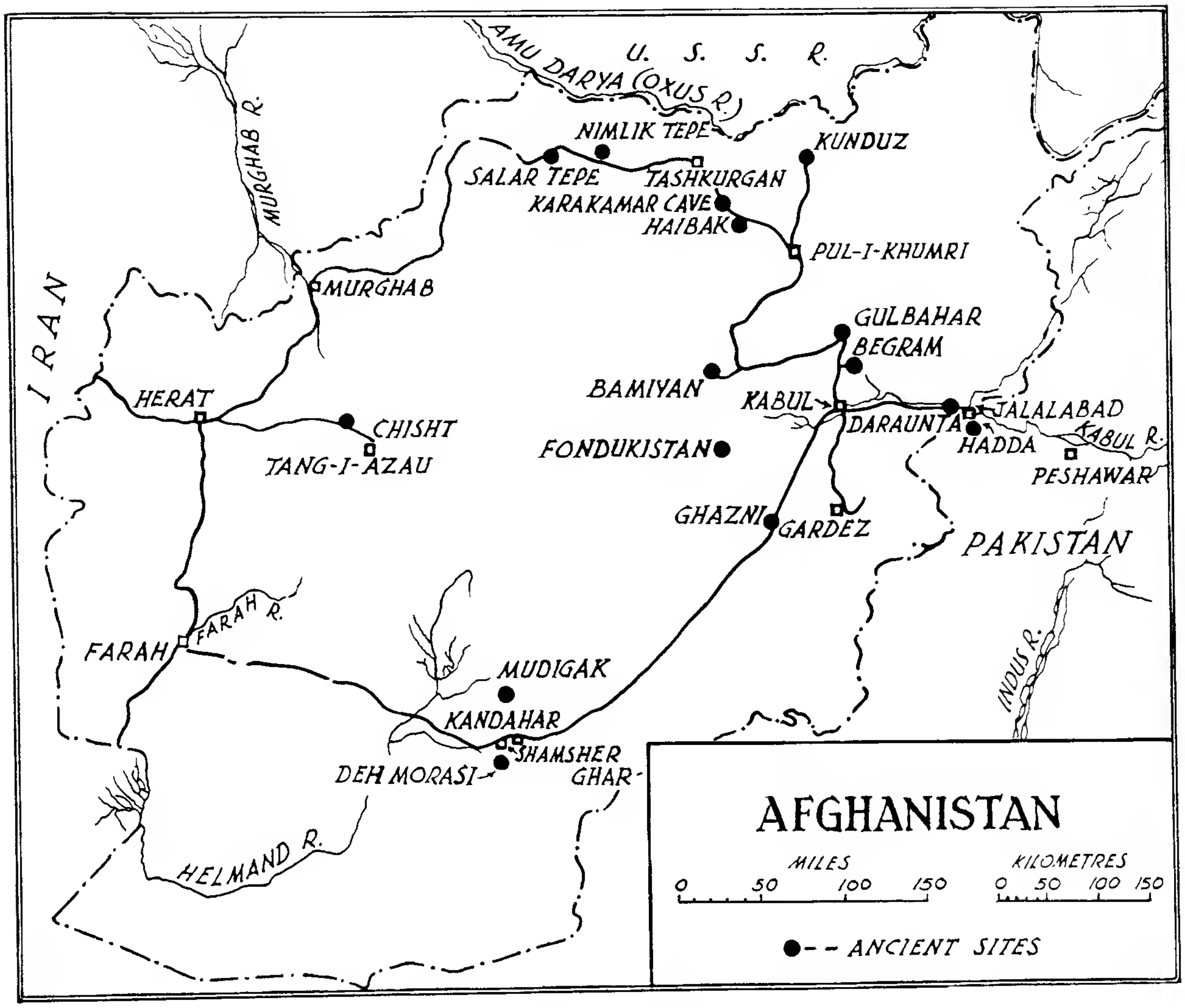
Begram

Begram (ancient Kapiśā)[12] was situated on the direct caravan route connecting Peshawar and Balkh. The ivories discovered from this place have unmistakable Indian impact. Hiuen-Tsang mentions that a devoted Buddhist of the Mahāyāna pantheon was the king of Kapiśā, but not a single object which can be identified as Buddhist has come to light from Begram, except the symbols which are common to Buddhist and Brahmanical usage. Many symbols represent the deities of the cities, such as the elephant, which represented the deity of the Kapiśā city. However, two ivory plaques may have doubtful connection with the life of the Buddha. The excavated material, from the ruins of the palace-complex of Kaniṣka and his successor, besides Indian ivories, included Syrian and Alexandrian glassware, bronzes made under Hellenistic influence, and Chinese laquers. The 600 carved specimens include horsemen, hunters, servants, some mythical characters and various activities of womenfolk. This carving is in 'a kind of *rilievo schiacciato*, with the most subtle nuances of modelling, conveying a feeling of roundness to the flattened figures'. An ivory statue of a Yakṣī (Fig. 2) and two fragments of ivory inlay from a piece of furniture show strong Indian influence. The niches which are like the torana-gateways around the Indian stūpas are interesting (Fig. 3). The ear-ornaments of Begram call attention to the *padmarāga* type of ear-ring from Nāgārjunakonda. The adjusting of the necklace in a Mathura sculpture from Sankasya reminds us of a similar ivory carving from Begram. The dancing scenes and musical instruments like harp-shaped *vīṇā* from this place have their counterparts at Mathura and Amaravati. On the basis of the Kharoṣṭhī letters on the ivories, Hackin has suggested a date between the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., but this may be slightly earlier because of the visible impact of the early Mathura reliefs on them. A family likeness can be noticed between the Sirkap (Taxila) comb and the Begram ivories.[13]

Hadda

Hadda (ancient Nagarahāra)[14], located about 8 km. south of Jelalabad, is famous for the early schist and limestone sculpture. The site was visited by Fa-hien, To-Yaung and Hiuen-Tsang. According to Hiuen-Tsang the place (*Hi-lo*) was famous for preserving a tooth relic, *sanghāṭi* and the stick of Buddha. The old stūpa is called today as Tappa Kalan. It was also famous for a vihāra called *Nagaravihāra*. J.J. Barthoux who excavated Hadda between 1925 and 1928 found the remains of a big city having many stūpas and thousands of stucco sculptures. The images of the Buddha, Bodhisattvas and donors are placed under the niches which are partitioned by columns surmounted by Persepolitan capitals. The remains of the stūpa at Hadda consist of a 'double square basement supporting two cylindrical drums which in their turn are surmounted by a third low drum and a dome.' The low and rounded form of the stūpas noticed at Bharhut and Sanchi became elevated, slender and graceful.

Hadda, has also some of the finest stucco sculptures of the Buddha, demi-gods and groups


U. S. S. R.
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NIMLIK TEPE
KUNDUZ
SALAR TEPE
TASHKURGAN
KARAKAMAR CAVE
HAIBAK
PUL-I-KHUMRI
MURGHAB R.
MURGHAB
IRAN
GULBAHAR
BEGRAM
BAMIYAN
KABUL
JALALABAD
DARAUNTA
HADDA
KABUL R.
PESHAWAR
HERAT
CHISHT
TANG-I-AZAU
FONDUKISTAN
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INDUS R.
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●- - ANCIENT SITES

FIG. 1 *Map showing Afghanistan*

of human worshippers. The execution of the figures is remarkable as they are full of life and animation. A stucco relief of a female diety holding three lotus disks from this place symbolizes the Three Jewels (Triratna): the Buddha, His Law and the Buddhist Order. It is difficult to trace the development of the stucco sculptures at Hadda but it is apparent that stucco figures and stone sculptures were produced simultaneously although stucco techniques survived for a longer period. A few rock-cut temples at this site also retain the traces of the wall-paintings, such as the Buddha in *abhaya-mudrā*.

Stylistically Hadda is closest to the classical phase of Gandharan art. The presence of Byzantine coins of the 5th century further establishes the chronology of Hadda.

Shotorak and Paitava

Excavations at Shotorak[15] in 1937 and Paitava in 1924 revealed a few figures of the Buddha and his attendants carved out in schist. These figures appear very near the clay-modellings

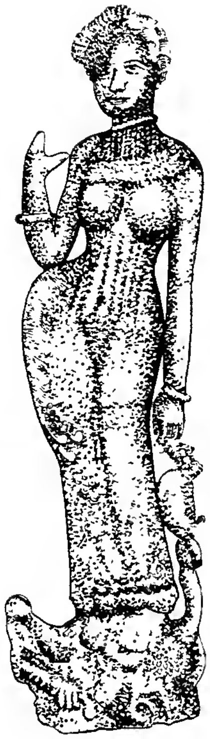

FIG 2 *Ivory statuette of yakṣī from Begram.*

recovered at the site (Plate 20). The interesting relief depicting the story of the Dīpaṅkara Jātaka from Shotorak, and the standing figure of Maitreya, with the worshippers round him, from Paitava are some unique examples of Gandhara art. These works of art have a predilection for frontal appearance. The compostion of the Dīpaṅkara relief has a definite imprint of the Mathura sculptures datable to the 2nd century A.D.

Kunduz

Kunduz[16] was the ancient capital of Tokharistan (*Tu-ho-lo* in Chinese), to the north of Afghanistan. According to Hiuen-Tsang it had many *saṅghārāmas*, both of the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna sect. While laying an irrigation canal a Buddhist monastery came to light between Kunduz and the village of Ahingaran in 1936. The fragmentary stucco figures of this place which are now housed in the Kabul Museum, are interesting from the artistic point of view. A large relief in limestone depicting Buddha's life is stylistically close to Shotorok and Paitava examples. The finds from Sare Gau which are similar to the Gandharan works of Taxila and Peshawar can be attributed to the Kuṣāṇas A stone relief from this place depicts the scene of renunciation of Prince Gautama as indicated by horse-rider and of his visit to the Brahmanical teacher Alārakālām (Pl. 21)·

Pul-i-Khumri

Pul-i-Khumri near Surkh kotal has some significant remains of stūpas and monasteries. The main stūpa-cum-monastery is a rectangular enclosure. The other two stūpas are located to the north of this complex and another stūpa-cum-monastery on the top of the hill.

Bamiyan

The most important Buddhist remains in Afghanistan may be studied at Bamiyan,[17] which is famous for two colossal images of Buddha and innumerable cave-shrines and monasteries, carved out in a vertical cliff of conglomerate. The site lies on the caravan route from Indian to Balkh. It is said that the town was founded by a royal family of Kapilavastu. Hiuen-Tsang has written about Bamiyan that "there were some tens of Buddhist monasteries with several thousands of Brethern who were adherents of that Hīnayāna school which declares that (Buddha) transcends the ordinary, that is, the Lokottaravādin school." The place was examined by French Missions.

The colossal images of Buddha, 53 metres and 35 metres high, which are characterized by broad shoulders and large faces with a powerful chin, were perhaps made between the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. during the time of the late Kuṣāṇas (or little Kuṣāṇas). The 53 metres Buddha (Pl. 22), which is carved in the rock to the west of Bamiyan under a deep niche, is very much damaged. The square holes of dowels used for placing the plaster garment

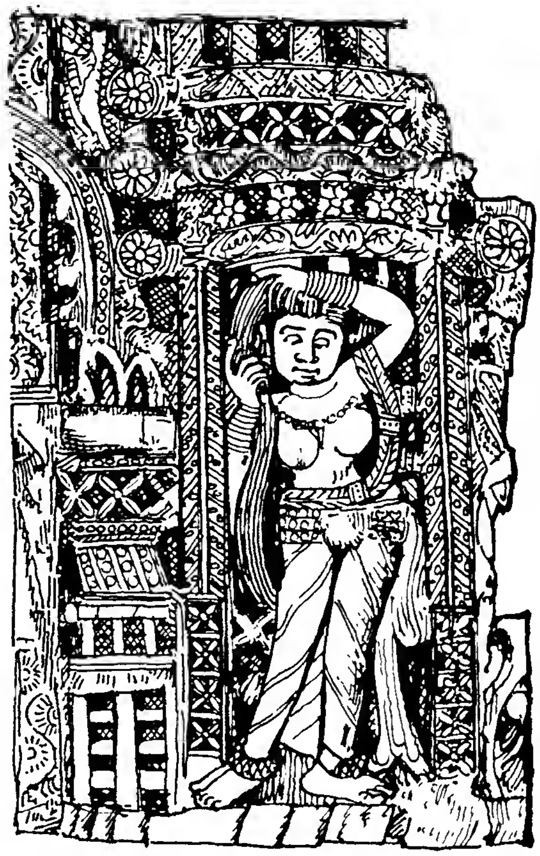

FIG 3 *Fragment of Ivory Inlay from a piece of Furniture from Begram.*

modelled in mud over the figure are now exposed and can be seen. According to Itsuji Yoshikawa, the famous Buddhas show the systematic development of the concept of colossal images as objects of worship and the final materialization of this concept. At Bamiyan, stūpas were not given due importance but gigantic Buddhas became the central objects of worship.

The vault and the side walls having the painted figures of the Buddha, Bodhisattavas and flying apsaras, exhibit a variety of styles (divided into groups A, B, etc.) and recall the art of Ajanta murals. The surface was prepared with a layer of mud mixed with chopped straw and then a thin layer of lime plaster provided the ground for actual painting. The colours used were manufactured out of local earth and minerals. A painting from the dome of one of the cave shrines in a maṇḍala shows a seated Buddha surrounded by minor divinities, all smaller in size. In a vestibule of a sanctuary, Group C, Buddhas and stylized stūpas are painted. About 130 metres to the east is the second rock-cut statue of Buddha, about 35 metres high. It is also badly damaged but the traces of the blue and the red colours of the drapery are there. According to Rowland the vault is painted with the figure of Sun God, in a quadriga, which is a pictorial version of the Sūrya of Bodha Gaya dressed in a mantle like the one shown on the famous Kaniṣka statue from Mathura. T.N. Ramachandran and Y.D. Sharma have, however, identified it as a lunar deity because of the *Candrakalā* shown on the halo behind.

The smaller caves of Bamiyan represent various architectural forms of the Sassanian and Gupta styles having been fused together. The lantern roof of the sanctuaries at Bamiyan is interesting. The beams are placed diagonally across the square in successive tiers of diminishing dimensions, a technique also common to many ancient Indian temple buildings.

The adjoining cliff of Bamiyan, known as Kakrak, revealed several caves with wall-paintings and a standing figure of Buddha, about 11 metre high. Their style remind us of the Gupta style of Sarnath, datable to the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. A hunter king wearing a diadem surmounted by three crescents from the drum of a dome is interesting. He is identified with an ancestor of the Shers of Bamiyan, holding conversation with the Buddha who is dissuading him from hunting or killing animals. The discovery of a Sanskrit manuscript of Mahayanic school of Buddhism from this place further attests Indian influence on Afghanistan.

Haibak

The rock-cut stūpa at Takht-i-Rustam in Haibak represents a solid monolithic *uddeśika* *stūpa*. It is carved out from a living limestone rock. The stūpa, with a basal diameter of 31 metres, rises to a height of 13 metres in the arrangement of *aṇḍa*, *harmikā*, *pradakṣiṇāpatha*, *Chatrapitha* and *Chatranāla*. Possibly, the stūpa could not be completed as is evident from the four unfinished artificial caves. As the stūpa lacks Kuṣāṇa features and is unlike its Gandhāra counterpart, it has become difficult to assign to it any absolute period. However, T.N. Ramachandran and Y.D. Sharma place it in pre-Kuṣāṇa times.

By the side of the stūpa is a Buddhist monastery cut into the rock. It has chapels, a dormitory and an assembly-hall, and recalls the monastery at Darunta near Jelalabad.

Tepe Marenjan

Excavations carried out at Tépé Marenjan near Kabul revealed a painted statue of Bodhisattva under a niche of the monastery completely concealed by a supporting wall. Hackin thinks that 'the face with eyes half-closed, very elongated, and of very pronounced opthalmia, likewise shows a marked Indianisation.' He compares the coiffure of the statue with the coiffure of Siddhārtha brought to light at Sahri-Bahlol. The other interesting find is a seated figure of Bodhisattva in stucco. It has well proportioned noble features and it wears a great crown. Stylistically, it can be dated to the 4th-5th centuries A.D. This place also contains the oldest wall-paintings of Afghanistan assignable to the 4th century A.D.

Kamdaka

The Buddhist remains of Kamdaka near the Pakistan border revealed some stucco figures of Bodhisattvas and other gods. The figures with oval faces have a sense of stiffness. The hair is extremely stylized and resemble in treatment the Buddhist statues of the Gupta period. On the basis of style these figures can be placed somewhere between the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. This place is also famous, like Andhu in north-western Afghanistan, for the foot-print of Lord Buddha.

Fondukistan

The discovery of a Buddhist monastery at Fondukistan[19] in Ghorkhand valley in 1937, with the figures of the Buddha (Pl. 23), Bodhisattvas and Nāga divinities as well as wall-paintings shed a welcome light on the Buddhist art and architecture preceding the Arab invasion. The excavations revealed a Buddhist sanctuary in the form of a square hall with a cylindrical vault constructed with mud-bricks of large dimensions. The walls are lined with ten deep niches and are covered with mural paintings, and figures in high relief. The ornamentation of the figures reflect the Gupta style of a late period. The crowned Pāla Buddha perhaps served as a model for most of the Foundukistan Buddha images. A terracotta figure of a Bodhisattva showing the softness of flesh and precision of ornament reflects in a remarkable manner a climax of Indian style. A fragmentary Buddha wearing jewel studded chasuble is another achievement of Fondukistan, influenced by Gupta and Pāla styles. The colour combination of the mural paintings assignable to the 7th century A.D. presents a harmonious composition and has all the qualities of a monumental work. The enchanting Blue Lotus Maitreya (Pl. 24) and Sun and Moon gods from niche of the monastery have apparent Indian influence.

Tapa Sardar

Tapa Sardar[20] near Gazhni was excavated by D. Adamesteaunu who noticed a large *stūpa* in the upper terrace of the Tapa, as also other Buddhist structures, such as a vihāra.

The renewed excavations by Maurizio Toddi (1962 and 1967) brought to light the surviving lower portion of the main stūpa including the first and the second storeys which are square in plan. On the western side a flight of steps reaches upto the drum. The first storey which is built of small schist slabs is now completely bereft of mouldings. It seems that the lower storey was coated with plaster, but no trace of it has survived. The difference in the building technique between the two storeys suggests a time gap in the construction of the second storey. A row of stūpas and thrones was noticed on the eastern side of the main stūpa. A large number of unbaked clay figures and fragments of architectural decorations were also discovered in the excavations.

The architectural remains of this place have interesting comparisons with Bamiyan, e.g., the decoration of caves in which the same feature of trilobate niches is found. The scrolls and floral patterns, and a freeze consisting of a row of geese, all reveal marked Indian elements. The finds of this place also correspond well with the well-known stone stela of Swat. Stylistically, the material from Tapa Sardar belongs to the end of the 7th and 8th centuries A.D.

The influence of Indian Buddhist art can also be seen in a few more stūpas and isolated figures which have come to light from different parts of Afghanistan. The *Po-ho* of Hiuen-Tsang has been identified with the city and the district of Balkh. Hiuen-Tsang has referred to convent called *Navasaṅghārāma* containing a statue of Vaiśravaṇa famous for his spiritual influence, a stūpa about 200 ft. high, covered with plaster, and a vihāra. The excavations at Balkh revealed the remains of two stūpas known as Top-i-Rustam and Takht-i-Rustam of the times of the great Kuṣāṇas. From Jelalabad also comes an imposing stūpa known as Nadara or Haesta Tope. The other stūpas at places like, Darunta, Cahar Bagh, Kotour and Passani, were mostly found destroyed as a result of indiscriminate digging. A large number of stūpas of diaper masonry are located around Kabul and Jelalabad. The stūpa at Guldara (Muse-e-Logar) has also revealed the ruins of a vihāra in the foregound. A mud-brick stūpa known as Charkh-i-Falaq was also noticed a few miles to the east of Balkh. A seated figure of Bodhisattva Maitreya in limestone at the Nashir library at Kunduz is quite interesting. At Gulbahar, a few sculptures in black schist depicting seated Padmapāṇi, Bodhisattva Maitreya, Dīpaṅkara Buddha (small figure) and the miracle of Śrāvastī have also been collected.

Epilogue

The Buddhist art of Afghanistan developed as an offshoot of Indian art, but the stūpas, which are of parasol form, where the plinth is divided into pagoda like sections, are not exactly of the Gandhāra type. They differ slightly as they become more elongated and the number of parasol layers increased but they remained Indian in both essential and non-essential elements. The supporting platform of the stūpa was raised higher and higher and in due course a staircase was provided to reach it. The masterly execution of the stucco sculptures, made out of a mixture of clay, chopped straw, wool, fleece and horse-hair, put aside some of the conventional and effiminate products of the Gandhāra art but at the same time Indian traits predominated most of the examples The early wall-paintings of Afghanistan were primarily inspired by the Ajanta and Gandharan traditions. It was from Afghanistan, thereafter, that such artistic impulses had their mighty impact on the fine arts of Central Asia. Centres like Bamiyan, Hadda and Fondukistan played a leading role in the process of this diffusion. That India provided all the vital elements in the development of the ancient art of Afghanistan and other neighbouring countries is amply clear from the monumental remains and sculptural wealth referred to above.

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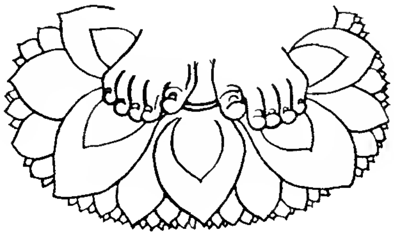

Prehistoric Indian Cultures in Soviet Central Asia

S. P. GUPTA

IT IS GENERALLY held that the extension of Indian culture beyond its geographical frontiers is intimately connected with the spread of Buddhism; particularly. due to the efforts of Aśoka. But recent researches have shown that the dispersal of Indian culture. at least in Soviet Central Asia, can be traced back to the earliest times. i.e., to the Early Stone Age. Thus, it takes us back to about half a million years. This is well-established by the archaeological evidence in the Soviet Republics of Tajikistan. Uzbekistan. Turkmenia and Kazakhstan. We have tried to enumerate this evidence in three parts: (i) the Palaeolithic. (ii) the Neolithic. and (iii) the Bronze Age. This is dealt with in three parts – I. II and III—pertaining to the Palaeolithic. Neolithic and Bronze stages respectively. It may. however. be pointed out that the material evidence of these prehistoric and protohistoric cultures lies only in the artefacts made of stone. bone. clay and metal; there cannot be any inscriptional or traditional or literary proof for the diffusion of prehistoric cultures.

Part I—Palaeolithic Stage

Indian Influence Half-A-Million Years Ago

The Himalayan foothills. especially the Siwālik ranges. from the cradle of Early Man during the Old Stone Age. Recent joint explorations[1] in areas north-east of Chandigarh by the anthropologists from the Yale University. U.S.A.. and the University of Chandigarh. India. have brought to light bones of very early hominids. Some of these hominids are in the line of the *Śivapithecus*. *Rāmapithecus*. etc.. found much earlier in the same region. The evolution of these hominids into 'man the tool-maker' is still being worked out. but the possibility of man's independent origin in India is now very much in sight and it is likely to nullify many commonplace misgivings about the origin of man.

The evidence of early man's activities lies in several sites located in the Himalayan foothills: from the Peshawar valley to the Nepal tarai. The stone tools found in this vast area include crudely made 'chopper-chopping' implements: simple tools made on pebbles. found in rivers. Only one end of this tool is sharpened. This is done by the removal of flakes either from one side of the pebble or from both the sides. These were. so to say. 'all-purpose' tools. However. these were primarily used for scraping or cutting the skin and flesh of the hunted animals. The assemblage. consisting of tools of these types. is called the 'Sohan' or 'Soan'. after the name of a river. near Rawalpindi. on whose banks these tools were found for the first time. In the absence of any written record the archaeologist is obliged to adopt this method of naming the cultures he discovers.

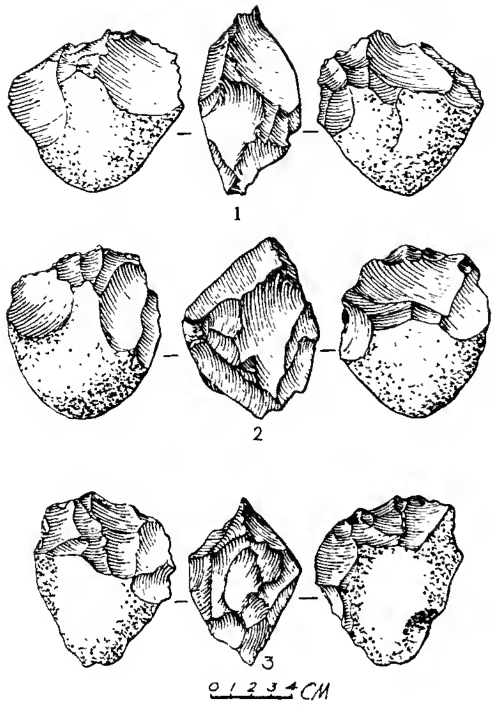

FIG 1 *Tools of the Palaeolithic Period from Kara Bura, Tadjikistan, U.S.S.R.*

The existence of the Sohan culture in India was revealed in 1935 by de Terra and Paterson.[2] The collection of tools made in 1935 has recently been reviewed by Drummond and Paterson.[3] In recent years, B. B. Lal[4] and G. C. Mohapatra[5] have explored the Beas valley, near Kangra. At Bilaspur, in the Himachal Pradesh, V. D. Krishnaswami[6] and the present writer also discovered a few Sohan sites. In the Sutlej valley O. Prufer and D. Sen[7] explored and located a few other sites of this culture. Recently, N. R. Banerjee discovered a few localities of the same culture in the Nepal tarai.[8] The discovery of a vast material of the Sohan culture from these places in a definite geological context conclusively proves that India was the original home of the Sohan culture-complex.

Earliest Stone Tools Tell A Fascinating Story

For a long time it was believed that the Sohan culture was an isolated phenomenon within the boundaries of India. Even in the All-India Seminar of Prehistory and Protohistory[9] held at Poona in 1964 no one suspected that this culture could cross the difficult terrain of the Hindukush and the Pamirs to enter Tajkistan, Kazakhstan and other areas watered by the Oxus and her tributaries. Surprisingly enough, some of the leading prehistorians in the Soviet Union had already discovered large remains of the Sohan culture in their own country. The results of their discoveries have been published by V. Ranov,[10] Kh. A. Alphasbayev[11] and others in several Soviet journals. On the basis of these studies an attempt has been made here to present a coordinated picture of the Sohan assemblages discovered in India and Soviet Central Asia.

The spread of the Sohan culture in the Central Asia Republics seems to have taken place in two stages :

The first stage of the Sohan culture in India is known as Early Sohan. It was earlier divided by de Terra and Paterson into three groups, A, B and C, on the basis of patination and the state of wear of the stone tools. Paterson and Drummond have, however, divided it into two successive groups—'Middle Soan A' and 'Middle Soan B'; while Middle Soan A is the same as Early Soan A, Middle Soan B includes both the Early Soan B and C. The new classification of the Early Soan tools in two groups seems to be more logical than the classification suggested by de Terra and Paterson, particularly when seen in the Central Asian context.

Early Soan A (or Middle Soan A) consists of crude pebble chopper-chopping tools, often rolled and patinated. They are either flat based or rounded. A few discoidal cores and clactonian flakes have also been found at a few sites. Similarly, Chelles-Acheulian handaxes have been discovered at a few sites in the Peshawar valley as also the Nepal tarai.

The first stage of the Palaeolithic or Old Stone Age culture of Central Asia is known as Borykazghan culture.[12] It derives its name from the name of the type-site in southern Kazakhstan. The stone-tools of this culture (also found at Tanir Kazghan) are astonishingly similar to those from the Indian sites of the Sohan culture.

The Borykazghan tool-repertoire is characterized by the predominance of curdely-made implements of the 'chopping' type which are rolled and covered with patina. They are made from pebbles and flint nodules, and are often quite shapeless. The collection includes a few handaxes; cores are mainly discoidal with flakes removed from one or both the sides. These are sometimes called 'chopper-handaxes.' (See Fig. 1).

Even Russian Scholars Accept the Indebtedness of India

The similarity of the two assemblages is so overwhelming that Ranov called the Borykazghan assemblage as 'the Soan culture of Central Asia'.[13] It really seems quite probable that the Soan culture originating in the Beas-Sutlej basin moved westward in the Sohan region, crossed the Himalayas and reached the Pamirs at a very early stage of human civilization, sometime towards the end of the Middle Pleistocene period.

The second stage of development of the Sohan culture in India and Pakistan would be Early Soan B and C of de Terra and Paterson and Middle Soan B of Paterson and Drummond. As said earlier, Paterson and Drummonds' classification compares favourably with that of Ranov adopted for Central Asia.

The Early Soan B and C consist of fairly fresh chopper-chopping tools of standardized forms. Discoidal cores, flaked all over one surface, like the Early Levalloisean discoidal cores, are also found. Apart from the usual clactonian flakes, a few flakes with low-angled simple faceted platform, suggesting a Proto-Levalloisean influence, are equally present. As a rule, sharpening by retouch is absent. The picture in the Beas-Sutlej basin is also similar. From Terrace (flat bank of the river) No. 2 (T2) of Banganga, Lal[14] discovered Proto-Levallo flakes. From the Upper Terrace of Sirsa, a tributary of the Sutlej, Prüfer and Sen[15] discovered pebble-choppers and crude clactonian flakes. From Bilaspur on the Sutlej, Krishnaswami[16] collected crude choppers and heavy clactonian flakes from T2.

A comparable picture emerges at Tokaly in Kazakhastan and On-archa in Kirgizia. Ranov[17] preferred the name 'Tokaly' to designate this stage. Here, the chopper-chopping tools are somewhat smaller in size and also more streamlined. The Tokaly group is distinguished by a new form of well-flaked cores of a regular shape. The Leavalloisean cores are also present, although they are limited in number. The handaxes, so far found at Tokaly, were only three in number. The clactonian flakes have also been met with. A number of Proto-Levallois flake-blades are located at these sites. Similar implements are also available from Kaireghach, Isfairam Sai, Sarai Arka and other places (Chart No. 1).

The above details make it quite clear that the directional changes in the tool typology as also in the assemblages individually and as a whole are the same both in India and Soviet Central Asia. It is true that at the present state of our knowledge there may be some difficulty in asserting categorically if the similarity observed has been due to the actual movement of the people from India to Central Asia; it is possible that it did not involve any large scale movement of the people. Nevertheless, the mechanism of diffusion of the tool making techniques could not have been in those days without the actual movement of groups of people. The chopper-chopping culture of Soviet Central Asia seems to be an extension of the Sohan Cultures of India.

Part II—Neolithic Stage

Indian Influence Five Thousand Years Ago

The process of diffusion of the Sohan culture of the Old Stone Age in Soviet Central Asia is not an isolated event. Recent researches present a picture in which it is possible to see a glimpse of the association of the cultures of the two countries even in the Neolithic period.[18] In the Kangra region G. C. Mohapatra[19] has identified a neolithic culture-complex which includes pebble chopper-chopping tools and prepared flake-tools (obviously, of the Early Stone Age *tradition*) along with the polished stone axes, scrapers, ring-stones, etc. The type-site of this culture is Ror in District Kangra. In this connection it may be pointed out that the tools of the Early Stone Age tradition at Ror were not made from quartzite but from grey chert, a material that was used for making the polished tools as well.

In the mountainous region of Tajikistan Ranov found a neolithic culture-complex which has been named as Gissar (i.e., Hissar) culture. Curiously enough, in this culture have been found chopper-chopping tools of the Early Stone Age *tradition* along with the polished stone implements (See Fig. 2). Although the sites of this culture, explored by Okladnikov, Ranov and others, number at least a dozen, the excavated type-site is only Tut-Kaul. There is a strong similarity between the neolithic cultures of the mountainous zones of Hissar and Kangra. In this connection it may also be mentioned that the chronological horizon of the neolithic culture in both the regions is almost the same, i.e., *circa* 3rd millennium B.C. It may equally be emphasized that the Kangra Velley neolithic culture-complex is certainly unique in the Indian context. If there is any parallel of this culture anywhere it is only in the Gissar Culture of Central Asia. Thus, it can easily be postulated that India and Central Asia had definite cultural contacts in the neolithic times.

Part III—Bronze Age

The Impact of the Harappa Culture : Four Thousand Years Ago

The diffusion of the Indian Stone Age cultures outside India may still be somewhat controversial and scholars might like to see more material evidence, but we are comparatively on more firm grounds in so far as the diffusion during the Bronze Age is concerned. The Indus Valley Civilization (or the Harappa Culture) of the 3rd millennium B.C. is one of those culture-complexes in India which moved far and wide in time and space. The Harappan traders and merchants made very close socio-economic contacts with the western regions. We had, so far, the impression that the Harappan contact with Mesopotamia and Iran was through the sea route along the Makran coast. The discovery of a dockyard at Lothal was a strong argument in its favour. However, recent discoveries of Soviet archaeologists like V. M. Masson,[20] A. Y. Shchatenko,[21] B. A. Litvinski[22] and others have thrown a new light on the diffusion of the Indus Valley Civilization through the land route in the Republic of Turkmenia, situated close to the Caspian sea. The important sites which bear the stamp of the Indus Civilization are Āltin Dépé, Khāpuz Dépé, Nāmāzgā Dépé, Tāhirbāi Dépé, Anāu, etc., in south Turkmenia (See Fig. 2). The comparable material includes pottery, copper and bronze artefacts, beads, ivory objects, terracotta objects, seals, etc. (See Fig. 3).

Scrutiny of pottery from Cemetery R-37 of Harappa, classified by Krishna Deva and S. C. Chandra,[23] reveals that out of 45 types, at least 13 have close affinity with the types found in the Bronze Age sites of Turkmenia, some are even identical. They are : Harappan types I, IX to XI, XXI to XXIV, XXVII, XXX, XXXIII, XLIV and XLV (Fig. 4, Nos. 1–8). Out of these, the perforated cylindrical jar, carinated dish-on-stand, jar stands with concave or vertical or slanting profile, small oval jar with ledged shoulder and flat base, tall and slender cylindrical vase with flat base and flared rim, are noteworthy. Some of the typically Harappan miniature vessels have also their counterparts in Turkmenia. Besides, the shape and the technique of

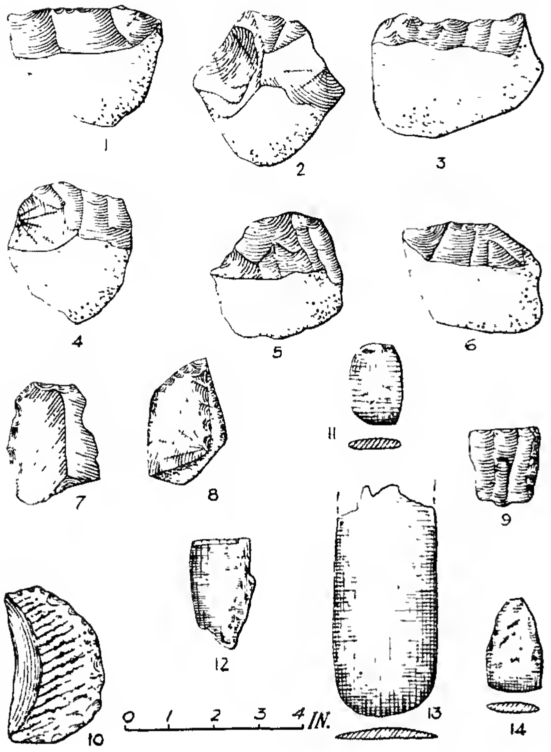

FIG. 2. *Tools of the Neolithic Assemblage from Tut Kaul, Tadjikistan.*

making the pots are also similar. In most of the cases, the pots were treated with a thin red slip or wash. But the red slip, a prominent feature of the Harappan pottery, is practically unknown on the pots of Namazga Period V, the period of effective contact between India and Central Asia. Nevertheless, the thick sturdy ware of this period has red hard core, and the thin delicate ware had buff core and smooth texture. Pots of alabaster of common shapes are also found in India and Turkmenia. The Turkmenian ware, however, can be singled out from the Harappan ware on the basis of some specialized profiles, e.g., carinated, linear and angular (in contrast to the pots with flowering profile of the Harappans). In spite of this difference, there is a fundamental identity in forms and types as shown above, which would not have been possible had there been no close cultural contacts. In this connection pot-sherds with Svāstika motif from Namazga Tépé (Fig. 5; Fig. 2, No. 8) are worth quoting.

The same is true of the copper and bronze artefacts (Fig. 3, Nos. 9 to 19). The double-spiral headed hair-pin, shouldered and leaf-shaped knives or daggers without mid-rib, knife with concave back and convex edge, concave sickle, chisels of rectangular cross-section, finger-ring and bangle, surgical rod with two bud-shaped ends, articles of toilet with forked end, etc., occurring at Anāu in Central Asia have their parallels at some of the Harappan sites excavated in 1920s and 1930s. Recent excavations at Āltin Dépé have yielded a few more objects which demonstrate this parallelism more clearly and convincingly. The straight-handled copper frying pan from Mohenjodaro is also evidenced at Āltin Dépé. A leaf-shaped dagger without mid-rib from Harappa has also been found at Āltin Dépé.

This similarity, in material, shape and manufacturing technique, has been observed in the case of beads also (Fig. 3, numbers 22 to 27, 32, 33). The segmented faience bead, one of the characteristic types of the Harappan beads, is found in a good number in South Turkmenian sites, including Anāu and Āltin Dépé. Beads made of cernelian, agate, gold and lapis lazuli, and variously shaped, are also found in both the regions. It is important to note that, in all probability, the source of lapis lazuli was Afghanistan for both the regions.

The export of ivory from India to Turkmenia is a much disputed point, yet it is interesting to find that some of the ivory objects from Turkmenia have very close resemblance, even identity, with those from the Indian sites (Fig. 3, Nos. 21, 22, 38). Rectangular ivory sticks used, probably, as dices, are stylistically similar. The markings on them include concentric circles—one on the first face, two on the second, three on the third and a group of other signs on the fourth face. Whereas on the Indian examples it consists of four longitudinal parallel

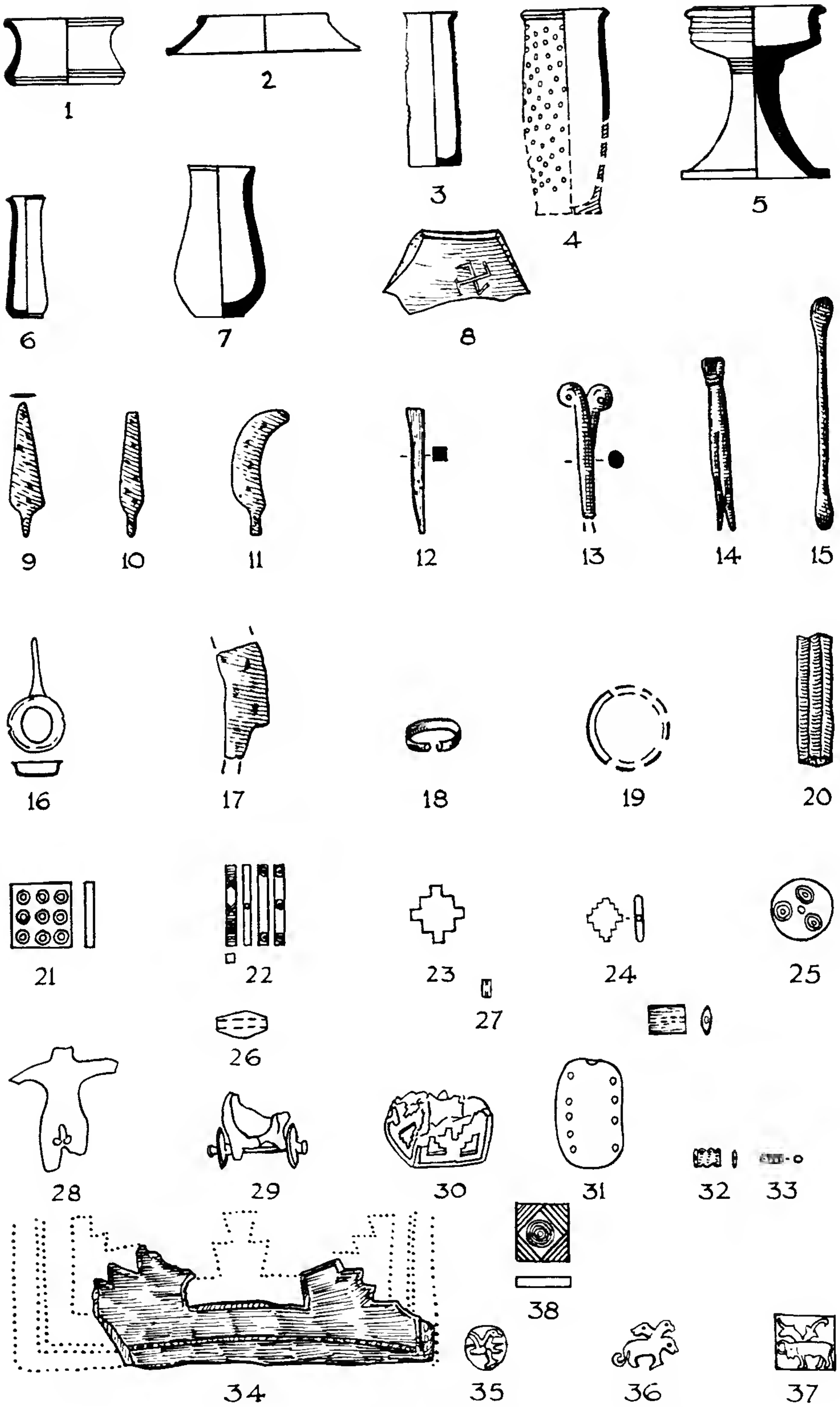
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FIG. 3 *The material equipment of the Harappan Culture as found in India and the U S S R*

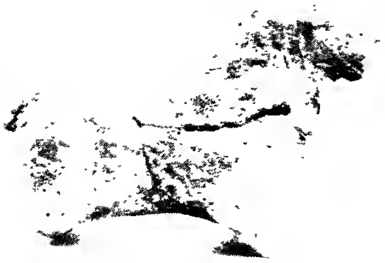

FIG 4 *Clay bull : Altin Dépé*

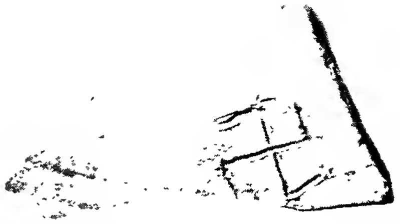

FIG 5 *Nāmazga Tépé the Svastika Marked Pot-sherd*

grooves, in the Turkmenian examples, it consists of two panels, each containing a cross, bracketed between two groups of four horizontal parallel lines. Similarly, from Āltin Dépé there are two beautiful objects : one is a thick rectangular object with rows of concentric circles, and the other is a square object with corners filled with oblique parallel lines. Remotely similar objects have also been found at Harappa and Mohenjodaro.

Another example of very close affinity of the Harappans with the Central Asian people can be gleaned from the terracotta carts with solid wheels. Their axle-knobs in both the contexts are similar. Apart from this, three nude male figurines from Turkmenian sites, including one found at Āltin Dépé, can easily be compared with those found at Harappa. Though there is no concrete evidence to take these figurines as cult objects, yet their ritualistic purpose cannot completely be denied. The cult figurines of Mother Goddess are common to both the cultures even though the stylistic delineation is different. The compartmented toilet container of soapstone and terracotta at the Harappan sites in India are also found at Āltin Dépé, but at the latter site they are only of terracotta. However, the exterior incised decoration of the Indian, as also of Iranian and Mesopotamian examples is different from the scoop decoration of the Turkmenian examples. A terracotta object, known as window screen from Chanhundaro has also its counterpart at Āltin Dépé (Fig. 3, Nos. 28, 30, 34).

Along with these, several other objects of unburnt clay should also be considered. Some of the well-modelled bulls (Fig. 4) with perfect anatomical contours can be compared with the terracotta bulls from Mohenjodaro, Harappa and Kalibangan (Fig. 5). Similarly, the spindle whorls, cones, discs, beads, etc., also have their parallels at the Turkmenian sites. However, an oval object with peripheral holes from Āltin Dépé, whose identification as net-sinker or weaving tool (Fig. 3, No. 31) is more conjectural than real, has also its counterpart at Mohenjodaro.

The cultural assemblage of Āltin Dépé and other sites in Turkmenia contains chertblades similar in shape and manufacturing technique to those in the Harappan collections (Fig. 3, No. 20) of the Indian sites.

An important evidence of cultural contacts between the two regions in that remote past, is the presence of a common seal motif (Fig. 3, No. 36). A silver seal found in a grave at Āltin Dépé bears the following representation : a figure of tiger with a twisted tail and two solid legs is in the centre. The head is beaked. Across the neck is an elongated double-head of an animal which may, perhaps, also be identified as tiger. On the whole it seems to be a three-headed figure, although apparently the three heads do not form part of the central figure.

Mohenjodaro has also yielded a seal with a similar composition but there the animal is not a tiger. It is a horned bull. It has two heads behind it, one of a unicorn and the other, probably, of a stag. This difference may be due to different mythological ideas. However, the

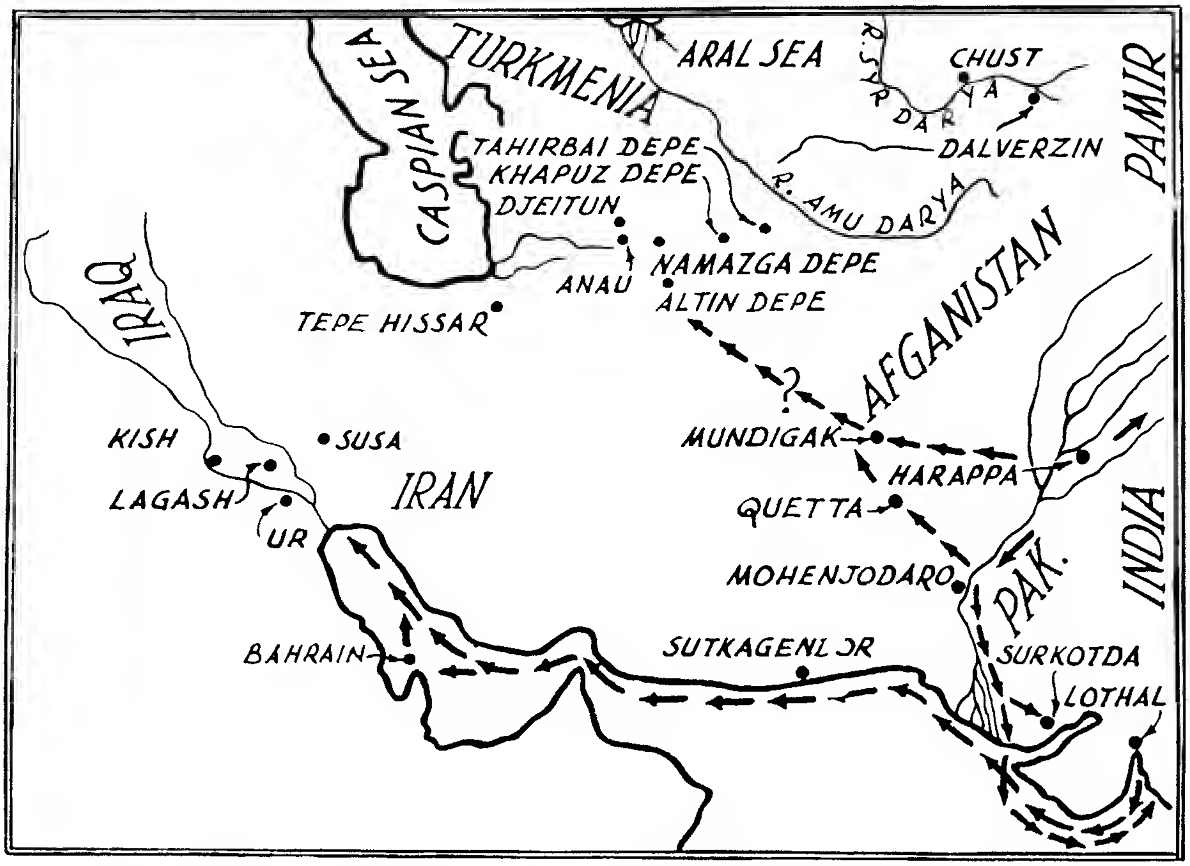
TURKMENIA
ARAL SEA
R. SYR DARYA
CHUST
DALVERZIN
PAMIR
CASPIAN SEA
TAHIRBAI DEPE
KHAPUZ DEPE
DJEITUN
R. AMU DARYA
ANAU
NAMAZGA DEPE
ALTIN DEPE
TEPE HISSAR
IRAQ
AFGANISTAN
?
KISH
SUSA
MUNDIGAK
LAGASH
IRAN
HARAPPA
QUETTA
UR
MOHENJODARO
PAK.
INDIA
BAHRAIN
SUTKAGENDOR
SURKOTDA
LOTHAL

FIG. 6. Map showing some of the probable ancient routes established by the Bronze Age people of Harappan Culture.

most important point to be noted is the composition with the underlying unity in concept which is possible only when there are close and deep contacts between the two cultures.

The details given above clearly show that the comparison is not confined to articles of trade only. The pottery, terracotta objects, beads, etc., are the items of daily use and do not involve long-range transportation. It is therefore quite reasonable to presume that the Harappans actually moved in small groups, crossed Hindukush, touched Oxus, and through northern Iran reached the Kopet Dagh chain of hills where they came in contact with the Chalcolithic settlements of sites like Āltin Dépé, Anāu and Namazga. There is every likelihood that they were received quite warmly. Slowly and gradually they mingled with the local people along with their technical know how of producing bronze, and making objects of ivory, etc.

It may be emphasized that the archaeological evidence clearly shows that the coming of the Harappans in south Turkmenia marked the sudden decline in the influence of the Chalcolithic cultures of Iran which was dominant in the earlier phases. It all started round about 2000 B.C. when the Harappans were at their zenith (Chart No. 2).

Epilogue

The above account is far from complete so far as the prehistoric relations between India and Soviet Central Asia are concerned. More and more material is coming to light every year to support the already existing evidence. Many a time we remain ignorant of them simply because we do not get the Russian publications in time. Probably, the same is the situation at the other end. However, the situation is improving and archaeologists of both the countries have started exchanging their publications as also visiting each others' excavations. The present author, who has first-hand knowledge of the excavated material of both the countries, is trying to collect all the material at one place in his forthcoming book on the comparative studies in the art and archaeology of India and Soviet Central Asia. For the present, it may suffice to indicate that the movement of the people and culture of India in Soviet Central Asia should now be seen in a correct historical perspective. That it started much before the Buddhist period is now well established: in fact, as shown above, its beginning goes back to the Early Stone Age.

It may also be emphasized that there has been some adaptation of certain Central Asian cultural traits by ourselves also. This has been clearly indicated elsewhere.[24] It was certainly a two-way traffic but the traffic from India was more brisk and effective

CHART No. 1

CHART SHOWING TENTATIVE CORRELATION OF OLD STONE AGE CULTURES OF INDIA, CENTRAL ASIA, PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN

Central Asia	*Pakistan*			*India*			*Afghanistan*
Republics	Soan Valley		Peshawar Valley	Banganga Valley	Sutlaj Valley	Sirsa Valley	Samangan Valley
Ranov	De Terra and Paterson	Paterson and Drummond	Dani	Lal and Mohapatra	Krishnaswami and Gupta	Pruter and Sen	Puglisi
Karasu Stage	Late Upper Palaeolithic or Evolved Soan	Final Soan Upper Clacton (Punjab) B	Sanghao Cave Assemblage	Banganga T4 Assemblage			Hazar Sum Assemblage
Kara Bura Stage	Late Soan B	Upper Soan B		Banganga T3 Assemblage	Bilaspur T3 Assemblage	Nalagarh Middle Terrace Assemblage	
		Upper Clacton (Punjab) A					
	Late Soan A	Upper Soan A					
Tokaly Stage	Early Soan C Early Soan B	Middle Soan B		Banganga T2 Assemblage	Bilaspur T2 Assemblage	Nalagarh Upper Terrace Assemblage	
Borykazghan Stage	Early Soan A	Middle Soan A		Banganga T1 Assemblage			
		Lower Soan A					

CHART NO. 2

Probable Dates	Cultural State	ANAU	NAMAZGA	TAHIRBAI DÉPÉ	ALTIN DÉPÉ	KHAPUZ DÉPÉ	HARAPPA
BRONZE STAGE							
1700–1000	Late Bronze Stage	Gap	VI	I			Late phase
2000–1700	Middle Bronze Stage		V		V	V	Middle phase
TRANSITION							
2700–2000	Early Bronze Stage Latest Chal.	III	Upper IV Lower		IV	IV	Early phase
CHALCOLITHIC STAGE							
3200–2700	Late Chal.		III		To be confirmed by further excavation	III	Kaligagan
3700–3200	Middle Chal.	II	II			To be confirmed	Pre-Harappa
5000–3700	Early Chal.	I B	I				
		I A	?			?	?
6000–5000	NEOLITHIC	DJIETUN	CULTURE				

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On the Role of Central Asia in the Spread of Indian Cultural Influence

PENTTI AALTO

ON THE WALL of the gate of Chü-yung-kuan, a town on the road from Peking to Kalgan there is an inscription in six languages—Sanskrit, Tibetan, Hsi-hsia, Uigur, Mongol, and Chinese—from the time of Yüan dynasty. Part of it runs: "The great and illustrious Cakravartī King Aśoka, having assembled the relics of Lord Buddha of great virtue, adorned beautifully the vast world with stūpas, and made the great Dharma shine greatly throughout the world". The propagation of Buddhism beyond the boundaries of India proper is considered to have begun with the council of Pāṭaliputra convened in 245 B.C. by Aśoka, and Kashmir and Gandhāra were in fact converted by Madhyāntika and his companions under Aśoka.[1] The newly discovered inscription of Kandahār (dated in 258 B.C.) tells in Greek and Aramaic that, as a result of Aśoka's activity, "everything prospers over the whole earth".

Influence of Gandhāra and Mathurā Schools

The excavations carried out by French archaeologists in Afghanistan—especially in Bāmiyān, Fondukistan and Begrām, the ancient Kāpiśī—on the road from Taxila to Turkestan have brought to light magnificent Buddhistic monuments which clearly show the influence of the Gandhāra and Mathurā schools of art. The Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang tells in his memoirs that according to a local tradition Khotan was founded by exiled Gandhāran subjects of Aśoka, and that Buddhism was transplanted there by the Arhat Vairocana from Kashmir.[2] The same tale occurs in the *Li-yul lun-bstan* which states further (p. 21): "Li being a country where Indian and Chinese met, the common language agrees with neither India nor China. However, the letters agree one by one with India. The customs of the people agree for the most part with China. The religious customs and the religious language agree for the most part with India. As for the common language of Li, originally the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī assumed the form of a monk and under the name of Vairocana, introduced the Li language . . . And this language was originally exhibited and taught by the Āryans". The Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts found by various archaeological expeditions in Khotan obviously represent the Gandhāran dialect of Middle Indo-Aryan. In addition to the Dharmapada (the so-called Ms. Dutreuil de Rhins) from Khotan there are documents on wood, leather and silk found at Lou-lan (Kroraina).[3] They all seem to prove that there may be a certain amount of truth in the tradition of the Gandhāran expansion to Turkestan under the Maurya dynasty. The areas involved were in any case politically united with the Indo-Scythian (Yueh-chi, Kushana) empire (ca. 40–ca. 220 A.D.) which stretched from the Ganges and Indus to the Aral. The greatest Kushan ruler Kaniṣka patronised Buddhism, and a Chinese tradition states that Lord Buddha understood the Yueh-chi language better than any other. The conversion of the Yueh-chi seems in any case to be older than Kaniṣka whose date is still controversial. According to Chinese sources śramaṇas from the Yueh-chi arrived at Hien-yang as early as 217 B.C. bringing Buddhist sūtras. The Wei lio, one of these sources, contains an interesting description of the Turkestan states and of the caravan routes from there to India.[4] Since the time of the Emperor Wu (140–87 B.C.) the Chinese tried to maintain regular caravan trade with Ferghana and Parthia in order to obtain fine thoroughbreds (Laufer P. 210). The imperial envoy Chan Ch'ien who in 120 B.C. was sent to the west succeeded in negotiating treaties with 36 states, and by 115 B.C. a regular intercourse with them had been established (Giles 29). Along this road the Chinese exported silk and imported Indian and other products; several important cultivated plants were also transplanted in China (Franke I, p. 405). The Chinese knew very well that the pepper-plant's home is India, but its products were in Chinese some times prefixed with *hu* 'Iranian'. Laufer's explanation (p. 374) is that the Chinese imported pepper through the Iranians in Central Asia. The word for 'ginger' occurs with the same prefix, and even Indigo seems to have been imported through the Iranians. *Curcuma longa* (Sanskrit *haridrā*) was introduced to China via Central Asia (Laufer, p. 314). Saffron plants were, e.g., in 647 A.D. sent from Kashmir as gifts to the imperial court (Laufer, p. 317). *Asafoetida* (Sanskrit *hiṅgu*) was mentioned by the Chinese as an Indian plant and they also quote old recipes for its use as taught by Indian monks. The costus *(kuṣṭha)*, the *Brassica rapa* and the gourd or calabash *(Lagenaria vulgaris)* seem also to have been transplanted from India to China through Turkestan. "Woollen rugs" are mentioned in the Han Annals as a product of India.[5] Farther in the west the "Silk Road" reached the trading centres of the Roman empire. The greatest geographer of antiquity, Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.) also gives a description of the route from Central Asia through the Indus basin to Patna on the Ganges. And, as Pelliot emphasizes, the "Silk Road" has always been a road for art and religion as well.

Buddhist Temples in Central Asia

There seems to be no evidence whatsoever that the religion of Khotan was ever other than Buddhist, and as early as 259 A.D. a Chinese monk, She-ling, is told to have settled there in order to study the Dharma. The missionary activity of the Indian colonies in Turkestan spread the religion among the neighbouring peoples, such as Śakas and Sogdians, who both spoke an Iranian language, and Tokharians. The Sogdians were brokers of the west-east trade, and the New T'ang History says that they had "gone wherever profit is to be found". In addition to their factories in the then Turkic territories, referred to in the Turkic Runic inscriptions, they had founded colonies in the important Lob-nor region and, after the 7th century, also in the Ordos.[6] At the beginning of the 3rd century a Sogdian immigrant from India, Seng-hui (died 280) had settled in Tonkin, from where he later emigrated to Nanking, where he translated Buddhist works into Chinese.[7] The Sogdians earlier confessed the Zurvanist form of Zoroastrianism, and when adopting Buddhism they continued to use their old religious terminology with new meanings. This terminology became specially important in Uigurian and Mongolian. The Sogdians rendered, e.g., Indra by *xwrmzt'* (=Zoroastrian *Ahura Mazda*) and Brahmā by *'zrw* *zrw'n* (=Zoroastrian *Zurvan*); these resulted in Uigurian in *Qormuzḍa* and *Āzrua*, in Mongolian in *Qormusta* and *Esrua*. Further Uig. Mo. *śimnu* 'Māra'< Sogd. *znnw* (Ir. *Ahriman*), Mo. Uig. *nom* 'Dharma' Sogd. *nwm*, Tokh, *ñom*<Greek vouos (cf. Asmussen p. 137), Mo. *niswani*, Uig. *nizwanī* Sogd. *nyzbn* 'kleśa', etc. The phonetic shape of loanwords from Sanskrit point in general to a Sogdian or Tokharian intermediary: Mo.

caysabad, Uig. *caxśapat* Sogd. *cxś'p* Sanskrit *śikṣnāpada*; Mo. *ubasi,* Uig. *upasi* Sogd. *'wp'sy,* Sanskrit *upāsaka*; Mo. *buqar-brqar,* Uig. *wrxar* Sogd. *Bry'r,* Sanskrit *vihāra*. Sanskrit *upāsikā* was rendered in Sogdian with the Sogdian feminine suffix as *wp's'nc* and loaned into Uigurian and further into Mongolian as *ubasanca*. The same suffix is met with in Mo. Uig. *śimananca* Sogd. *śmn'nc*=Sanskrit *śramaṇā-sramaṇí*: both Khotanese Śaka *ṣṣaman'* and Tokharian *ṣāmaṃ* show the same development of *śr* > *ṣ* as is regular in Gāndhārī, and which is obviously reflected also by Chin. *ṣa-muen* (cf. Brough, p. 53). Several scholars, e.g., Weller, Waldschmidt and Brough regard it as possible that at least some of the earliest Buddhist translations into Chinese were based on Gāndhāri originals. Indian born translators seem also to have translated astrological texts from Sogdian into Chinese.[8] Asmussen (p. 145) wants to distinguish two Buddhist schools in Turkestan: a Śaka-Tokharian—which was emphatically Indian (Sanskrit-Prakrit)—and a Sogdian-Chinese. These both seem to meet in Uigurian Buddhism. The Turks seem to have already been in contact with Indians under the Türk dynasty (about 552–745 A.D.).[9] After the fourth century A.D. the Turkic influence in Turkestan was rapidly growing, but the Yabru of the Western Turks was converted to Buddhism only around 622 A.D. by an Indian missionary group headed by Prabhākaramitra. The missionaries were treated with greatest respect and hospitality, but when they wanted to continue their journey to China the Abyu permitted them to leave only after the Emperor had issued an official invitation.[10] According to Chinese sources a Chinese monk had persuaded the Quran of the Eastern Turks T'o–po (572–591) that the greatness of China was based on Buddhism, and explained to him the Chain of Causation and the Deliverance. The Quran founded a Saṅghārāma and received from the emperor Buddhist sūtras translated into Turkic by Liu Che-ts'ing.[11] The famous Buddhist scholar Jinagupta lived for ten years in the Turkic court (until 575). It is, however, not clear how largely the Turks had in fact adopted Buddhism, since we are told that when Bilgä Quaran around 720 planned to build a Buddhist temple, he was dissuaded by his famous Minister Tonyukuk who pointed out that Buddhism did not promote warlike spirit in the people.[12]

Under the Uigur dynasty (745–840 A.D.) the people might have still confessed Buddhism, while the ruler and possibly the aristocracy were in 762 converted to Manichaeism. The Buddhist literature of the Uigurs was obviously very rich though it has been preserved only fragmentarily. The most important and extensive work *Maitreyasamiti* has according to the colophon been translated by the Ācārya Prajñārakṣita from Tokharian, while the Tokharian version has been translated from the "Indian language" by the Vaibhāṣika Āryacandra.

The records of the Chinese pilgrims contain very valuable information about the distribution and development of the various Buddhist schools in Central Asia and in India. Fa-hsien and Buddhabhadra (about 417 A.D.) seem not to mention Mahāyāna at all, while according to the Korean pilgrim Hui-ch'ao in 727 it prevailed in Uḍḍiyāna, Lampaka and Khotan, the Hīnayāna again in Kapiśa, Tokarestan, Kashgar, Karashar and Kucha. Lamotte supposes that the heart of Māhāyāna may have been in Khotan from where it had been introduced into India.[13] Fragments of 12th century Uigurian Hinayanistic texts were unearthed by the Hedin Expedition on the Etsin-gol in Inner Mongolia.

The Famous Bower Manuscript

A very interesting document of the Indian cultural heritage in Central Asia is the so-called *Bower Manuscript* which contains 7 medical texts written by four different persons, all obviously residents of a Kuchan monastery. It was found in the memorial stūpa of its last owner, Yaśomitra by name.[14] According to Konow Sanskrit played the same role in Khotanese medicine as Latin in the European. We are thus in possession of a metrical Sanskrit text with a Khotanese-Śaka translation of the same kind as the above *Nāvanītakam* as well as Uigurian medical texts deriving from Sanskrit originals.[15] The further spread of Indian medical science is still to be investigated.

Other Texts

The position of the Sogdians and Uigurians as teachers of Buddhism was later occupied by the Tibetans. In the texts translated from Tibetan into Mongolian the technical terms and even proper names are translated on the base of their (popular) etymologies. In texts like the *Mahāmāyūrī* which we possess in several Mongolian versions, the Central Asian and the Tibetan methods can be easily compared :

> *Śailo Bhadrapure yakṣa Uttarāyāṃca Mānavaḥ*
> =*Baidirabur-ulus-tur Saili yaksa Manavi yaksa Utari-ulus-tur* (a version from the time of the Yüan dynasty)
> *quor oggugci kulti sayin balyasun-a, boke-yin kobegun inu umar-a Jug-tur ele* (a later version based on Tibetan).

The greatest results of the Buddhist missionary activity were achieved in China. In the Mahābhārata the *Cīnas* are mentioned in the north-west as neighbours of the Tokharians. This proves that the first contact of India with China had been established along the routes through Central Asia.[16] According to Chinese sources quoted by Giles (1121) eighteen Buddhists headed by Li Fang arrived in China from India during the reign of the First Emperor (220–209 B.C.) in order to teach the Dharma, and Franke regards the statement of the Han Annals that there were Buddhist monks in north-western China in the 2nd century as proved.[17] Upāsakas are mentioned at the court of the king of Ch'ou around 65 A.D.[18] We are also told that the Han Emperor Ming Ti sent a mission headed by Ts'ai Yin to the west to make inquiries concerning Buddhism. It returned in 67 A.D. with many Indian śramaṇas including Kāśyapamātaṇga (?) who got settled in Lo-yang and translated the *Sūtra of* 42 *Sections* (Giles 971 and 1984). The Sui Annals mention śramaṇas who between 76 and 88 A.D. brought sūtras from Turkestan. Franke considers (II p. 289) that the Buddhist centres in Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an were founded by missionaries who arrived from or through Central Asia. This is also materially proved by the Kharoṣṭhī inscription found in the region of Lo-yang, which Brough has dated around 200 A.D.[19] J. Prip-Mller points out (p. 4) that the Oldest Chinese monasteries dated to the 2nd century imitate the Indian vihāras, replicas of which were to be seen in Central Asia. The first monastery for monks in Kien-ye was, according to tradition, founded by Seng-hui who had immigrated from Samarkand. The first missionary regarded as really historical is the "Parthian Marquis" An Shih-Kao, who arrived in China in 148 A.D. He is said to have translated 176 works, but according to Demiéville only 4 are definitely his (Lamotte p. 546). Between 168 and 189 A.D. "Hindu Bodhisattva" Chu Cho-fo translated sūtras together with another Parthian, an Hüan Chih Yueh from Yueh-chi is said to have arrived c. 185, T'an-kuo and Chou Ta-li between 196 and 219. In 224 Wei Chih-nan brought the text of the *Dharmapada* which he translated with the aid of other monks. In Lo-yang a team headed by Dharmakāla published a translation of the Vinaya in 256. The Sui Annals tell of a certain Dharmarakṣa from Kucha whose family lived in Tun-huang and who visited the Western Countries in 265–274 and brought back sūtras which he then translated in Ch'ang-an. Dharmarakṣa's pupil Chou Chou-lan was the son of an Indian refugee, Dharmaśīla, and another of his pupils, Chou Fa-ch'eng seems to have been of foreign origin.[20] Che K'ien, son of an envoy of the Yueh-chi is regarded by Franke (II p. 289) as founder of the southern Buddhist church in Nanking; between 223 and 253 he is said to have translated 49 holy texts.

Buddhist Kings of China

The first Chinese sovereign who professed the Buddhist faith was according to tradition, the ninth Emperor of the Eastern China dynasty Ssu-ma Yao (362–396) who in 381 built a monastery inside his palace (Giles 1766). The intercourse between China and the Turkestan states seems to have been very lively, and especially Khotan, the centre of Mahāyāna, and Kucha, that of Hīnayāna, sent numerous missionaries to China. Thus Kumārabodhi (~buddhi?) was Court chaplain of the king of Turfan. Together with his master he arrived in 382 in Si-an-fu where he translated Āgamas.[21] Kumārajīva (Giles 1017) was born in Kucha of an Indian father and a Kuchean mother. He is said to have left the family life at the age of seven in order to study the Hīnayāna. He visited India, the Yueh-chi country and Kashgar where he is said to have studied the Vedas. The Prince Sūryasoma converted him to Mahāyāna to which he was then ardently devoted, teaching especially the śūnyatā doctrine, first set forth by Nāgārjuna. On the initiative of Tao-an he was invited to China, where he arrived in 385. Until his death in 413 he then worked as a translator and the Chinese Tripiṭaka catalogues list more than a hundred works translated by him.[22]

Indian Missionaries

Gautama Saṅghadeva arrived in 383 from Kabul bringing texts which he translated. Buddhayaśa, a Kashmiri Brāhmaṇa, worked together with Kumārajīva in Ch'ang-an, and together with Buddhabhadra, a Śākya from Kapilavastu—who translated about 15 works between 398–421 and died in 429—founded in 386 the Community of the White Lotus which propagated the Sukhāvatī doctrine and from which later came the Dhyāna (Ch'an, Zen) school.[23] Dharmarakṣa (-kṣema?), a Mahāyānistic monk of Kashmirian origin, arrived in 414 from Kucha at the court of a local king in Kansu, where he translated the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*. Tradition tells that under the seventh Emperor of the Northern Wei, Yuan k'o (499–515) there were no less than 13,000 sanctuaries in the Empire (Giles 2554).

Jinagupta[24] (528–605 A.D.) was born of a kṣatriya family in Gandhāra. With nine companions he left his home in order to propagate Buddhism in distant countries. Travelling through Kapiśa, Badakshan, Tash-Khurgan and Khotan the party—having lost 6 of its members—reached Si-ning in Kansu and the capital in 559. The Emperor received very graciously the four survivors Jinagupta, Yaśogupta, Jinayaśas and Jñānabhadra, who then learned Chinese and devoted themselves to translating scriptures. Jinagupta has personally been credited with the translation of the *Buddhacarita* and of a part of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarika*. When fleeing from the persecution under the anti-Buddhist Emperor Wu the four Indians dwelt ten years in the court of the Turkic Qayan. At last Jñānabhadra continued his travels to India, the other two died and Jinagupta was invited back to Ch'ang-an to head a translation team, succeeding his compatriot Narendrayaśas who had arrived in A.D. 556.

Dharmagupta was born in South India. While living in Kapiśa he heard much about China and decided to visit it. He crossed the mountains to Tash-Khurgan where he spent a year, then spent two years each in Kashgar, Karashar and Turfan, and another year in Hami. In 590 he reached the Sui capital Ch'ang-an from where he accompanied the Emperor to the new capital Lo-yang where he died in 619 having spent 28 years translating Sanskrit texts into Chinese. The Empress Wu (625–705), who had herself taken the vows before she was charged with the duties of the throne, had a monk named Śikṣānanda brought from Khotan in 695, who then worked in Lo-yang together with I-tsing, one of the most famous translators (Franke III, p. 576).

Under the T'ang dynasty the western contacts of China reached as far as Baghdad and the eastern to Korea and Japan. The T'ang were in general very favourable to the Buddhists, who in 693 gave the Emperor the title *Suvarṇacakravartirāja*. Under the eighth Emperor Li Yu (727–779) there is said to have been over a thousand priests and nuns in the Imperial Palace (Giles 1235). The Sung Annals mention by name several Buddhist monks who around 1000 A.D. arrived in Kaifeng either from India or from Khotan, Turfan or Kucha and brought holy scriptures as well as relics (Franke IV, p. 155 and V, p. 82). Under the Yüan Emperor Qubilai (1260–1294) a committee of Indian, Tibetan and Chinese scholars edited a new version of the Tripiṭaka. In 1302 a Hsi-hsia edition was completed, fragments of which have been found in Tun-huang.

India as the Land of Piety for the Chinese

During the centuries referred to above numerous Chinese Buddhists directed their journeys across the deserts and mountains of Central Asia towards India in order to visit the memorable places where Buddha had lived. They also wanted to become thoroughly acquainted with the Doctrine to learn Sanskrit and to adopt the true order of the monastic life. Many of these pilgrims wrote their travels. These are in general very valuable sources of the history of Central Asia and India as well as of the Buddha legend.[25]

A Chinese scholar Lian Chi-chao has recently presented from Chinese sources 180 names of pilgrims, of which only 42 had returned and 7 remained in India, while the journey of the others had been interrupted by accidents and hindrances (Dutt, p. 297). One of the most famous of these pilgrims was Fa-hsien who in 399, accompanied by ten other monks travelled via Tun-huang, Kroraina, Agni and Khotan and crossed then the Mountains to Uḍḍiyāna. After having visited the holy places he returned home by sea in 413. His companion Pao-yun (died in 449) had returned earlier by land from Peshawar. In 404 Chih-meng crossed the mountains from Khotan to Gilgit and continued then to Mathurā. He visited all the holy places and after twenty years returned home along the same route he had come and brought home *inter alia* the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* and the *Mahāsāṅghikavinaya*, which he later published in translations.[26] In 420 Fa-yung and other 25 śramaṇas travelled through Turfan, Kucha and Kashgar crossing the mountains to Kashmir—on this stretch of road 12 members of the party met their death—and further to Gandhāra. The whole pilgrimage seems to have been extraordinarily difficult, since only five of Fa-yung's companions were alive when the party returned home by sea. Fa-yung is said to have been especially devoted to the worship of Avalokiteśvara.[27] The śramaṇa Tao-p'u came from Turfan and had already made one pilgrimage to India when he was sent by the Emperor around 450 to seek the latter part of the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*; he died, however, on the journey. During the same period several other monks, Fa-cheng, Fa-wei, Seng-piao, and Tao-yo, etc. are said to have visited India and published records of their voyage.[28]

In 518 the Empress Hu sent a mission headed by Sung Yun and Hui-sheng to India to study the Dharma and to acquire holy scriptures. Through the country of the Hephthalites, where they also met the king, the envoys reached Chitral. They then spent two years in Uḍḍiyāna and Gandhāra studying the Mahāyāna. Sung Yün was at the same time appointed as diplomatic agent of the Empress and he had to deliver her letters to the rulers of the countries visited.

In 522 from Peshawar the mission returned to Lo-yang with 170 volumes of Mahāyāna texts.[29] When Jinagupta was returning to India he met in the court of the Turkic Qaran ten Chinese monks who were returning from India with 260 Buddhist works. They spent several years at the Turkic court.[30] Under the Emperor Yang (605–616) Wei Tsie and Tu Hsing-man visited north-western India bringing home relics and sūtras. Wei Tsie's interesting decription of the Sogdians has been preserved.[31]

Hsüan-Tsang : The King among Chinese Pilgrims

The most important information about the peoples along the route from China through Central Asia to India and back is contained in the travel records and biography of Hsüan-tsang. Born in 600 he left Ch'ang-an in 629 and crossed the Gobi desert to Kucha, where he met a monk Mokṣagupta who had spent more than twenty years in India. He then proceeded via Issykkul to Tokmak where the Yabfu of the Western Turks showed him great respect. Through Talas, Samarkand, Bukhara, Balkh and Bāmiyān Hsüan-tsang reached Kapiśa and Nāgarahara (Jalālabād). Having visited all the holy places and South India he returned through Gandhāra, Kapiśa and Kroraina to China. After 645 he dedicated his life to translating scriptures : during the following 15 years he is said to have translated 1300 fascicles. Fragments of a Turkic translation of his biography have been found in Turfan.

Wang Hsuan-ts'e, a contemporary of Hsüan-tsang, seems to have visited India four times, viz. 643–646, 647–648, 657–661, 664–665. The first time he travelled with the envoy Li Yi-piao who had to bring a letter from the Emperor to Harṣa Sīlāditya. Hsuan-ts'ê visited the holy places and left inscriptions in Rājagṛha and Mahābodhi in commemoration of his visit. After having returned home via Nepal he was again sent to Harṣa who, however, was dead in the meantime, a usurper treated him and his companions very badly. Hsüan-ts'e managed to escape and returned to the kings of Nepal and Tibet for military aid which he received. He was thus able to defeat the usurper and bring him as prisoner to the Emperor. The details of his two later visits are not clear.[32]

The famous translator I-tsing who visited India by sea in 671–694 tells in the introduction of his travel records about other Chinese pilgrims of his time :

An imperial envoy to the Western Countries was ordained between the Navavihāra at Balkh with the monastic name Cittavarman. After studying Sanskrit he returned to China by the northern route. Sin-chu (Caritavarman) also arrived along this route and lived a longer time in a vihāra, north of the Ganges. In the same vihāra lived and died Chih-king (Prajñādeva). On the way back from this vihāra to China Wong-po (Matisiṃha) and Yüan-hui died in Nepal (Beal xxxii ff.). Several pilgrims are said to have used the route through Nepal, the details of which are, however, unknown. Buddhadharma (Beal p. xxx) came from Tokharestan but had lived several years in China before he left for India. A Korean monk Hsuen T'ai (Sarvajñānadeva) visited both Tokharestan and India, spending some time in the Mahābodhi monestery around 650 A.D.; about the same time Taou-sung (Candradeva) visited Mahābodhi and Nālandā studying Hīnayāna. Saṅghavarman, who was born in Samarkand, visited India in the company of an Imperial envoy ; later he was sent to Cochin-China (Beal p. xxxv). Hsüen-chü (Beal, Prakāśamatī; Dutt, Pañcasumati) had in his early youth taken the vows. After studying Sanskrit in the Imperial Capital he travelled through Turkestan and Tokharestan and Jalandhar to Mahābodhi and Nālandā. He spent several years in India and acquired a deep knowledge of Sanskrit and of Buddhist literature. The Emperor had him brought back to China and sent him again to India in 664 in the company of a Korean pilgrim, Hui Lun

(Prajñāvarman) by name, who then spent over ten years in India while Hsüen-chü returned to China bringing with him a Kashmirian Brāhmaṇa, Lokāyāta (see Beal; Dutt p. 314 Lokāditya). During his third visit to India Hsüan-chü journeyed also in the southern parts of the country, but was unable to return home, since the Kapiśa route was blocked by the Arabs and the Nepal route by the Tibetans (Beal p. xxvii ff.). Hui-ch'ao, too, was a Korean and reached India by sea. Having visited the holy places he returned by the route Kapiśa, Bāmiyān, Tokharestan and Kucha, arriving at the Capital in 728. Pelliot found at Tun-huang fragments of Hui-ch'ao's travel account describing the road from Magadha to Karashar.[33]

Wu-k'ung (born 730) was probably of Turkic origin. Together with an imperial mission he crossed the mountain ranges from Kashgar to Chitral in 751 and met the Kapiśa king in Gandhāra, from where the other envoys returned home while Wu-k'ung remained in India for Buddhistic studies. Having received the monastic name Dharmadhātu he visited the places of pilgrimage and returned home via Tokharestan, Kashgar, Khotan, Kucha and Urumchi. In the monasteries of the last mentioned city he spent a longer time, translating Buddhist texts he had brought from India. When at last he decided to continue his travel he left the Indian manuscripts in Urumchi and took only his translations with him, since he had to go through the territory of the Uigurs, whose ruler had since 763 confessed Manichaeism. In 790 he handed over his translations and a tooth of Buddha to the Emperor who showed him great favour.[34]

Even after the fall of the T'ang and the rise of the Sung the Chinese Buddhists tried to maintain contacts with the Buddhist centres in Turkestan and India. The translation of the Tripiṭaka was basically completed under the T'ang, the later additions being comparatively unimportant. Among the translators there were still several Indians and also Koreans who had participated in the redaction of the canon. A detailed study of the composition and history of the Chinese canon has been published by Prabodhi Chandra Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine,* Les traducteurs et les traductions (Thesis; Paris, 1926). This extensive work is, however, very difficult to use since it lacks all the necessary indices. Much valuable information is also given by Hrdličková in her article "The First Translations of Buddhist Sūtras in Chinese Literature" (*AO* 26, 1958, pp. 116 ff.) as well as by W. Fuchs, "Zur technischen Organisation der Uebersetzung buddhistischer Schriften ins Chinesische", *AM* 6, 1930, pp. 84–103.

According to the Sung-shi an Indian delegation arrived in the Imperial Capital in 953 bringing horses as gifts. In 965 a monk named Tao-yüan, who had spent 6 years in India, brought home relics and manuscripts (cf. Giles 1890). Inspired by his report the Emperor T'ai-tsu sent in 966 a mission of 100–300 monks through Turkestan to India in order to get Buddhist scriptures. The mission passed by Hami, Turfan, Aqsu, Kashgar, Khotan, Gilgit and Kashmir to Gandhāra. The head of the mission, Ki-ye, then visited all the holy places and returned home via-Nepal, in 976 presenting the Emperor with the relics and scriptures he had been able to gather.[35]

The last pilgrims mentioned by name in the Sung sources are Dharmaśrī (returned in 1027) and Sumanas, who with 8 companions, arrived in 1036 bringing relics, manuscripts as well as bronze and ivory statues. In the 11th century the contacts between China and Khotan were cut off by the Hsi-hsia, and even the Kansu Uigurs had to acquire Buddhist texts from China (Franke IV, p. 104 and V, p. 82).

Through the numerous Japanese monks who—for the most part via Korea—visited China under the T'ang and the Sung for Buddhist studies, the influence of Indian culture reached Japan.

The Development of Buddhist Art

Afghanistan

In the footsteps of the missionaries a magnificent Buddhist art developed in Gandhāra in the first century B.C. from a synthesis Hellenistic influences with Indian traditions. Perhaps its most important innovation was the introduction of the representation of the person of the Master, which in the earlier Indian Buddhistic art had been expressed through symbolic figures only (footprints, wheel, etc.). Because the climate of Gandhāra has not permitted any wall paintings to survive, we know the achievements of this school only from its sculptures. Under the Kushan dynasty a new sculptural style, more purely Indian in character was developed in Mathurā, which remained an important centre of art under the following Gupta dynasty. The greatest Kushan ruler Kaniṣka, a devoted patron of Buddhism, had his summer capital in Kāpiśī, modern Begrām, where remains of large vihāras have been detected. In the nearby Bāmiyān valley thousands of caves were carved and formed into sanctuaries furnished with statues and adorned with paintings. The best known works at Bāmiyān are two colossal Buddha statues (35 and 53 metres high). The vault of the niche of the 53 metre Buddha is covered by graceful paintings clearly inspired by the Gupta art. The Bāmiyān colossal statues, assigned approximately to the second century A.D. were famous all over the Buddhist world, being situated at a place which was visited by numerous pilgrims and other travellers from far off countries. Their peculiar fold-design originating in Kushan sculpture of the beginning of the first century has obviously been imitated by most of the provincial sculptors of the clay images in the Central Asian oases. It was also transmitted over Tun-huang to Yün-kang.

According to Grousset the statues in nearby Fondukistān clearly reveal their Indian prototypes, but their close relation to those of the schools in Kucha, Turfan, and Tun-huang is also quite evident. French excavations in Begrām have yielded results which materially prove a close cooperation of the three great cultures of the Kushan period : the Indian—represented by ivories, the Hellenistic—represented by glasses and medallions, and the Chinese—represented by lacquer works.

Bactria

In the territory of ancient Bactria archaeological remains also reveal the influence of Indian Buddhist art though strongly permeated with Hellenistic and Iranian features. This is to be seen, for example, in the Buddhist sanctuary in the neighbourhood of Termez, dated around the beginning of the Christian era (Mongait p. 245). A much later Buddhist shrine has been discovered farther north in the ruins of Balasagun south of Lake Balkhash (*ibid.* p. 259). The Indian influence is also evident in the art of ancient Khorasmia,[36] especially in the remains of excavated Buddhist monuments, e.g., on the River Chui (Ak-Beshim, etc.). and in Pianjikent.[37]

Central Asia

In the Turkestan area the Buddhist vihāras were either great fortress-like buildings or groups of caves. Le Coq (p. 63) especially emphasizes that the architecture of these buildings is indo-Iranian, and that even in Khocho, where Chinese political domination was early established, all trace of a Chinese influence is lacking. In Afghanistan as well as in Central Asia stone is very rarely good for sculptures, which, therefore, were modelled either in clay or in some artificial material. Because of the poor quality of the rocks the wall paintings must even in the caves be executed with the *fresco secco* technique. The dry climate has, however, made possible their preservation and the various archaeological expeditions have thus been able to detach and transport to museums superb works of art. The main part of these came to the Collection of the Central Asian Antiquities in the National Museum in New Delhi and to the Indische Kunstabteilung of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin.

The oldest style of the Central Asiatic wall paintings has been called Gandhāran by Grünwedel (Le Coq, pp. 12 ff.), since it represented motifs similar to those of the Gandhāran sculpture, using similar stylistic means. According to Härtel (pp. 13 ff.) the wall paintings in Mīrān are to be regarded as the most characteristic of this style. Wachsberger (pp. 431 ff.) dates them partially towards the end of the second century A.D. and considers that they depend on prototypes in Gandhāra, Sāñchī, Jamalgarhi and Amaravati. The temple paintings in Sängim, dated by Wachsberger between those of Mīrān and Bäzäklik, clearly show common features with the Ajanta paintings, while according to Härtel the paintings at Dandan-Uilik are the most beautiful and most nearly related to those in Ajanta.

The style of the paintings at Kyzyl (dated about 500–700) on the Northern Silk Route is called Indo-Iranian and divided into two periods, the Indian influence being very obvious during the first one (around 450–650), while the proportion of Sassanian influence is according to Hackin (p. 12) considerable during the second (around 650–750). The monuments along the Southern Silk Route show henceforth only influences of the Gupta art, though only in modest reflections. The Gupta art reached Turkestan by way of Gilgit, for example the small statuettes of Ak-Terek and Dandan-Uilik in the Khotan area reflect the purely Indian grace of the Gupta statuettes found in Gilgit (Hackin p. 10). The remains of sculptures at Tumshuk on the Northern Route also reveal the pronouncedly Indian elegance of the Gupta art. In the region of Turfan, where only single representation of an older, "western", style is to be found (cf. Bussagli p. 96), we meet an expressly eastern style of painting (dated around 650–950 A.D.). Thus in Shorchuk the high-reliefs bear evidence of the Gupta influence whereas the paintings there and at the other sites of the region are more or less strongly influenced by China. This influence has also been connected with Mahāyāna which held sway here. Grünwedel (Le Coq, p. 13) called this eastern style "Turkic" and divided it in two periods, the latter of which he considered expressly Uigurian. Bussagli's analysis (p. 104) shows, how Indian, Gandhāran, Central Asiatic, Turkic and Chinese features can be found in a single figure of a Khocho painting. In Murtuk we can, however, distinguish even late Indian influences, e.g., in an elegant representation of Avalokiteśvara as well as in certain clearly Tantric motifs. Regarding the Murtuk sanctuary Hackin says: "It is striking to observe how very strongly Indian influences are displayed in the forgotten sanctuary in eastern Kashgaria, in surroundings so favourable to influences from China".

In 333 A.D. a Buddhist monastery was founded at Tun-huang in Kansu, in natural and carved caves which during the following centuries were decorated with statues modelled of stucco and with wall paintings, the prototypes of which are those of Miran. In the opinion of Tamara Talbot Rice (p. 203) not only the Buddhist art of Tibet but also the Islamic art of the Ghaznavids, the Samanids and the Seljukid Turks was influenced by Indo-Turkestanese art. Tibetan sources expressly mention Khotanese paintings in Tibet in the ninth century and the Khotanese style *(li lugs)* of painting is referred to in many connections.

Source of the Art of Central Asia

The Central Asian paintings were excuted partly by local masters, partly by artists from India, Iran, the Hellenistic Orient, and China. The painters of various origins and of various traditions learnt from each other, and the Indian Buddhist traditions were, of course, largely regarded as authoritative. This is easy to recognize not only in China but also in Japan, in the seventh century frescoes in Kondo of Horyūji at Nara (Wachsberger p. 309; Bussagli, p. 115). In China the western influence can be noticed even in pre-Sui paintings. Franke points out (II, p. 288) that since those times Buddhist motifs are as organic in Chinese art as the Christian ones in European. At the beginning of the sixth century three Indian (or Central Asiatic) painters worked in China, viz. Śākyabuddha, Buddhakīrti, and Kumārabodhi.[38] In the years between the Sui and the T'ang three members of the Khotanese Wei-ch'ih (Vijaya?) family were greatly admired as painters in the Imperial Capital. Chia-sêng, the grandfather, seems to have worked at home, whereas his son Po-chih-na emigrated to the capital where he was generally admired for the vivid and expressive style of his Buddhist paintings. His son I-sêng was sent to Chang-an by the Khotanese king some time around 630 (?), and he worked there in the Fêng-ên szū sanctuary which became a centre for Khotanese visitors. He loved especially to paint Buddhist motifs and his preserved paintings prove him to have been a powerful personality able to found a school in the proper sense of the word (Bussagli, p. 66 ff.). These painters introduced a totally new sense of colour into China and a new way of using it. According to Franke (II p. 406; II p. 560) under the T'ang there were both Samarkandian and Khotanese painting schools in Ch'ang-an headed by artists who had accompanied royal presons kept in the capital as hostages. The persecutions of Buddhists, especially in 845, resulted in large scale destruction of religious works of art, especially of the wall paintings. We must, therefore, try to complete our idea of them with the aid of the Central Asian and Japanese paintings.

According to Sirén (p. 23) the earliest known Buddhist sculptures in China are some bronze statuettes of 429–451. The earliest of them has its closest correspondence in a stucco relief from Ak-Terek. The other two may be based on models imported from Khotan. Some of the surviving statues in the Yün-kang caves may also have been executed about 460 : they reveal the influence of the Bāmiyān sculptures. Work in the earliest cave temples seems to have been started in 414–415. Most of the surviving Buddhist sculptures of the fifth and the early sixth century in China are dated with *nien haos* of the Northern Wei (about 386–534 A.D.). The Indian influences which reached the Yang-tzū valley came along the southern route from and via Khotan whereas those which dominated at the artistic centres in Shansi and Honan arrived by the northern route from and via Kucha, Tumshuk and Tun-huang (Sirén, pp. 24 and 34).[39] The developing intercommunication between northern India and China after the second half of the sixth century brought genuine Indian works of the Mathura school into the country which were then used as models for a number of statues dated by Sirén between 560–580. We know that Japanese sculptors visited China and Chinese artists immigrated to Japan, e.g., the members of the family of Tori who in the early seventh century cast in bronze the Hōryūji Shaka trinity at Nara.[40] The Indian and Central-Asiatic influences were thus introduced in Japan.

In the opinion of Rowland (p. 177) "the Chinese never completely understood the curious dichotomy of the sensuous and the metaphysical that pervades Indian art", but they succeeded, however, in assimilating the intrinsic quality of Indian sculpture and thus created "the most powerful and dynamic plastic expression that the Far East has ever known".

The Turkestan oases and the northern silk route were in connection with the Amur basin through present-day Mongolia. Archaeological proofs of the Buddhist expansions have been detected on the coast of the Pacific, in a gorodishche on the river Suchan east of Vladivostok.[41]

This enormous geographical expansion of Buddhism influenced the very essence of the religion : however it developed from an "Indian" religion into a "global" one. Perhaps even the growth of Mahāyāna is to be seen in this perspective. Later texts then introduced numerous new manifestations of the Buddha, of which the greater part are located in Central Asia and China. Also the prophecies regarding the *pātra* of the Lord recognize the equality of the other countries with India in telling that the Turks, the Khotanese, the Kucheans and the Chinese will inherit the holy bowl.[42] It has been established that the first success of Buddhism in China was due to the fact that the Chinese regarded it as a sect of Taoism.[43] Both Taoism and Confucianism borrowed many ideas and outer forms of Buddhism during the following centuries. Under the Sung, Taoist mythology introduced a "Jewel Emperor" (Yü-huan) surrounded by a well organized court of numerous minor gods and genii, obviously after the model of the very popular Sukhāvatī paradise of the Amitābha Buddha. On the other hand, Buddhism too gained a special, thoroughly Chinese character in China, but was at the same time able to penetrate Chinese thinking in all of its forms (Franke I, p. 410; IV, pp. 414 ff.).

Aśoka, who had started this enormous expansion of the Dharma, himself became a legend. This legend, the *Aśokāvadāna* was translated into Chinese around 300 A.D. by the Parthian born translator Fa-k'in working at Lo-yang, and the work soon became very popular in China.[44] In the Tonyukuk epitaph (near the present capital of Mongolia) the Sodgians are mentioned with *Ašoqa* as chief. The Śakas of Khotan used *Aśśauka* as personal name, and the Turkic name *Ašuq* is obviously also to be connected with that of the great Indian Emperor. The prince of the Voguls living in Northern Siberia between the Urals and the lower course of the Ob bears the name *Asyka,* in the Russian chronicles and in their epic folk songs the Voguls even today call him Ōšx[45] : the name of "The Beloved of the Gods" is immortal even among the farthest-flung peoples of the inhabited world.

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4. Chavannes *TP* 6, 1905, p. 519 ff.; 8, 1907, pp. 149 ff.; Pelliot. *La Haute Asie, p.* 8.
5. Chavannes *TP* 8, 1907, p. 193; Laufer p. 492.
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7. Pelliot *TP* 19, 1918, p 257; Chavannes *TP* 10, 1909, p 199 ff.
8 Pelliot *JA* 1913, 1,p. 163 ff.
9. See e.g. *JSFOu* 60, 1958, p. 59.
10. Chavannes, *Documents* p. 192; Esin p. 13.
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12. Asmussen p. 148; Liu Mau-tsai *CAJ* 3, p. 194.
13. Asiatica, p. 377–396.
14. *Nāvanītakam*, ed. by Kaviraj Balwant Singh Mohan, Lahore, 1925.
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16. According to Pelliot the name of *China* is with great probability derived from that of the *Ts'in* dynasty (249–207 B.C.).
17. *MSOS* 13, 1910, p. 303
18. Maspero, *JA* 1934 p. 88. Franke 1 p. 408 f.
19. *BSOAS* 24, 1961, p. 530.
20. Franke II p 289, *AfR* 12, 1909, p 211, Maspero *BEFEO* 10, 1910, p 223 ff.
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22. Chavannes *BEFEO* 3, 1903, p 430; Nobel *SBPAW* 1927 p. 206 ff ; Franke II p. 293

23 Pelliot *BEFEO* 3. 1903. p 304 ff . Franke II p 297 f

24 So Chavannes *TP* 6. 1905. p. 332. Nanjio restitutes Jñānagupta: see further Lévi *BEFEO* 5. 1905. p 254 ff

25. Cf e g A Foucher. *La vie du Bouddha* Paris. 1949. pp 18 ff

26 Chavannes *BEFEO* 3. 1903. p 431 ff

28. Chavannes *BEFEO* 3. pp 415 fn 7(437).

29. Chavannes *BEFEO* 3 pp. 379–429. *TP* 5. 1905. p 340. *JA* 1918 p. 205; Franke II p 219

30. Chavannes *TP* 6. 1905. p 346 (the names of the monks in the fn. 1); Franke II p. 296

31. Chavannes. *Documents* p. 133. *BEFEO* 3 p 438

32. Giles 2181. Pelliot *TP* 22. p 280 ff.. Lévi. *JA* 1900 pp 297–341. *TP* 13 p. 307; Franke I p. 377

33. Pelliot. *MDAFA* 2 p 83: Fuchs. *SBPAW* 1938 pp. 426–469

34. Lévi-Chavannes *JA* 1895 II pp 341–382. Giles 2338

35 Huber. *BEFEO* 2. 1902. pp 256–259. Chavannes *ibid* 4. 1904. pp 75–81. *JA* 1918 p. 206.

36. See e.g S P Tolstov. *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, Berlin. 1953. pp 179 ff ; as well as G A Pugachenkova and L I Rempel. *Istoriya iskusstva Uzbekistana*. Moscow. 1965. pp. 35–180

37. See the results of the Soviet Tajikistan Archaeological Expedition published in *Materially i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR*, Vol 37 and 66. cf also Bussagli. p 47

38 Pelliot *TP*, p. 240 ff . Franke II p 560 f

39. Sirén points furthermore out that we do not know of any archaic Chinese sculptures based on influences from south India by sea.

40 Bussagli. p. 115. Glaser *OAZ* 3. 1914–15. p. 403

41. *Sibirskiy Arkheologicheskiy Sbornik*, Novosibirsk. 1966. pp 286–296.

42. Fa-hsien p 85; Lévi *BEFEO* 5. 1905. p. 253–305.

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44 Przyluski p xi. Lamotte. p 546

45. JSFOu 60. 1958. pp 59 ff.

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AFR : Archiv für Religionsgeschichte

AM : Asia Major

AO : Archiv Orientálni

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India and Soviet Central Asia

B.A. LITVINSKY

Introduction

ABU'L-RAYHĀN MUHAMMAD al-Bīrūnī was the first to trace the history of Buddhism in Central Asia and the Near East. Approximately a thousand years ago, he said : "In former times Khorāsān, Persis, Irāq, Mosul, the country up to the frontier of Syria, was Buddhistic, but then Zarathustra went forth from Adharbayjan and preached Magism in Balkh (Baktra). His doctrine came into favour with King Gushtasp, and his son Isfendiyad spread the new faith both in East and West, both by force and by treaties. He founded Fire temples through his whole empire, from the frontiers of China to those of the Greek Empire. The succeeding kings made their religion (i.e., Zoroastrianism) the obligatory state religion of Persia and Iraq. In consequence, the Buddhists were banished from those countries, and had to emigrate to the countries east of Balkh."[1] "They worshipped idols, their remnants may now be found in India, China and among the Toghuzghuz; the inhabitants of Khorāsān call them 'shamanan', in the singular 'shaman', from the sanskrit *śramaṇa*. All their shrines are the 'vihāras' of their idols and the 'fārkharas' can (still) be seen in the border district of Khorāsān adjoining India."[2]

So wrote this learned Khoresmian, who was really not too conversant with the factual history of Buddhism.[3] But the true history of the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia has not been fully recapitulated even to this day, as A.M. Belenitsky has justly pointed out.[4]

In the present outline, the author, whose field is the study of Buddhist monuments in Western Turkistan, has attempted to summarise the new archaeological material against the background of available data concerning the spread of Buddhism in this part of Asia.[5]

History of Buddhism in Central Asia goes back to 4th Century B.C.

The history of Buddhism in Central Asia is usually dated from the time of the Graeco-Bactrian state, although knowledge of the teachings of the Buddha, and perhaps some Buddhist adepts, may have found their way here much earlier, in the Achaemenian era.[6] There are frequent references in the literature to the representation of a stūpa on Agathocles coins, to the probable Buddhist origin of one of the legends on the coins of Menander, and to the fact that the wheel on his coins is a Buddhist symbol. We also have the Buddhist tradition of king Menander's conversion to Buddhism as related in the famous *Milinda-pañha* (Milinda's Questions), Milinda being the Indian name of Menander. This source has come down to us in the Pali text and Chinese translation, and though it was composed at a later date (after Menander's death) we cannot discount what it tells us as to Milinda's (Menander's) having been a Buddhist.[7] W.W. Tarn is inclined to put an entirely different interpretation on the data of the Graeco-Bactrian coins, denying that they bear reflections of Buddhism.[8] But his arguments are not altogether convincing.[9]

Buddhism in Afghanistan

At the very latest, Buddhism must have found a wide following in the Kandahar area of what is now southern Afghanistan by the middle of the 3rd century B.C.[10] The Kandahar bilingual edict of Aśoka is rightly spoken of as an eloquent testimonial to the extension of Buddhism in the direction of Central Asia.[11] The further progress of Buddhism to the north is borne out by a Kharoṣṭhī inscription on a clay object extracted from the Begram layer I (3rd–2nd centuries B.C.). J. Harmatta reads a Buddhist name in it.[12]

Buddhism in Bactria

In southern Bactria, a tradition of the great antiquity of Buddhism which persisted among up to the early Middle Ages averred that two of their countrymen had received Enlightenment from the Buddha himself, and had then disseminated his teachings.[13] Fantastic as it may seem, this story of Hsüan-tsang must be taken into consideration.[14]

Certainly in the latter part or well towards the end of the existence of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom (whose very doundation must have promoted the spread of Buddhism by uniting in one state the north Indian regions, the territory of Afghanistan and several of the Western Turkistan lands), Buddhist missionaries and local adepts of the Buddhist faith made their appearance in northern Afghanistan and then in the south of Western Turkistan.[15]

The Evidence of Avesta

It is very tempting to seek the evidence of the Avesta in tracing the ancient pathways of Buddhism in Western Turkistan. The work "Buiti" (Bū̆ti) figures three times in the "*Vīdevdāt*". H.W. Bailey considers the possibility of this being a loan-word, borrowed from the Indian "Buddha", and explains the terminal "i" as the result of East Iranian adaptation of the word.[16] This view rests upon the dating of the "*Vīdevdāt*" in the 2nd century B.C., as suggested by E. Herzfeld. The latter is inclined to read Buddhist content in the epithet given Balkh in the "*Vīdevdāt*" : *drafśa* "with lifted banners". He arrives at this by analogy with the account of the Buddhist monastery of Navbahār in Balkh, which is described by Arab authors as flying vast numbers of huge banners.[17]

In the opinion of a number of scholars, Alexander Polyhistor's statement that the word Σαμαναιοι is derived from the Sanskrit "*śramaṇa*" suggest that Buddhism was widely practised in Bactria as early as the 1st century B.C.[18] To be sure, it is not clear from the text whether the reference is to Bactria proper or to the whole of the Graeco-Bactrian state.

The Parthians of Margiana also Adopted Buddhism

Only recently G.A. Koshelenko pointed out, and with full justice, that like Bactria, Margiana was also a centre of early Western Turkistan Buddhism.[19] He is of the opinion that the Parthians made the acquaintance of Buddhism not later than the turn of our era, and refers to the appearance of Buddhism in Margiana to the 1st century A.D.[20] It may, however, be considered that these dates or at least the first of them should be moved back a little in time.[21] In this connection we like to draw the reader's attention to a new fact.

Evidence of Mahāvaṃsa

According to the *Mahāvaṃsa,* historical chronicle of Ceylon, the Ceylonese king Duṭṭhagāmani, whose regnal years most scholars give as 101–77 B.C.,[22] marked the laying of the "Great Stūpa" by a huge celebration which was attended by great numbers of *bhikṣus* from many foreign lands (*Mahāvaṃsa*, 29, 29). So there came to Ceylon the wise Mahādeva from Pallavabhogga with 460,000 *bhikṣus*; and from Alasanda, the city of the Yonas, came Yonamahādhammarakkhita with 30,000 *bhikṣus* (*Mahāvaṃsa,* 29, 38–39).[23] As with other details of this account of the attendance at the celebration, the number of guests is of course grossly exaggerated. But what matters for us is the degree of authenticity that can be attached to this account of the arrival in Ceylon of representatives of a Buddhist *saṁgha* from Pallavabhogga and Alasanda.

Varying evaluations of the authenticity of the chronicles can be found in the literature. W. Geiger, its latest and most authoritative investigator, believes that although it was composed around the beginning of the 6th century A.D., the *Mahāvaṃsa* was based upon much older material, primarily upon local chronicles which are no longer extant. Significantly, whenever it has been possible to verify the information in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, that information, as Geiger notes, has proved correct.[24]

Analysing the excerpt quoted above, S. Lévi associates "Pallavas" with Pahlavas, i.e., the Parthians, while Alasanda in his reading is Alexandria—"either Alexandria in the Caucasus", or "Alexandria in Egypt".[25] In his notes on the translation of the text, Geiger says that Palava is a Persian name (the Sanskrit "Pallava" or "Pahlava"). "Bhoggam" may mean feudal domain or landed estate. He adds that Alexandria in the land of the Greeks was probably the city the Macedonian king founded in the Parapamisade near Kabul.[26]

Where had "the wise Mahādeva" come from? The historical situation leaves little room for doubt on that score. It is most unlikely that he and his companions came from the inland possessions of the Parthians. What is more probable is that they set out from the south-eastern dominions of the Parthian state.[27] Those dominions, particularly Sakastane, were semi-independent lands. The term "Pallavabhogga", whose meaning was explained in the preceding paragraph, is a most appropriate designation for such a domain. In addition, we might recall that the Parthians obviously engaged in trade with the countries along the Indian Ocean and so had access to Ceylon.[28]

The second of the above-mentioned representations must indeed have been from Alexandria in the Caucasus, in other words, from the vicinity of present-day Kabul.[29] This fully accords, for one, with the other evidences we have of the early spread of Buddhism there, and, in addition, with the fact that a small Graeco-Bactrian state[30] continued to exist there.

The above "Ceylon episode" of Parthian Buddhism may be taken as proof, accordingly, that Buddhism had gained a wide footing in the south-eastern territories of the Parthian state by the 1st century B.C. at the latest. Soon after that, it may also have reached Margiana. There are thus grounds for assuming that by the 2nd century A.D., or the time of An Shih-kao, there was already a long tradition of Buddhism in Parthia.

With respect to the further destinies of Buddhism in eastern Parthia, note should be made of the fact that the role of the Kushan Empire in the spread of Buddhism was not the same in Parthia as in Central Asia.[31] Only in Central Asia can the political aims of the Kushan state be said to have played a vital role in the broad stream of Buddhist propagation, in Parthia, which apparently did not belong to the Kushan Empire, the fate of Buddhism was entirely much different.

The Inscriptional Evidence of Nārāyaṇa Cult

The oldest relic found in Tajikistan which is possibly related to Buddhism is the inscription which the 1956 expedition led by A.N. Bernshtam brought to light at Darshai, a site in the West Pamirs. J. Harmatta, in editing the inscription, called it "the oldest Kharoṣṭhī inscription in Inner Asia" and has suggested that it should be read as "Nārāyaṇa, be victorious!" By the method of palaeographic analysis he has dated the record to the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 1st century B.C., and has discarded the palaeographic data that might support a later date (the Kushan period).[32] But there is nothing final about the dating of this written testimony to the appearance of the Nārāyaṇa cult in Western Turkistan ("Nārāyaṇa, the Buddha" is encountered in the Khotanese-Śaka documents from Eastern Turkistan, and "Nārāyaṇa, the dēva" occurs in the Buddhist Soghdian documents).[33]

The spread of Buddhism in Western Turkistan was doubtlessly stimulated by the formation of the Kushan Empire, whose borders at its zenith stretched far wider than those of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. Not only were the rulers of the Kushan Empire well disposed towards Buddhism, but some of them,[34] as the great Kaniṣka, were evidently adherents of Buddhism. Kaniṣka is reputed to have erected many Buddhist monuments and to have convened a Buddhist Council at Puruṣapura.[35] Among the deities depicted on Kaniṣka's coins there are images of the Buddha.

Some gold coins of Kaniṣka depict a standing male deity seen full face, with a halo around his head and aureole around his body. He has the *uṣṇiṣ* top-knot and elongated ears; his left hand is holding the folds of his *saṅghāti*, the right seems to be in the *abhaya-mudrā* attitude. The legends on these coins are in the Kushan script.

This is the same attitude of the Buddha that is shown on some rather rare copper coins. On these, as on other coins with a frontal seated figure, the inscription in the Kushan script reads "CAKAMANO-BO" ϒΔO (or BOSAO) "Buddha Śākyamuni". There are also copper coins with a male figure in *padmāsana*, right hand in *abhaya-mudrā* and the inscription of them (which is not altogether clear) evidently readable as "The God Buddha". It must be noted that the number of such coins is small.[36]

The Great Teacher Ghoṣaka of Tukhāristan

The written sources attest to the important role natives of Tukhāristan played in the elaboration and dissemination of the Buddhist doctrine in Kuṣāṇa times. The famous Buddhist theologian Ghoṣaka born in Tukharistan was one of the leading figures at the Buddhist Council in Puruṣapura and the author of the commentary composed there on the *Abhidharma vibhāṣā*. Ghoṣaka returned to Tukharistan after the Council. This theologian was accordingly a disciple of the Vaibhāṣika school, later divided into branch schools, one of which, called the western Vaibhāṣika school, was connected with "the country of Balhīka" or Balkh. The traditions of this school may even be traceable to Ghoṣaka. The importance of this school in Tukharistan is reflected in the fact that the first translator of its treatises into the Tokharian language was the Tukharian monk Dharmamitra of Tarmita or Termez,[37] about whom we have various direct evidences. This justifies us in concluding that the Vaibhāṣika school, a branch of the Sarvāstivāda school, was widespread in Western Turkistan or at least its southern part. Generally, Sarvāstivāda was related to the Hīnayāna, but a number of important elements in the Vaibhāṣika doctrine brought it close to the Mahāyāna sphere. Some scholars believe that Vaibhāṣika "even seems in certain ways to have paved the way for Mahāyāna" in Khotan.[38]

The spread of other schools in Western Turkistan is also postulated. From his study of the writing on potsherds from Kārā-Tépé. J. Harmatta has found that the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions there reflect the teachings of the Mahāsaṅghika school and could suggest that this was the school that pioneered the spread of Buddhism in Western Turkistan. Another group of Kārā-Tépé inscriptions in Brāhmī is regarded by Harmatta as proof of the spread of the doctrine of the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism in Western Turkistan at a later date, under Kaniṣka.[39]

According to I-tsing, the Sarvāstivāda school predominated in northern India in the 7th century, but adherents of the Mahāsaṅghika school were still encountered there sometimes.[40] How matters stood in Western Turkistan in this respect is not known.

We also have information on the spread of Buddhism in other regions of Western Turkistan. The *Sūtrālaṅkāra* tells us that a native of Puṣkarāvatī journeyed (evidently in the Kuṣāṇa period) to the site of what later became Tashkent in order to decorate a *vihāra* or Buddhist monastery.[41]

Buddhism in China went from Western Turkistan

Buddhism also consolidated its position in Margiana in the first centuries A.D.[42] and *via* Western Turkistan, too, it reached Eastern Turkistan and then China. A plausible hypothesis, in our opinion, is that of E. Zürcher to the effect that the gradual infiltration of Buddhism into China took place primarily from the direction of Western Turkistan, following the usual west. This process was enacted between the middle of the Ist century B.C. and middle of the Ist century A.D.[43]

Western Turkistan theologians and missionaries played an important role in the spread of Buddhism in Eastern Turkistan and China. Truth and legend are fantastically interwoven in the stories about the initial phase of the spread of Buddhism in those countries.[44] In the "Wei Lio", a third-century source, there is a piece[45] variously interpreted by Sinologists to mean that: 1) a mission from the Great Yueh-chih arrived in China in the year 2 B.C. and acquainted the Chinese with Buddhism; 2) a Chinese mission visited the Yueh-chih in the year 2 B.C. and the Yueh-chih crown prince acquainted the visitors with Buddhism. Some scholars today believe that the lines in question are not worth any consideration at all.[46] Although their historical authenticity is disputable,[47] they do however tell of the part, which men from the land of Yueh-chih were credited by Chinese Buddhist tradition with having played in popularising Buddhism in China. From them we may infer (and that is the most important thing for us) that the land of the Yueh-chih was regarded as one of the main centres of Buddhism in the 3rd century A.D., when the "Wei-Lio" was composed or again in the early 5th century, when the commentaries on it appeared.[48] Of course, the "land of the Yueh-chih" or Kuṣāṇa Empire at the time of its maximum expansion embraced not only a large part of Western Turkistan, but also Afghanistan and northern India. At the same time it must be granted that the compilers of the Chinese historical chronicles were perfectly aware that Western Turkistan specifically was the nucleus of the Yueh-chih dominions at the threshold of our era. It may be safely assumed that the Chinese sources were speaking of Western Turkistan or men who originally came from there.[49] R.N. Frye has even suggested that the Buddhist writings were first translated into Soghdian from the "Kushan" (i.e., Bactrian) language, but his arguments do not seem very strong.[50]

What prompted the flow of Western Turkistan missionaries to the east—to the oases of of Eastern Turkistan? Why did the fervent propagation of Buddhism there take place in the 2nd and 3rd centuries? It appears that behind their religious zeal lay quite secular motives, inspired by the political motives which the Kuṣāṇa state had set itself with respect to Eastern Turkistan.[51]

The Buddhist Missionaries of Central Asia

Among the earliest Buddhist missionaries in China (Loyang) it seems that there was quite a large group from Western Turkistan. Two were Parthians (An Shih-kao and An Hsüan); three were Yueh-chih (Chih Lou-chia-ch'ien—Lokakṣema?, Chih Vao and Chin Liang); two were Soghdians (K'ang Meng-hsiang and K'ang Chü, the last named coming from the K'ang-chü, in Russian literature, they are called "Kangyu").[52]

The most famous of these was the Parthian An Shih-kao. According to the very early tradition, he was a Parthian crown prince who abdicated in favour of his uncle and dedicated himself to a religious life.[53] It is quite possible that he came from Margiana.[54] All we know about him is that he undertook a journey to the East and in 148 settled in Loyang where he occupied himself with translations up to 170. He translated the Hīnayāna writings.[55] The Parthian An Shih-kao who went to Eastern Turkistan to preach Buddhism was not only a religious figure but also a great scholar and astronomer. According to the Chinese tradition, he was an expert in the magic and astrology of the country of his birth, Parthia.[56] It follows then that the spread of Buddhism from Western Turkistan to China was from the first accompanied by a process of transmission of the cultural and scientific treasures developed by the Western Turkistan peoples.

The second Parthian missionary, An Hsüan, was a merchant who arrived in Loyang in 181 and also became a translator there. He collaborated with An Shih-kao in the translation of one of the Mahāyāna texts. Also known for his translations was the Yüeh-chih Lokakṣema, a representative of the following generation and adherent of the Mahāyāna doctrine. He arrived in Loyang twenty years after An Shih-kao. The belief is that the Mahāyāna was introduced into China or at least consolidated its position there in his time.

At the beginning of the 3rd century we again find Soghdians among the translators.[57]

Throughout the 3rd century the spread of Buddhism continued thanks largely to the efforts of many men whose ancestors had migrated from Western Turkistan to neighbouring lands. One was Chih Ch'ien, also known as Chih Yüeh, grandson of a native of the land of the Yueh-chih who had settled in Loyang. Another was the Soghdian K'ang Seng-hui, whose ancestors had migrated to India and whose merchant father had taken up residence in Loyang.[58] It was to this type of translator, born and bred outside his own country, that the famous Yueh-chih Dharmarakṣa (who worked between A.D. 266 and 309) belonged. His birthplace was Tun-huang, where his ancestors had settled several generations earlier. Among his disciples he counted a Yueh-chih and, evidently, a Soghdian.

The Parthian An Fa-ch'in engaged in translations from 281 to 306 A.D.[59] The famous fourth-century translator K'ang Seng-yün was a Soghdian born in a foreign land and out of touch with the country of his fathers.[60] At the end of the 4th century there came to China from Tukhāristan (Tu-ho-lo) one by the name of Dharmanandin. He arrived in China in 384 and stayed there till 391, translating five works in the interim. Then he went back West. He is remembered as the translator of very important parts of the Hīnayāna scriptures.[61]

According to one calculation, among the translators engaged in rendering Buddhist writings into Chinese, sometime before the end of the dynasty of the Western Chin, there were six or seven of Chinese and six of Indian origin as well as sixteen belonging to various Central Asian nationalities : six Yueh-chih, four Parthians, three Soghdians, two Kucheans and one Khotanese. Naturally, these are only approximate figures, but they may be taken as an indication of the general trend[62]—the important role played by Central Asian Buddhists.

The large number of translators of the Buddhist writings who came from various parts of Central Asia[63] obviously attests to the spread of Buddhism in the translators' land of origin—Central Asia.

In this connection the following fact is not without interest for us. Excavations at Taxila in 1914 brought to light a silver vessel containing a small golden casket in which there were fragments of bones and a silver scroll bearing a Kharoṣṭhī inscription. The building in which the find was made may have been erected in the middle of the 1st to middle of the 2nd century A.D.[64] The inscription is dated in the year 136 of the unknown era, and it bears wishes "for the bestowal of health on the great King, the King of Kings, the Son of the Heavens, the Kuṣāṇa". It touches on the disposition of Buddhist reliquise in the Bodhisattva "chapel" at Taxila owned by a certain Bactrian (*Bāhlīkena*), resident in the town of Noacha or Noachaa, which cannot be exactly localised (somewhere in the area of Taxila or Bactria).[65]

The contents of the inscription show that the Bactrians were not only representatives of the Kuṣāṇa administration, but also acted as zealots of the Buddhist religion, even in India.

The Influence of Buddhism on Manichaeism

Linguistic analysis of the Manichaean Parthian, Manichaean Soghdian and also Turkic Buddhist has produced highly interesting results.

As is known, the main language of the "sacred scripture" of the eastern Manichaean church was Middle Persian, but there were also Manichaean Parthian texts. The Soghdians copied these, accompanying them with a Soghdian version. Most of the Manichaean texts in Central Asian languages found in Eastern Turkistan were copies made by the members of the Manichaean Soghdian communities: this applies no less to the Manichaean Parthian texts. The Parthian language had been ousted quite early (evidently it ceased to be a spoken language by the 5th century A.D.) and only persisted as a dead language in the eastern Manichaean church. That explains why the great majority of the Manichaean Parthian texts that have come down to us are characterised by the poverty of vocabulary and monotony of their syntactical constructions and stylistic resources. But there is one Manichaean Parthian magical text from Eastern Turkistan which is an exception in that respect. In the opinion of W.B. Henning, the editor and interpreter of the text, it was written at a time and place when and where Parthian was the living language of the Manichaean communities—that is, either in Parthia proper or in one of the regions immediately bordering on it, where the influence of the Parthian language was very strong and Manichaeism was disseminated by Parthian preachers. In this connection, Henning goes into the question of the spread of Manichaeism in Central Asia.

Mār Ammō, the founder of Central Asian Manichaeism, had made Parthian the official language of eastern Manichaeism. It is known that he preached successfully in Nishapur and Merv and then journeyed beyond Merv into the domains of the Kushans. He reached a region near Balkh and perhaps even Balkh itself. Later, with the spread of Manichaeism in the Central Asian interfluvial area, the Parthian language was replaced in the Manichaean church by the Soghdian language. W.B. Henning thinks this may have occurred in the second half of the 6th century A.D. But he notes that in Parthia itself, as in Merv and Balkh, the Parthian language continued to be used (as stated earlier, only as the language of the Manichaean church). Little is known, says Henning, about the history of the Manichaean church in Merv and Balkh, but the fact that strong Manichaean communities existed there for several centuries is beyond question.

This information about Manichaeism is highly important for an understanding of the situation in which the spread of Buddhism took place in Western Turkistan. The problem interests us, moreover, from still another aspect. While the above magical text published by Henning is in itself Manichaean, it reveals the strong influence of the literature of northern Buddhism.

W.B. Henning has established that even the oldest Manichaean Parthian poetical texts which may be ascribed to Mār Ammō himself, contain certain Indian Buddhist terms. In the Parthian texts written in the 4th century the number of such terms gradually increased. The magical text analysed by Henning reflects very close contacts between Iran and India. The text was most likely composed in the 6th century in Balkh or close by.[66] It is known that the Manichaean Parthian texts are sprinkled with such purely Buddhist terms as *š'qmn bwt* (Buddha Śākyamuni), šmn (*śramaṇa*), *nybr'n (Nirvāṇa)*, *byxš (bhikṣu)*, *mytrg* (Maitreya), etc.

Similarly, the Manichaean Soghdian texts contain borrowed Buddhist terms and concepts associated with the Buddhist tradition.[67] That the Soghdians played an important role in preaching the Buddhist doctrine in both Western and Eastern Turkistan is indicated by the fact that the word "Bodhisattva" (Soghdian *pwtystβ*) came into Middle Persian, Uighur and Chinese from the Soghdian language and that it was by way of the Middle Persian (*bwt'sp*) that the Arabic بی ا سنف or Būdāsaf and Joasaph appeared in the Western Variant of the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat.[68] The role of the Soghdians is also corroborated by analysis of the Turkic Buddhist texts discovered in Eastern Turkistan. A. von Gabain, who made a study of the texts, noted that "many of the basic terms in the Buddhism of the Turkic people are of Zoroastrian origin and they must have been borrowed from the west (i.e., Western Turkistan) through the medium of the Soghdians." Gabain rules out the possibility of this process having taken place in the east and believes that it was the result of contacts between the western Turkic peoples and the Soghdians in Western Turkistan,[69] although of course the role of the Soghdian diaspora cannot be excluded.

Facts have already been adduced in the preceding to show what a strong effect the Western Turkistan Buddhist substratum had on eastern Manichaeism. Additional proof of the spread of Buddhism in Western Turkistan is afforded by the fact that western Manichaeism also evinced definite, though rudimentary reflections of the conceptions of Buddhism and the Buddha;[70] these may have been due, at least in part, to the mediation of the Parthians.[71]

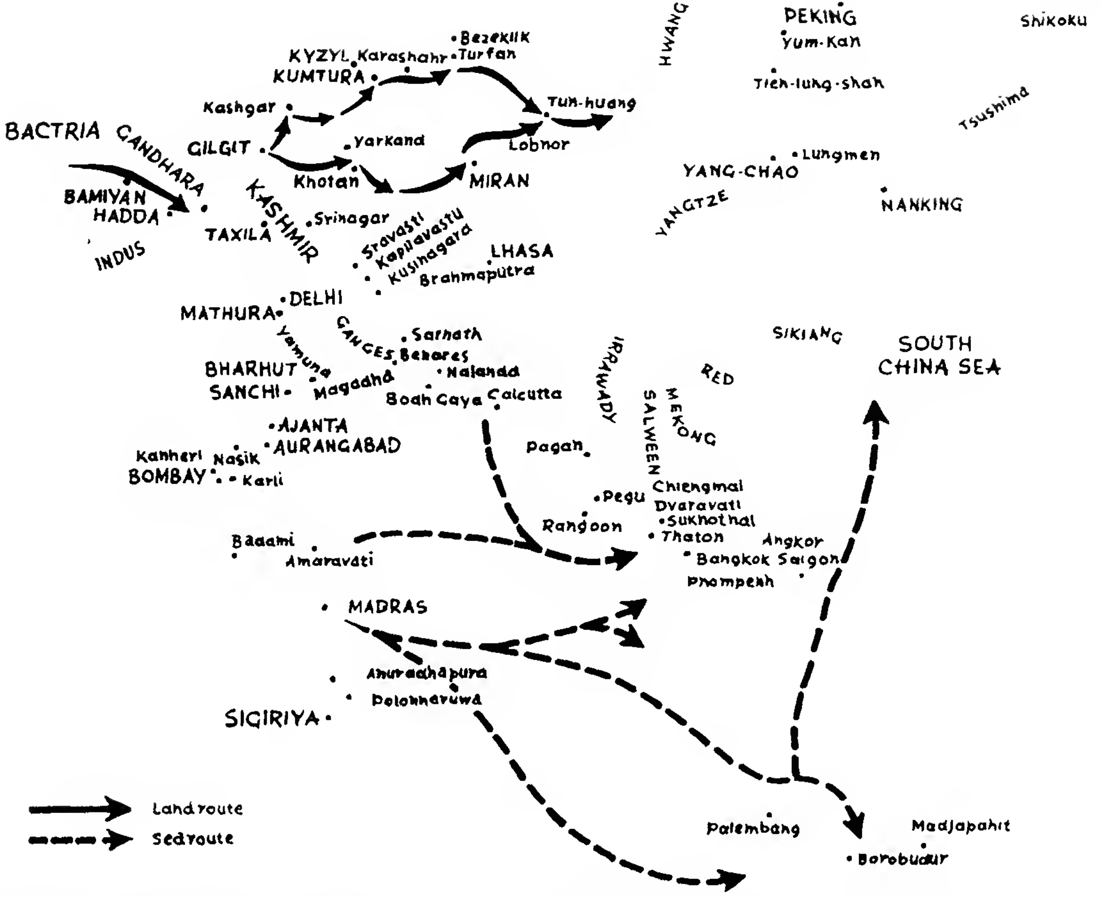
The linguistic data thus confirms the existence of a deep-rooted Buddhist religious tradition, an ancient "Buddhist background", so to say, among such Western Turkistan peoples as the Soghdians and the Parthians. Linguists likewise consider it indisputable that the facts show a relation with the territory as well as the ethnic communities of Western Turkistan, even though the texts analysed were found in Eastern Turkistan. It all fits together quite well, for, as J.P. Asmussen has noted, it corresponds to the historical facts and is certainly logical. And so we may say that the path of Manichaeism into Eastern Turkistan lay through Western Turkistan.[72] Later, too, Central Asia continued to be a stronghold of Manichaeism.[73]

The information gleaned from the written sources and linguistic analysis has been confirmed by the study of the archaeological monuments, especially those from right-bank Bactria. Such monuments are particularly abundant in the vicinity of Termez, or, more broadly, of the Surkhan Darya valley.

Different Evidences show that Buddhism was Supreme in Western Central Asia

New discoveries are made every year and some of the sites are excavated on a large scale. All of them further prove that Buddhism was supreme in Soviet Central Asia for centuries together.

Ancient Trade Routes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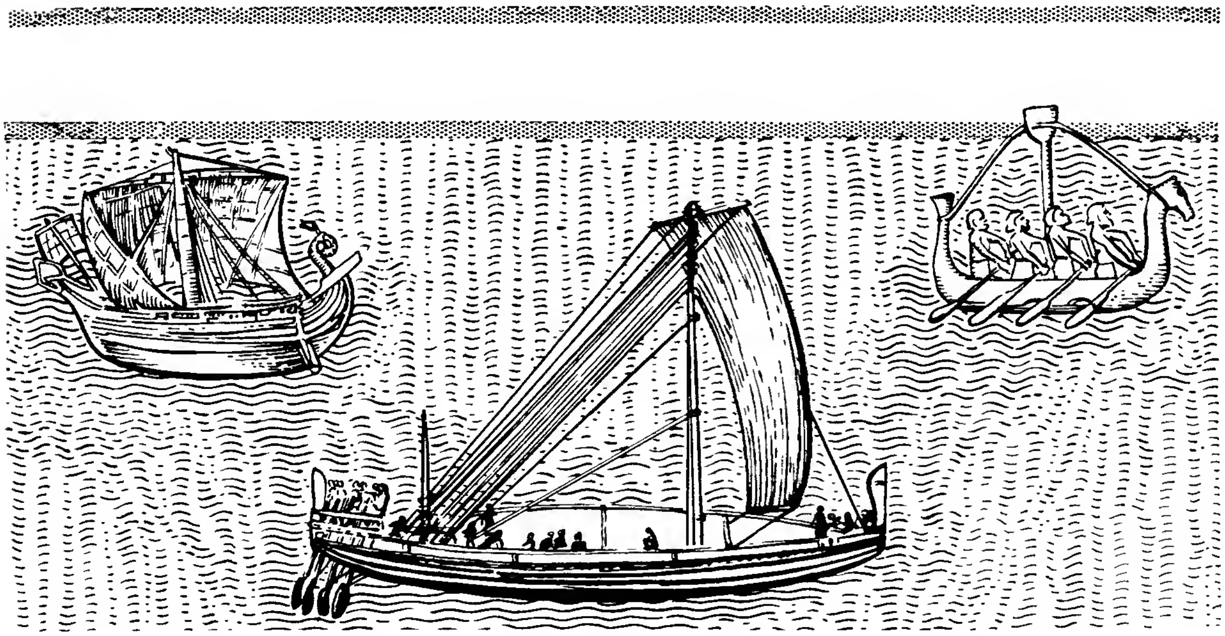

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2 Abureikhan Biruni, Pamyatniki minuvshikh pokoleniy, *Isbranniye proisvedeniya*, vol. I, Tashkent, 1957, p. 204.
3. In the opinion of E.C. Sachau, al-Bīrūnī knew very little about this history of Buddhism; see *Alberuni's India*, vol. II, London,
4 A.M. Belenitsky, Is istorii kulturnykh svyasei Srednei Azil i Indii v rannem srednevekovye, *KSIA*, fasc. 98, Moscow, 1964, p 33
5. It was our privilege in writing this paper to have the valuable consultations of V A. Livshits, M.I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya and G M. Bongard-Levin, and we are happy to take this occasion to thank them.
6. A similar view was expressed earlier with respect to Iran; see E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and His World*, vol. II, Princeton, 1947, p 629
7 For a detailed account, see S. Lévi, Le bouddhisme et les grecs, "*Revue de l'histoire des religions*, vol. XXIII, Paris, 1891, No. 1, pp. 40–45; also K.V. Trever, *Pamyatniki greko-baktriyskogo iskasstva*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1940, p. 24; V.A. Smith, *The Early History of India*, 1957, p 239.
8. W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge, 1951, pp 160–161, 262-265.
9. For more on this see F. Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens im griechischon Zeitalter*, vol. I, Halle (Saale), 1947, pp 335–337.
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11. J. Harmatta, Sino-Indica, *AA*, vol. XII, No. 1–2, Budapest, 1964, p. 4.
12. J. Harmatta, Sino-Indica, pp 4–5.
14 See I.P. Minaiyev, Neskolko rasskazov is pererozhdeniy Buddy, in . *Izbranniye trady russkikh indologov-filologov*", Moscow, 1962, pp 70–71.
15. As to this, the view of P.C Bagchi (*India and Central Asia*, Calcutta, 1955, p. 32) that Buddhism had penetrated into Bactria by the time of Aśoka, seems to us to be more probable than that of A. Foucher, who held that Buddhism did not appear in Bactria until the end of the 1st or the 2nd century A.D. (see A Foucher, *La vieille roate de l' Inde de Bactres á Taxila*, vol II, Paris 1947, pp. 280–281). The latter view seems mistaken
16. H.W. Bailey, The Word "but" in Iranian, *BSOS*, 1931, vol. VI, pt 2, pp. 282–283. Compare E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and His World*, vol. II, pp. 755–756.
17. E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and His World*, vol. II, pp. 754–755
18. See S Lévi, *Le bouddhisme et les grecs*, pp. 36–40 (the comparison of the *Sarmanes* of Megasthenes with the Sanskrit *śramaṇa*, the Boutta of Clement of Alexandria with Buddha, etc.); J.P. Asmussen, Xuāstvanīft Studies in Maichaeism, "*Acta Theologia Danica*", vol VII, Copenhagen, pp. 135, 157; J Marquart, *Ērānsahr nach der Geographie der Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, Berlin, 1901, p 90; A. Foucher, *L'art gréco-boaddhiqae da Gandhara*, vol. II, Paris, 1918, p. 639.
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23. In the edition of W.W. Geiger (see above), p. 193–194.
24. "*The Mahāvamsa* . . .", pp. IX–XX. The same view of the Ceylon chronicle is shared by its Soviet investigator, E.S. Semeka, from whom we received valuable advice on this question.
25. S. Lévi, *Le boadhisme et les grecs*, p. 45; J.P. Asmussen, *Xaāstvanift*. . , pp. 135–136.
26. *The Mahāvamsa*. . . , p. 194, notes 2–3.
27. For the history of these territories see P. Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Parthia and India in the British Museam in London*, 1886, pp. XL–XLVI 68 et seq., V.A Smith, *Catalogae of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, vol. 1, Oxford, 1906, pp. 35 et seq , V.A Smith, The Indo-Parthian Dynasties, *ZDMG*, vol. 60, 1906, No. 1, pp. 49–72; R.B. Whitehead, *Catalogae of Coins in the Panjab Museum*, Lahore, Vol. I, Indo-Greek Coins, Oxford, 1914, p 91 et seq.; E Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, vol. IV, pt 2, Berlin, 1932, pp 70–85; A.K Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford, 1962, pp 140–142; V.M. Masson, V A Romodin, *Istoriya Afghanistana*, vol. I, Moscow, 1964, pp. 135–139 (including a detailed bibliography).
28. W Otto, Hippalos (3), *RE*, vol. VIII, Stuttgart, 1913, cols 1660–1661; N.C. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*, Chicago, 1938, pp. 45–46 The merchant Hippalos (approximate date—circa 100 B.C.) is credited with the discovery that the monsoons can be utilised in navigating the Indian Ocean.
29 W Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge, 1951, p. 421, note 4; pp 460–462 (excursus, "Alexandria of the Caucasus and Kapiśa").
30. This view was stated earlier by P. Gardner (*The Coins*. . ., p. XL).

31. A different point of view was recently presented by J Brough (Comments on Third-Century Shan-Shan and the History Buddhism, *BSOAS*, vol XXVIII, pt 3, 1965, p. 568)

32. J. Harmatta, The Oldest Kharosthī Inscription in Inner Asia. *Agr.* vol. XIX, No. 1, Budapest, 1966, pp 1-12.

33. Nārāyana is, as you know, connected with the cult of the sun (see S K. De, Bhāgavatism and Sun-worship. *BSOS*, 1931, vol VI, pt 3).

34. The opinion is encountered in literature that representations of the Buddha are found on Kujula Kadphises coins. This view was advanced by V Smith and supported by R Whitehead (*Catalogue of Coins* . pp 181-182, pl XVII 29) The seated figure on the reverse does in a way reflect the early iconography of the Buddha image, but certain details make us doubt the correctness of identifying it as the Buddha.

35 For more on the religious policy of Kaniṣka and the Buddhist tradition associated with his name see *Istoriya Tajikskogo naroda*, vol. I, ed. by B.G. Gafurov and B.A. Litvinsky, Moscow, 1963, pp. 373–374, V A. Smith, *The Early History of India*, pp. 280–285; K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol II, Bombay - Calcutta Madras, 1957, pp 238–240. For epigraphical and literary evidences of Buddhism in Kushan India, and information on the Sarvastivādinas and Mahāsanghikas see B.N. Puri, *India under the Kushanas*, Bombay, 1965, pp. 140–145 These works include detailed bibliographical indexes

36. A. Cunningham, *Coins of the Kushans, or Great Yue-ti*, London, 1892, pp. 18–19, 105–106. V S Agravala, A Coin of Kanishka with the Figure of the Buddha, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol VIII, I, Bombay, 1946, pp 61–62. J.E Lohuizen de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, Leiden, 1949, pp. 105–106; J M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley–Los Angeles, 1967, pp 76–77. For types of coins bearing linkenesses of the Buddha, see E.V Zeymal, *Kushanskoye tearstvo po numizmaticheskim dannym* (author's abstract of his thesis), Leningrad, 1965, pp 14–15

For more on the pantheon of Kushan coins and how they reflected the deities of Alexandrian-Roman coinage, see R. Gobl, Zwei neue Termini für ein Zentrales Datum der alten Geschichte Mittelasiens, das Jahr I des Kušānkongis Kaniṣka Sanderabdruck sus *Anzeiger der phil.—hist. Klasse der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschften*, 1964, No 7, p 140 E.V. Zeymal takes exception to R. Gobl's conception. The view of Kennedy and Konow that the pantheon of Kushan coins has nothing to do with the Kushan religion (S. Konow, A Note on the Sakas and Zoroastrianism, in *Oriental Studies in Honour of C.E. Pavry*, London, 1933, p. 220) is too extreme a statement of the case to be acceptable, in our opinion. What is true is that one must not make automatic conclusions and deductions. But with respect to Buddhism, S Konow agrees that Kaniṣka was a Buddhist and that this is borne out by various sources.

37 H.W. Bailey, Indo-Iranica (III, 5). Tarmita. *BSOAS*, 1950, vol XIII, pt 2, pp. 400–403, P C Pagchi, *India and Central Asia*, pp. 32–33.

38. J.P. Asumssen, *Xuāstvanift* ..., p. 144.

39. J. Harmatta, K interpretatsii nadipisey iz Kara-Tape. in: *Kara-Tepe, II.*

40. O. Franke, Die Ausbreitung des Buddhismus von Indien nach Turkistan und China, in . *Archiv für Religionwissenschaft* Bd XII, Leipzig, 1909, p. 215. On these schools, see A. Bareau, *Les sectes boudhiques du Petit Véhicule*, Saigon, 1955 (publications de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, vol. XXXVIII), pp. 55–74, 131–152.

41 A. Foucher, *L'art gréco-boudhique du Gandhara*, vol II/2, Paris, 1922, p. 644. Attention was first called in Russian literature to the importance of this report by M.I. Vyazmitina (Raskopki na gorodishche Airtam, in *Termezskaya arkheologicheskaya expeditsiya*, vol. II, Tashkent, 1945, p. 34, note 35).

42. G.A. Koshelenko, Kultura Margiany v antichonoye i rannesrednevekovoys vremya, in · *Materialy sessii posvyashchonnoi itogam arkheologicheskikh i etnografichskikh issledovaniy* 1964 *goda v SSSR (tezisy dokladov)*, Baku, 1965, p 108, G A Koshelenko, *Kultura Parfii*, Moscow, 1965, pp. 95–97. G Koshelenko, *The beginning of Buddhism in Margiana*, pp 175 183

43 E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China. The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*, vol I (text), Sinica Leidensia, vol XI, Leiden, 1956, pp. 22–23

44. H. Glesenapp, *Der Buddhismus in Indian und im Fernen Osten* Berlin-Zurich, 1936, pp 197-198

45. E. Chavannes, Les pays d'occident d'après de Wei Lio, *T'oung Pao*, sér II, vol VI, Leide, 1905, pp 546 550

46. For more on the initial period of the spread of Buddhism in China see P.C Bagchi, *India and Central Asia*, pp 33 34, 37-40, P.C. Gagchi, Expansion of Buddhism. Central Asia and China, in: 2500 *Years of Buddhism*, Delhi, 1956, pp. 66–68. Chao Pu-chu, *Buddhism in China*, Peking, pp. 66–68, V N Shtein, *Ekonomichskiye i kulturniye svyazi mezhdu Kitaem i Indiei v drevnosti* (do III v.n.e.), Moscow, 1960, pp. 154–157. For a more detailed account of same see E Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* ...., (reg. this mission pp 24–25)

47. Chavannes (*Les pays d'occident* .) and Franke (*Die Ausbreitung des Buddhismus* .. p 209) are certain that the mission took place.

48 A von Gabain accepts without reservation the historicity of the mission in the year 2 B.C., but points out that it was unsuccessful (Der Buddhismus in Zentralasien, *Handhuch der Orientalistik*, I, VIII, 2, Leinden-Koln, 1961, p 498)

49. For other proofs of this premise see J. Brough, *Comments* . p. 586

50. R.N. Frye, *Bukhara. The Medieval Achievement*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1965, p. 7

51 See J. Brough, *Comments* ...., pp. 586–590, 595–599

52. B.A Litvinsky, Dzhunsky mogilnik i nekotoriye aspekty kanguyiskoi problemy. *SA*, 1967, No 2, pp 29 37

53. Attempts to identify him with some member of the Parthian ruling house (as the son of Mithradates IV or of Parkores II, see A. Waley, *An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting*, New York, 1958, p 33) have failed It has been logically

suggested by scholars that he might have been a member of the ruling family of one of the smaller dominions (H Maspero, Essay sur le Taoïsme, in *Mélanges posthumes*, vol II. Paris. 1950. p 189; E Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*. . . , pp 32-33. N G. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*, Chicago. 1938. p. 245)

54 H Maspero. *Essai sur la Taoïsme*. p 189 (actually he is speaking of the district of Parthia bordering on Afghanistan), M E. Masson. Iz rabot Tuzhno-Turkmenistanskoi arkheologicheskoi kompleksnoi ekspeditsii Akadednii nauk Turkemenskoi SSR v 1962 godu, in *Izvestiya A.N Turkmenskoi SSR* (Social sciences series), 1963, No. 3, p 57.

55. A great many translations of Buddhist texts into the Chinese language (from three dozen to 176) have been ascribed to him But in a catalogue drawn up at the end of the 4th century, he is mentioned as the author of 34 translations. 19 of which are preserved and only 4 of these can be considered as having been unquestionably authored by him (Banyiu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, Oxford, 1883, cols. 381–383, No. 4; P.C. Bagchi, *India and Central Asia*, E Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* . . pp 32–34).

56 A Waley. Notes on Chinese Alchemy. *BSOS*, vol VI, pt 1, London. 1930, p 23.

57 B. Nanjio, *A Catalogue* .., cols 388–389, No. 18, E. Zürcher. *The Buddhist Conquest of China* . . . , pp. 34–36.

58 B Nanjio, *A Catalogue* . cols 388 389, No 18, 390, No 21, E Zurcher. *The Buddhist Conquest of China* . . . pp. 46–54

59 B Nanjio, *A Catalogue* .. cols 391–393, Nos 23, 25, E Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* . .. pp 65–70.

60 E Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* . . . pp 102–103

61 B Nanjio, *A Catalogue* . cols 404–405, No. 57 (also col. 397, No. 35), E Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* . pp. 202-204, 246.

62 J Brough, *Comments* . . p 587 This scholar points out that certain Yüeh-chih translators may have come not from the land of the "Great Yueh-chih", but from the milieu of the East Turkistan "Little Yüeh-chih" (*Comments* . .., 606-607).

63 We have not met with any evidences of the emigrants from Ferghana of whom A. von Gabain speaks (Buddhistische Türkenmission, in · *Asiatica, Festschrift Fr Weller*, Leipzig, 1954, p. 166) Nor are there any in the Nanjio catalogue to which she refers.

64 S Konow, *Kharoshthi Inscriptions with the Exception of Those of Aśoka*, Corpus inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, part I, Calcutta, 1929, pp 70-71

65. S Konow, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions* . .., pp 74–75, 77

66 W B Henning, Two Manichaean Magical Texts. *BSOAS*, vol. XII, 1947, No. 1, pp. 48–50, W.B Henning, Warucān-Śah, *The Journal of the Greater India Society*, Calcutta, 1944, vol. XI, No. 2, pp. 87–90.

67. J P. Asmussen, *Kuāstvānīft* .., pp. 136–137. In this connection W.B. Henning wrote that it should be remembered that the Soghdians (or at least a large proportion of them) were Buddhists before the arrival of the Manichaean preachers in their midst (W B Henning, Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus, *ZDMG*, Bd. 90, Leipzig, 1936, No. 1, p 5

68 H.W Bailey, The Word "but" in Iranian. *BSOS*, 1931, vol. VI, pt. 2, pp. 281–282 Compare W B. Henning, Sogdian Tales, *BSOAS*, 1945, vol. XI, pt 3, p. 487. For a detailed study of this subject in the east and the west, see D M Lang, *The Wisdom of Balahvar A Christian Legend of the Buddha*, London-New York, 1957, pp. 11–64

69 A von Gabain, *Buddhistische Türkenmission*, pp 167–168. Also, A von Gabain, *Der Buddhismus in Zentralasien*, p. 501.

70 J.P Asmussen, *Xuāstvānīft* .., p 136.

71 It is generally believed that the ideas of Buddhism to some extent influenced the philosophers known as Gnostics and were even accepted by them and through them by Mani himself. See D.M Lang, *The Wisdom of Balahvar*, p. 24.

72 J.P Asmussen, *Xuāstvānīft* . , p 136

73 A Adam, Manichäismus, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik* I, VII, 2, Leiden–Köln, 1961, p. 118

Some Aspects of Indian Culture in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan

R.C. AGRAWALA

IT WAS ABOUT 70 years ago that Sir A. Stein discovered about 764 Kharoṣṭhī documents on wood, silk, leather and paper, at Niya, Endere and Loulan in Chinese Turkestan. These are written in the Kharoṣṭhī script which was so popular in North West part of India during the early centuries of the Christian Era. Their language is Prakrit which is popularly designated as the Niya Prakrit, after the type site named 'Niya' in the Tarim basin of Chinese Turkestan. Later on, 18 of such documents were edited by Dr. T. Burrow (*BSOAS*. London IX, pp. 111 125), thus raising their total number to 782.

These documents from Central Asia have got an important bearing on the life and culture of people in these distant regions during the first three centuries of the Christian Era. They bear ample testimony to the existence of Indians in the heart of Chinese Turkestan during the contemporary period; they were then using an Indian script and also an Indian dialect with some impact of Iranian language. In fact the above sites fell on the ancient Silk Route connecting China with the Western world as well as India. Merchants and traders from far-flung countries moved from one side to the other in search of foreign goods. This had some impact on their language and cultural life as well. The aforesaid sites of Chinese Turkestan have also yielded a number of coins, on one side of which we find legends in the Kharoṣṭhī script whereas the other side bears Chinese letters. They are called Sino-Kharoṣṭhī coins. It is evident that although Indians formed the most powerful group in contemporary society, they were living with the Chinese, Iranians and the local people in a spirit of harmony in those regions and that is why they felt the necessity of introducing a common currency which served the needs of all the groups. (A.M. Buoyer *et al, Kharoshṭhī Inscription* ...., Oxford, Vols. I-III, 1920 29).

Most of these Kharoṣṭhī documents are of a secular nature, some of them are royal messages, personal letters, court-deeds and state archival material. We have not so far come across such early records in Indian territory and as such the former are a valuable source of information about the Indian way of life, in the heart of Central Asia, during the pre-Gupta period.

System of Government

The Kharoṣṭhī documents prove beyond doubt that sovereignty rested with the king who was usually designated as *maharaya* (Skt. *mahārāja*). He was addressed in a very eloquent manner. State injunctions and letters, in Kharoṣṭhī script, refer to a series of charming titles and epithets for him such as *maharayasa rayatirayasa mahaṃtasa javaṃtasa dhramiasa sachadhamastidasa prachachhadevada nuava maharaya devaputrasa* (no. 655). A number of them appear on the Kushan coins as well; reighteous as the king was, he was a 'deity incarnate'.

The queen was called *devī*, while the king's son as *maharaya-putra* (nos. 622, 634). Proper record of state officials (*raji jaṃna*) was also maintained. The documents make frequent references to the army people (*seniya jaṃna*) in connection with the protection of highways from robbers and enemies because there was frequent danger from the 'Supiyas'. A regular system of administration was evolved wherein various departments were entrusted to different high officials. We have got a very interesting glimpse of the state injunctions and letters of command in these documents such as *anathi* or *anadi* or *anada lekha*, corresponding to *Ājñaptilekhas* or *Ājñāpatras* described in Indian literature. These were duly sealed as is evident from the availability of actual sealed wedge-shaped tablets and designated as *anati-kilamuṃdra* (Skt. *kīla mudrā*). Every care was taken to incorporate relevant detail in the official correspondence; confidential letters were sent through a special messenger (*cara—puruṣa* in no. 310). The letters began with the common phrase *mahanuava maharaya lihati* and then followed the epithets of the next high official, followed by his actual name. Sometimes there was even a reference to the frequent reminders having been sent to a certain official. The king believed in piety and judgement in accordance with religion (*dhamena nico kartavo*, no. 1). In the words of A. Stein (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 367), "official custom knew also a style far less ornate is amply shown by businesslike and peremptory tone adopted in some of the wedge-shaped tablets, ordering submission of affidavits according to a specified list, production of certain witness, arrests of certain individuals etc." In times of political upheaval and impending attack from the enemies, secret communications were made through *viñatilekhas*, most perhaps corresponding to the *prāvṛttika* letters in Indian literature.

The Kharoṣṭhī documents, using the word *duta* or *dutiya* for an ambassador, furnish very interesting information about their appointment and functions. The state took every

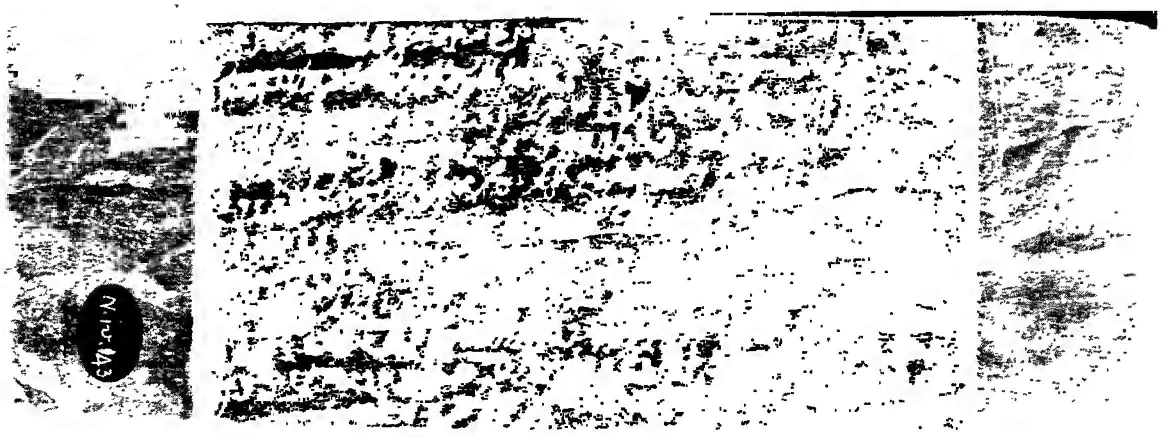

FIG *Rectangular Wooden Tablet from Niya, Central Asia* care in rendering all sorts of help to such dignitaries, a fact which is duly confirmed from contemporary literature as well.

Social Life

The documents, under review, also throw a flood of light on the life of common folk. The system of slavery was very much prevalent, even the Buddhist monks could well afford to deal in the sale and purchase of slaves. The words used for a slave (Skt. *dāsa*) may be enumerated as *dasa, dajha, dhajha, dajhajamna* for a male slave while *dasi, dajhi* denoted a famale slave (Skt. *dāsī*). The master was addressed as *bhaṭara* (Skt. *bhaṭṭāraka*).

There were porters (*pṛthabhaṇige* in no. 376 =Skt. *pṛṣṭha-bhāraka*) for carrying goods. Regular use of animals for distant journeys was made and check posts established to provide rest and ration on the way. The employees were entitled to receive food and clothing for staying in the herds, in strict accordance with the law (*coḍaga-pachevara parikraya dadavo*; no. 194); the slaves received food (*bhata*) and clothing (*coḍaga*) whereas the guards were paid in the form of corn (no. 476). According to document no. 591, the purchaser of a man is entitled to sell, to pledge, to exchange, to give to others as present and even to do whatever he likes with the latter. The sale agreement was duly registered to this effect. A number of Kharoṣṭhī documents, under review, are nothing else but actual documents which once formed an important portion of State Archives in Niya region.

Family Life

The Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan have got an important bearing on the Hindu family system when they refer to purely Indian terminology in daily use such as *puruṣa* (male person); *pitu, pita* for father; *matu, madu,* etc., for mother; *putra* and *suta* for son; *pitumaha* for grandfather; *prapotra, praoutra* for grandson; *napata* for grandson; *bhrata, bhratu* for brother; *bhrata-putra* for brother's son, *jamata* for son-in-law, *svasu* for sister, *bhārya* for wife, *putri* and *dhitu* for daughter etc. The use of Panjabi words as *kuḍa* and *kuḍi* for a male and female child respectively, is equally interesting. Indian words as *kula* and *parivāra* are also available. The Niya documents appear to refer to a patriarchal society wherein father used to command great respect. The birth of a son was deemed to be an occasion of great rejoicing and happiness (no. 702-*putra-jāta, savehṛ sātenabhavitavya*). The son used very beautiful epithets for his father during correspondence, the latter was addressed as *priyadarsanas deva-manusa-saṃpūjitasa pichara divyavarṣa-śatāyupramānasa priya-pitu*. From this it is evident that the father was held in great esteem. Besides this, there was a common belief of 'a life-span of one hundred years' and that is why in some documents, the son has addressed his father as *śatāyupramānasa*. This may very well be compared with the Indian motto, "may we live and hear for hundred years" (जीवेम शरद: शत, श्रृणुयाम शरद शतम्) . Life was no burden to people in the contemporary Central Asian society which was dominated by Hindu thought and culture. One of these Kharoṣṭhī documents (no. 511) even states that all creatures, on entering the doctrine of the Tathāgatas, make end of birth and death. A great emphasis was laid on the performance of noble actions and leading a chaste life (no. 399 *samprajya kartavya, kujala kartavya, brahmacarita*). Even the ruler was expected to abide by law (*dharma*)—a fact which is very well corroborated by the epithet *sacadhamastidasa* for a king, in several documents under review. There was frequent sale and purchase of girls which appears to have been a local trait of the Niya society. This was in no way an Indian practice. The society was mixed, containing not only the Hindus from India but also the locally born people.

View on Richness

Document no. 523 describes the unstable nature of prosperity and riches in very beautiful words, an idea which has been frequently quoted in Indian literary texts as well. According to document no. 523, "just as a man travelling on journey rests here and there whenever overcome by fatigue, so a man's riches having rested from time to time, come back again"—*yathā manuṣyaḥ pathi vartamānaḥ kvacit kvacid viśramate śramārttaḥ, tathā manuṣyasya dhanāni kāle-kāle saṃmaśvāsya punar vrajanti*. The same document further refers to a prayer for victory and prosperity *śata subhichu bhavatu samakula Imiraṃ vivṛdhi abhivarṣatu makhi udeṃtu śasya ca jayāya pārthiva ciraṃ sadhamasugata tiṣṭhatu.*

View on Knowledge

Document no. 514 alludes to a person anxious to gain proficiency in several branches of knowledge such as grammar (*śabda*), music (*gandharva*, *gamdarva* in no. 565), happenings on earth and in air (*bhūmi-vāta caride*), astronomy (*jotiṣa*), poetry (*kāvya-karaṃna*), dancing (*tālave*), painting (*citrāgāram abhirajate*) etc. Reference to twelve *nakṣatras* in Kharoṣṭhī document no. 565 is equally interesting.

Material Culture

The Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan present enough data relating to the material culture of contemporary Niya region.

Stora, *paśu* and *jaṃdu* (Skt. *jantu*) denoted an animal in general. Camel, mostly used for transport and carrying goods from one place to the other, was called *uṭa* (Skt. *uṣṭra*) in addition to about two dozen other epithets used for the same animal. Horse was equally popular as is evident from the use of word *aspa* (Skt. *aśva*) and *vaḍavi* (Skt. *vaḍavā*) for mare. There are references to a pregnant cow (*go garbhina*, no. 186), large cow (*go mahaṃta* in no. 122), calves of cows (*gavi savatse* in no. 7), royal cows (*ravaka gaviyana*, in no. 159), cow enclosure (*go śaḍaṃni*) etc. Other animals, enumerated in these documents, are *mṛga* (deer), *khara* (ass), *śuna* (dog, Skt. *śvāna*), *lomaṭi* (fox, Hindī *lomaḍī*, Skt. *lomaṭaka*); lion is addressed as *kesari* (no. 103), *vyāgra* (no. 565), *siṃgha* (no. 511). The animals were a regular source of supply of meat to the people in general and to the military in particular; they were frequently gifted away between individuals, served as means of transport for distant journeys on the sandy highways of Central Asia, provided wool and leather for day to day use etc. The discovery of a few Kharoṣṭhī documents on leather pieces is all the more interesting; the society allowed the use of leather for writing purposes while *chama-pothi* in document no. 17 actually refers to a book prepared from leather (=*carma pustaka*). The use of Indian word *pothī* is equally interesting.

Land and Agriculture

The Niya documents refer to an Indian terminology in this direction as well. *Bhuma*, *buma* and *bhumi* denoted land (Skt. *bhūmi*) in general. Other terms have been used for specific lands such as arable land (*bhuma-chetra* or *bhuma chitra*), farm land (*gotha bhuma*), sandy land (*sigata bhuma*), waste land (*vyartha-bhuma*, no. 713) etc. The king had his own lands and villages; royal grants were usually made in favour of the fugitives and slaves. Private lands were freely sold, purchased and given in exchange to other persons and deeds were duly recorded to that effect. In fact, most of the Kharoṣṭhī documents are in the form of such land deeds, court decisions in case of disputes about their sale, transfer and ownership. The documents throw some light on the marking of boundaries, sowing, ploughing etc. Spring *(vasaṃta)* was considered as a suitable season for cultivation purposes *(vasaṃtaṇmi karaṃnae,* no. 450*)* as also in ancient China. The Niya people believed that ploughing, sowing and tilling of vine yards, if conducted in the *Pig Nakṣatra,* were sure to be successful and fruitful (*sugara nichhatra vavana masu ṣaḍa uchavina siddhi-vardhi bhaviṣyati*; no. 565). Here we notice the use of a specifically Indian terminology. Water was regarded as the back-bone of irrigation and it was diverted from one channel to the other for irrigation purposes, thus indicating the existence of a well planned irrigation system in contemporary society *(Kṛṣivatrami udaga nasti anodaka huta, ahuno teṣa rajaṃmi nivartavidavya,* no. 125*)*. The documents record the use of *bhija, biji, bhiśa* etc., for 'seed' (Skt. *bīja*).

Taxation

The system of taxation was quite elaborate in the Niya society. Taxes could be paid in the form of corns, farm products, liquids as ghee and wine, animals as camels, textiles and garments as blankets, carpets, felt etc. The documents present a vivid record of taxes and demands lying in arrears and reminders having been issued to that effect, asking the addressee to forward current year's taxes along with those of the previous years (no. 165). There was no exemption of taxes in times of famine and drought. Only a few privileged persons could enjoy some concessions and remissions, including the grant of royal dues *(rayaka harga)* from a particular locality, award of corn and lands free from military tax. The state had appointed a number of officials for the taxation department; proper record of the tax-payers and taxes paid from time to time was duly maintained; there was frequent scrutiny of the taxes lying in arrears and taxes collected in various kinds. Camels were usually employed for transporting wine, corn etc., collected as tax from various sources. In fact most of the Kharoṣṭhī documents, from Chinese Turkestan, relate to such matters and disputes arising therefrom.

Some of these Kharoṣṭhī documents are written on wooden *takhtīs* (wooden boards) which are so often used by school children in India even nowadays. The shape of the *takhtī,* in Central Asian records, appears to have been derived from Indian *takhtī.* A graphic depiction of the same, but datable to the Śuṅga period is to be seen on a tiny terracotta plaque from (Sugha (Haryana) and now preserved as no. 68.193 in the National Museum at New Delhi. A boy is shown learning the vowels appearing in the contemporary Brāhmī script on this interesting terraccotta plaque; the shape of the *takhtī,* placed between the legs of the child, bears close resemblance with the wooden *takhtīs* from Chinese Turkestan. A somewhat similar type of ivory *takhtī* has been excavated from Sirkap-Taxila as well.

Persons and Professions

The phrase *kaṃmakarejaṃna* reminds us of *karmakāra* used by Pāṇini (3.2.22), in the sense of an unskilled worker, engaged in manual work. Other categories, enumerated in these Central Asian documents, included a sculptor *(śilpiga)*, carpenter *(dacchaṃna* or *tacchaṃna* =Skt. *taksaṇa)*, potter *(kulala*=Skt. *kulāla)*, bow maker *(dhaṃnukara)*, arrow-maker *(kaḍa-kara*=Skt. *kāṇḍakāra)*, goldsmith *(suvarṇakara)* etc. They also refer to the residents of different regions of Central Asia itself, i.e. persons hailing from Krorayina, Chadota, Khotan, Śulika etc. The Chinese merchants have been described as *Cinasthanadevaniye* (no. 35) while some persons were named after their country's name as *Cinika, Cinasena, Cinapriya, Cinaphara, Cinayaśa*; *sena, priya* and *yaśa* ending names bear testimony to the impact of Indian culture on Chinese personal names in Niya society. Such examples are numerous; one has only to read these documents carefully and collect them.

Food and Drinks

In relation to food and drinks of the people in Central Asia, we find a frequent reference to Indian words as *bhata* (rice), *taṃdula* (rice), *phalophala* (fruits), pomegranate *(daḍima)*, *bhoyaṃna* (Skt. *bhojana*); species as pepper *(marica)* small cardamoms (suṣmala) *pipali*, ginger *(ariḍaga*, Hindī *adraka)*, salt *(sidha-lavana)*, sugar *(sakara)*, betel *(driṃpura)*, ghee *(ghṛda, ghṛda)*. Wheat and barley are denoted by *gohomi* (or *godhuma*) and *yavi (yava)* respectively. The phrase *ghṛtakumbha* suggests that ghee was stored in storage jars as in India even nowadays.

Textiles and Garments

Mention may also be made of a number of Indian words in relation to textiles and garments described in the documents from Chinese Turkestan. *Urna* and *ṣaṃna* denoted wool and hemp respectively. *Paṭa* has been interpreted to mean a 'roll of silk'. A first century A.D. silk fragment from Tun-huang bears the Brāhmī inscription refering to the length of the particular roll of silk as 46 *giṣṭis* or *diṣṭis*. A variant of *paṭa*, in the form of *paḍa* occurs in a Kharoṣṭhī note on a silk-strip found in the Lop Nor region of Chinese Turkestan. The use of *paṭas* in India has been alluded to in the Nānāghāṭa Cave Inscription of Nāganikā. *Diṣṭi* was an equivalent of one 'span' i.e. 9 inches in length or height. *Cama* or *carma* denoted 'leather'. Some Indian colour names also figure in these documents such as *speta* (white), *paṃḍura* (white or yellow), *pita* (yellow), *nila* (blue), *rataga* (red), *nila-rataga* (red-blue), ass-colour *(khara-varṇa)*, etc. *Kojaya* was used in the sense of a rug *(* = Pālī, *kojava)*, *veḍa* for a turban (of *Cina-veḍa*), *coṭaga* for upper garment, *kaṃculi* or *kaṃjuliya* for bodice (Skt. *kañculikā*), *raju* or *rasaṃna* for rope, *goni* for 'sack' etc.

Coins and Measures

Besides a number of Persian and Greek coins, we find reference to Indian currency *māṣaka* as well, such as *maṣa* in no. 661 and *maṣa* in nos. 149 and 500. *Suvarṇa* and *kanaka* denoted 'gold' in general. Besides *diṣṭi* (=span), there was the system of measuring textile goods by 'hand' (*hasta*, Hindī *hāth*= 18 inches) as also in India. The height of human beings was usually recorded in *diṭhis* or *tiṭhis*, a 'span' (=Skt. *diṣṭi*). Land was measured by the amount of seed it required for cultivation purposes. The documents further refer to Indian words as half *(adha)*, quarter *(pada)* while the quantity is indicated by the word *matra* (Skt. *mātrā*).

Religion

Buddhism was very popular in Niya region; the documents refer to a Buddhist monk as *śramana*, *ṣamana*; *thera*, *sthaira*, for *sthavira*; *bhighu*, *bhuchu*, *bhichu* for *bhikṣu* and *bramaṃna* for a Brahmin. The Buddhist monks were leading a very rich life, possessed landed property and conducted transactions in slaves. Even then they were designated as *śramaṇas*. These Central Asian monks residing inside the monasteries *(vihara, sangarama)*, of course, could not attend the *posatha* ceremony in the dress of a householder *(gṛihasatacoḍin* in document no. 489). The holy organisation of the Buddhist Church was called the *Bhichu-saṃga* (i.e. *bhikṣu saṃgha*).

All this has really got an important bearing on the great impact of the Hindu way of life in the Niya society in Chinese Turkestan, during the first three centuries of the Christian Era.

Hindu Deities in Central Asia

P. BANERJEE

IN ADDITION TO Buddhism and the Buddhist pantheon, certain Hindu cults, gods and goddesses also came to be known in Central Asia quite early. As it is known, Bhāgavatism (the early form of Vaiṣṇavism) was firmly established in north-western India during the rule of the Indo-Greek Kings. One of the most important early Bhāgavata records is the Garuḍa column of Besnagar which was erected in honour of Vāsudeva, the god of gods *(devadeva)* by Heliodorus, son of Dion. Heliodorus is described as a worshipper of Bhagavata and a resident of Takṣaśilā. He came to the court of Indian King Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra during the fourteenth year of his reign, as an evoy from the Greek King Antialkidas, who on numismatic grounds, can be placed between 175 B.C. to 135 B.C. This shows that Bhāgavatism became so popular during this time that even the foreigners were attracted by it.

The Spread of Kṛṣṇa Cult outside India

From Zenob's story of the Indians in Armenia it appears that the legend of Kṛṣṇa travelled outside India during the second century B.C. Two Indian Chiefs, Zenob tells us, called Gisane (Kisane) and Demeter (Temeter) fled westward with their clan and found shelter with Valarashak or Valarsaces, the first Arsacid monarch of Armenia (*circa* 149–127 B.C.). Fifteen years later the King of Armenia put Gisane and Demeter to death, but their sons and descendants continued to live there. They erected two temples of their gods (Gisane and Demeter). But St. Gregory invaded their temples and razed them to the ground. The Indians offered a stiff resistance, but were overpowered.[1]

Demeter and Gisane are names common to men and gods. Kennedy thinks that Demeter must be some compound of Mitra, perhaps Devamitra but about Demeter, we have no details. Kisane, as Zenob informs us, was represented with long hair. His worshippers also wore it long. Lassen suggested long ago, that Kisane might be identified with Kṛṣṇa. According to Kennedy, Demeter and Kisane are probably forms of solar deities.

If Kisane is taken for Kṣṣṇa, then, in my opinion, Devamitra (Demeter) may stand for Baladeva, elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, the suffix 'mitra' is only indicative of his close solar and Vaiṣṇavite association. The story of the flight of Gisane and Devamitra may be reminiscent of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma's flight to Dvārakā from Mathurā because of the pressure of their adversaries. Possibly this story went outside and got mixed up with a local legend in Armenia.

The Cult of Nārāyaṇa in Soviet Central Asia

In 1956, the Russian scholar A. N. Bernshtam discovered in Tadjikistan a fragment of

Kharoṣṭhī inscription which has been translated by J. Harmatta as 'Nārāyaṇa, be victorious'. On palaeographic grounds, the inscription can be attributed to the second-first century B.C. It is, however, difficult to say that the Nārāyaṇa mentioned here is the same as that of the Hindu theology. If it is so, then it indicates the popularity of Nārāyaṇa worship in Central Asia in the second-first century B.C. It may be noted here that Nārāyaṇa the Buddha is mentioned in the Khotanesa-Saka documents in Eastern Turkistan and Nārāyaṇa, the deva, occurs in the Buddhist – Soghdian documents.[2] On a Tun-huang painting representing a thousand-handed, thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara, occurs an attendant figure, Nārāyaṇa on Garuḍa.[3] In all these contexts 'Nārāyaṇa' seems to occur in its Buddhist association, though it is quite possible that his Hindu features were not completely unknown in Central Asia.

Traces of Worship of the three Chief Gods of Hindu Pantheon

As to the popularity of Viṣṇu worship along with that of Śiva and Sūrya, attention may be drawn to the nicolo seal which was described first by Cunningham in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1893, pp. 126–127, pl. X, fig. 2. According to him, the device consists of the four-armed Viṣṇu with a devotee standing by his side in respectful pose with folded hands. The god has in his four hands a wheel, a mace, a ring-like object and a globular thing. There is an illegible inscription by the side of the god. As to the devotee, Cunningham identified him as the Kuṣāṇa King Huviṣka because of the affinities of headdress and garment. (See pl. 51).

R. Ghirsman has however given the right interpretation of the seal by having deciphered the inscription correctly. According to him, the inscription is in Tocharian script and contains in Tocharian language the names of Mihira, Viṣṇu and Śiva.[4] Further, he thinks that the devotee in question is not the Kusāṇa King Huviṣka but some unknown Hepthalite Chief, about two or three hundred years later than Huviṣka in time. Whatever it may be, the use of Tocharian language and script on the seal shows beyond doubt that a composite cult of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Sūrya was popular with certain people of the Central Asia about 500 A.D.

Vaiṣṇava Influence on Buddhist Art

Definite Vaiṣṇavite influence is noticeable in a Buddha image with auspicious symbols from Balawaste in the Domoko region, on the southern silk route of Eastern Turkistan. This image, attributable to about the eighth century, forms part of the Stein collection of wall-paintings now preserved in the National Museum. The body and the arms of the figure are covered with symbols or devices including the *śrīvatsa*, diamonds, mandara as churning rod, horse Uccaiḥśravā (indicative of the story of the churning of the ocean), the sun, the moon, vajras, manuscripts, triangles and circles. Taking the symbols into account, which have, no doubt, a mystic significance, it appears to me that the artist has tried to depict here the *Viśvarūpa* aspect of Buddha on the model of the *Viśvarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa as narrated in the *Gītā*. The cosmic aspect of Buddha has been emphasised also by the propounders of the Shingon creed which was very popular in Japan during the medieval period. According to Shingon belief, the body of Buddha comprises the whole cosmos, composed of the six elements of earth, water, fire, air, ether or vital energy and consciousness.[5] This Buddha has however little to do with the Śākyamuni Buddha, and was called Mahāvairocana.

Śaivism in Central Asia

As to the popularity of Śaivism in Central Asia, there is ample evidence. It is generally believed that Asaṃga, the well-known Buddhist philosopher of about 400 A.D. effected an amalgam of Śaivism and Buddhism. Rhys Davids writes in this connection : "He (Asaṅga) managed with great difficulty to reconcile the two opposing myths by placing a number of Śaiva gods, both male and female in the inferior heavens of the prevalent Buddhism as worshippers and supporters of Buddha and Avalokiteśvara. He thus made it possible for the half-converted and rude tribes to remain Buddhists while they brought offerings to their more congenial shrines and while their practical religion had no relation at all to the truths or the noble Eightfold path. They busied themselves wholly with obtaining magic powers (*siddhi*) by means of magic phrases (dhāraṇīs) and magic charms".[6]

Another reason for the amalgam of Buddhism and Śaivism may be due to certain factors common to them. Both Buddhism and Śaivism were originally ascetic religions and both of them were patronised largely by the merchant classes. Whatever it may be, the Śaiva pantheon held the imagination of the Central Asian people over a wide area for a long time.

As is well known, Śiva appears on certain coins of foreign kings, Gondophares, Maues and several others. The epithet "deva" applied to Gondophares on coins is significant. The word 'deva' is likely to mean here 'Śiva' only and no other god. As an analogy we may draw attention to Hiuen-tsang's reference in his *Si-yu-ki* to a Śiva Temple 'outside the gate of the city of Puṣkalāvatī, simply as a 'Deva' temple in the seventh century. An elaborate Śiva patheon is represented on the coins of the Kushana rulers (second century). It is not only Śiva, but also his consort Umā and son Kārttikeya-Kumāra that occur frequently on the coins of Vima and his successor. Vima owed personal allegiance to Śaivism as he is described as a Māheśvara on some of his coins.

An important Śaiva antiquity of the Gandhāra region is the so-called Trimūrti image with Śiva as the central figure (*c.* third century A.D.) from Akhun Dheri near Charsadda. It is now preserved in the Peshawar Museum. Regarding the spread of Śaivism in West Asia, we may refer to the Greek author Stobaeus, who quotes a passage from Bardasanes about the visit of an Indian to Syria at the time of Antonius of Emesa (218 22 A.D.). This passage also contains striking reference to Ardhanārīśvara.[7]

Śaivism in Afghanistan

The popularity of Śaivism continued in Afghanistan and other parts of Central Asia during the early medieval period also. So far as Afghanistan is concerned, a collection of Śaiva antiquities, attributable to the seventh-eighth century, has come to light from Tagao and Gardez during the last thirty years. "These include a head of Śiva from Gardez, a smaller head of Durgā overcoming Mahiṣāsura. Another version of this latter theme is now in the Museo Nazionale of Art Orientale in Rome. All are clearly provincial examples of a post-Gupta style dating from the seventh or eighth century when large parts of Afghanistan were under the rule of Hindu Shahis. The head of Śiva with a lunar symbol in the crown, is a benign mask conceived in abstract swelling planes, suggestive at once of some of the heads of deities in the seventh and eighth century sculpture of the Deccan . . . The same is true of the smaller head of Durgā, notable especially for the delicate and intricate carving of the headdress".[8] To this list may also be added the inscribed Mahāvināyaka or Gaṇeśa with *Ūrdhvameḍhra*, erect phallus, clad in a tiger-skin. It was found in Kotal-i-Khair Khaneh, about 10 miles north of Kabul, and is now preserved in the Kabul Museum.[9] This image, also attributable to the seventh century A.D., has the lingering grace and life-like representation as evidenced by the masterly Gupta idiom. It is quite gratifying to note that the contemporary literary evidence also amply illustrates the existence of Śaivism in the Gandhāra area

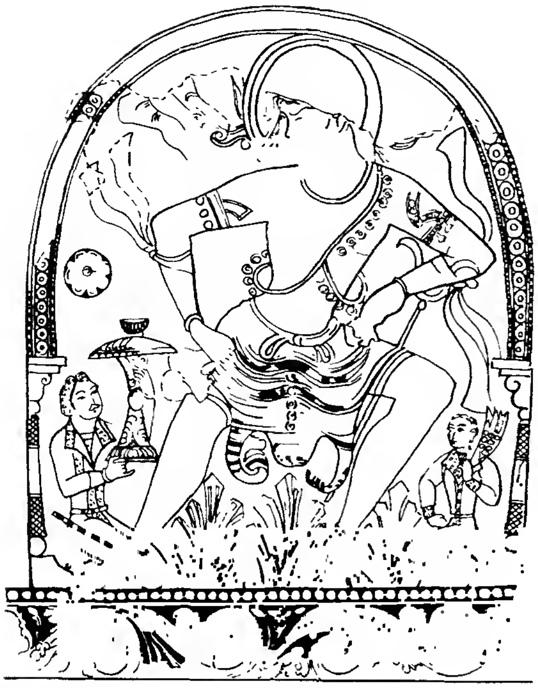

Fig. *Śiva Natarāja from Piandjikent Uzbekistan*

as Hiuen-tsang mentions a celebrated shrine there to Bhimādevī, the consort of Īśvara (i.e., Śiva).

Form of Śiva in Painted Panels

The popularity of Śaivism seems to have extended to Soghdiana and Eastern Turkestan during this period (i.e., the seventh-eighth century). This is clearly evident from the discovery of a fragment of a wall-painting (depicting Śiva) by Professor A. M. Belenitsky in the course of his excavations at Piandjikent in 1962. Piandjikent is situated on the river Zervashan in Tadjikistan, in the U.S.S.R. Śiva, as represented on this fragment of painting, is provided with a circular halo and a decorated *yajñopavīta*. He stands in *ālīḍha* attitude. As is the case with many Indian and Central Asian examples, he is clad in tiger-skin. He is endowed with two eyes having a terrific look. He has two arms shown akimbo. He is provided with various ornaments, such as necklace, bracelets, anklets, etc. A scarf with fluttering ends is shown round the forearms. Behind the left arm and left leg is shown Śiva's familar weapon, the trident.

In the foreground, there is a cluster of plants recalling acanthus. The plants are separated by a band of circular beads and below there is a lotus scroll.

The deity is accompanied on either side by an attendant. The one on the left wears a moustache and he has a dagger in a scabbard hanging from the waist. He holds an incense burner with his both hands. The man on the right holds a chowri in his left hand. Both the attendants have Soghdian features and are clad in Soghdian dress, ornaental long coats with open collar. It may be interesting to note that though Śiva has been depicted in Indian tradition, the attendant figures have been depicted in Soghdian style. This bespeaks of the skill of the artist who was accomplished in both traditions.[10]

The Maheśvara-Śiva from Chinese Central Asia

The extension of Śaivism to Eastern Turkestan can be proved by certain finds in Dandan-Uliq and neighbouring sites of the Taklamakan desert. A very interesting representation of Śiva occurs on a painted wooden panel from Dandan-Uiliq, No. D. VII. 6. Its discoverer, Sir Aurel Stein describes it as follows : "... we see a three-faced and four-armed divinity, seated cross-legged on a cushion, which is supported by two couchant bulls. The flesh of the divinity is shown dark-blue throughout, excepting in two side heads of which one on the right proper coloured white, bears an effeminate look, while the other is dark blue with the expression of a demon. The rich diadem of the central head with its side ornament resembling a half moon, the third eye on the forehead, the tiger-skin forming the *dhotis* or loin-cloth and finally the bull represented as, vāhana—are all so many emblems, recalling to one's mind the Brahmanic Śiva."[11]

Śiva and Śakti were also Worshipped

Unmistakable evidence of the presence of Śiva-Śakti worship is provided by the Dandan-Uliq panel No. D.X.8. The composition consists of a four-armed Trimūrti form of Śiva and his Śakti, who kneels on her right thigh. The god, with the traces of the third eye, sits cross-legged, clothed in tight fitting long-sleeved white vest. Tiger-skin round the middle is shown with a point rising in front as in the case of the other Śiva figure from Dandan-Uliq, mentioned above. This mode has been adopted perhaps to depict these figures as *ūrdhvameḍhra* or with erect phallus. As for comparison, mention may be made here of the ithyaphallic Śiva with Pārvatī by the side (Gupta period) from Kosam (this panel is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta). (See pl. 52).

The main figure seems to be four-armed, on one left arm is a massive armlet, while the other one rests on thigh and holds vajra. The lower right hand, as noted above, is thrown round the neck of Śakti, the object in the other hand is not recognizable. The deity has a long neck-cord, tied into bows at intervals. His hair is apparently long and wavy. The crown is of usual Iranian type. The face to the left is fearful, and the third eye is clearly visible. Face to right is effected.

The Śakti is dressed in a long stola with tight sleeves to wrist. With her right hand she holds a cup to the deity. She has well-drawn eye-brows, highly arched, and long eyes. She has a white complexion.[12]

Trimūrti Śiva finds Favour in Central Asia

Support to the existence of a Śākta cult in Eastern Turkistan during the eighth century A.D. is lent also by another trimūrti-figure which is preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi. The deity sits full face with head slightly turned to left. The other two heads project from either side from behind ears. The centre face has a third eye in fore-head and a long thin moustache. The eyes are heavy-lidded and dreamy: on the head is shown a skull against the back top knot. (See pl. 50).

The deity has four arms, two upraised ones hold the sun to left and the moon to right. Of the lower arms the right hand has a pomegranate held against breast and left hand rests on thigh grasping an unrecognizable attribute *(vajra?)* The three heads (with the third eye on the central head), the skull on the head-dress and the attributes of the arms point to the Śaiva association of the deity.[13]

The other Hindu deities that occur on Central Asian art include Brahmā, Indra, Gaṇeśa, Kumāra-Kārttikeya, the Sun and the Moon, and the Lokapālas, etc., as adopted in the Central Asian pantheon.

The Images of Brahmā and Indra

So far as Brahmā is concerned, he has been noticed in the caves of Kucha area, as already referred to by Coomaraswamy.[14] An interesting figure of Indra occurs on a fragment of Wall-painting from Balawaste, now preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi.[15] The figure is either kneeling or sitting with his legs crossed. His body leans forward from the hips with his head tilted back. The eyes are downcast and hands folded and uplifted to neck-level. "The thumbs are strongly abducted, so that they are upright, while the fingers point horizontally." The head is covered with a close-fitting cap with a head-band in dark pink colour, studded with white dots or pearls.

The face is Indian with eye-brows, to be met in certain Ajanta figures (cf. the figures of

Mahājana Jātaka). The figure wears various ornaments and a *muktā-yajñopavita*. It is endowed with a nimbus and on the back of the right hand is outlined in black, an eye. The presence of the eye on the hand proves beyond doubt its identity with Indra as I have discussed the identification of this figure in my article *Indra from Balawaste* (Central Asia).[16] Indra figure occurs also on some other paintings from Central Asia. (See pl. 53).

The Images of Gaṇeśa and Kumāra

Gaṇeśa, Kumāra, the sun and the moon have been noticed in Tun-huang, and few other paintings of Central Asia. Regarding Gaṇeśa, attention may be drawn to his representation on a wooden panel from Endere. The god, four-armed, with an elephant-head is shown seated. He is provided with a crown, and ornaments on his arms, wrists and ankles. He wears tiger-skin *dhotis* and tight *pyjamas*. He has a rosary of dots, and holds a bowl of fruit (?), a spear-head(?), a turnip and an axe. The figure is attributable to the seventh-eighth century A.D. The details show that 'here is representation of Gaṇeśa, being thoroughly Indian'.[17] (See pl. 54).

Dandan-Uliq has also yielded certain wooden panels depicting Gaṇeśa. A fragment (DII. 16) represents him seated on a die-pattern floor of mat in two colours. He has a jewelled diadem on his head, and has his trunk curled to his left.[18] Another fragment from Khadalik (Kh. 007) represents Gaṇeśa seated on an open lotus. The right hand holds perhaps an *aṅkuśa*, the left resting in lap holds a round object. Ears are very large and wing-like. All this would attest to the popularity of Gaṇeśa in the Khotan region.

A fine figure of Gaṇeśa occurs in cave 285 of Tun-huang.[19] Andrews has noticed on a Bezeklik wall-painting the representation of Kārttikeya, Mahākāla, and Garuḍa carrying away nectar. In the upper register of the picture Kārttikeya is seated on a bird, with one leg hanging down and the other tucked up in front. "The hair, black, is shown in tufts, the rest of the head is shaven". The figure has six arms and in each hand is a symbol. Two upraised hands carry in the right, red disc of the sun, and in the left, the white moon. The next pair, have in right two broad-headed arrows and in the left a bow of Persian type. Of the third pair, the right hand is at breast, the left rests on hip, holding a long rod. The bird turns towards the rider. Its claws are finely drawn.

The Mahākāla Image

The second divinity (Mahākāla), with a demon's head, is seated on a Yak-tail (Nandī). The mouth is open. Hair is flaming red. The upper hands holds elephant skin of which the head and trunk appear to right. Middle hands hold a flaming sword in right and the left hand is missing. Lower hands are both missing, but the trident and Vajra are visible.[20] In the lower register of this picture occur again Kārttikeya, and also the scene of carrying away amṛta by Garuḍa.

The Lokapālas

As to the lokapālas which were originally Hindu divinities, seem to be completely absorbed in the Buddhist pantheon of Central Asia, China and Japan. The four well-known Lokapālas are Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūḍhaka, Virūpākṣa and Vaiśravaṇa. They are conceived in the Buddhist pantheon as Caturmahārājas, who guard the world against the Asuras. Each guards one side of heaven. Dhṛtarāṣṭra, king of Gandharvas and Piśācas, guards the East; Virūḍhaka, king of Kumbhāṇḍas, the South; Virūpākṣa, king of Nāgas, the West; and Vaiśravaṇa or Kubera, king of Yakṣas, the North.

These protectors of the four quarters are shown in Central Asian and Far Eastern art as warrior kings with gorgeous dress and armour. They are sometimes accompanied by Yakṣas or demons, as the case may be.

Some of the earliest lokapāla figures in Central Asia occur in the shrines of Dandan-Uiliq, and Rawak. The lokapālas of Rawak show a clear link with Gandhāra depictions.[21] Wall-paintings and sculptures of Buddhist shrines near Kucha, Kara-shar and Turfan and the silk paintings of Tun-huang have lokapāla representations in plenty. The lokapālas, as stated above, were very popular also in China and Japan.

Hindu Gods and Goddesses in Japan

It may not be out of place, keeping in view the trend and convenience of this discussion, to mention here that the Shingon pantheon of Japan also included quite a large number of Hindu gods. They are Shoten sama (Gaṇeśa), Taishaku (Indra), Katen (Agni), Emma-o (Yama), Benzaiten or Benten (Sarasvatī), Suiten (Varuṇa), Futen (Vāyu), Īśāna, Bonten (Brahmā), Jiten (Pṛthvī), Nitten and Gatten (Sūrya and Candra) and many others. "Though most of the deities are venerated only as forming part of Mandara some of them such as Shoten sama, Emma-o, Suiten and Benten are popular objects of worship and have temples dedicated to them."[22]

In the end, it may be stated, that Buddhism, especially Mahāyāna, with the passage of time came closer to Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism giving rise to the great Indian Dharma presenting the best of the Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Buddhist systems. And this composite character of the Indian region finds ample representation on central Asian art as discussed above.

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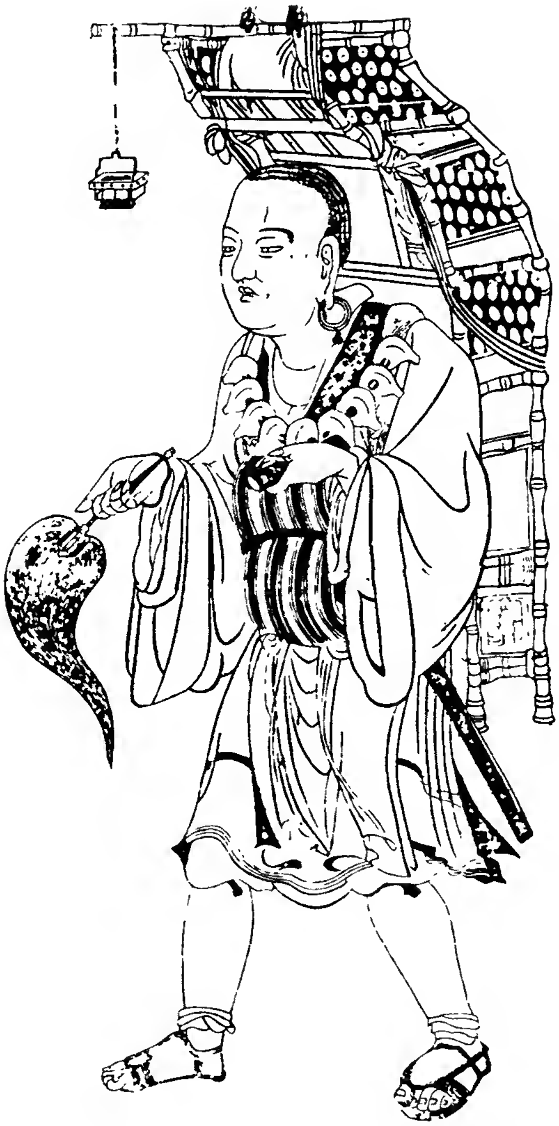
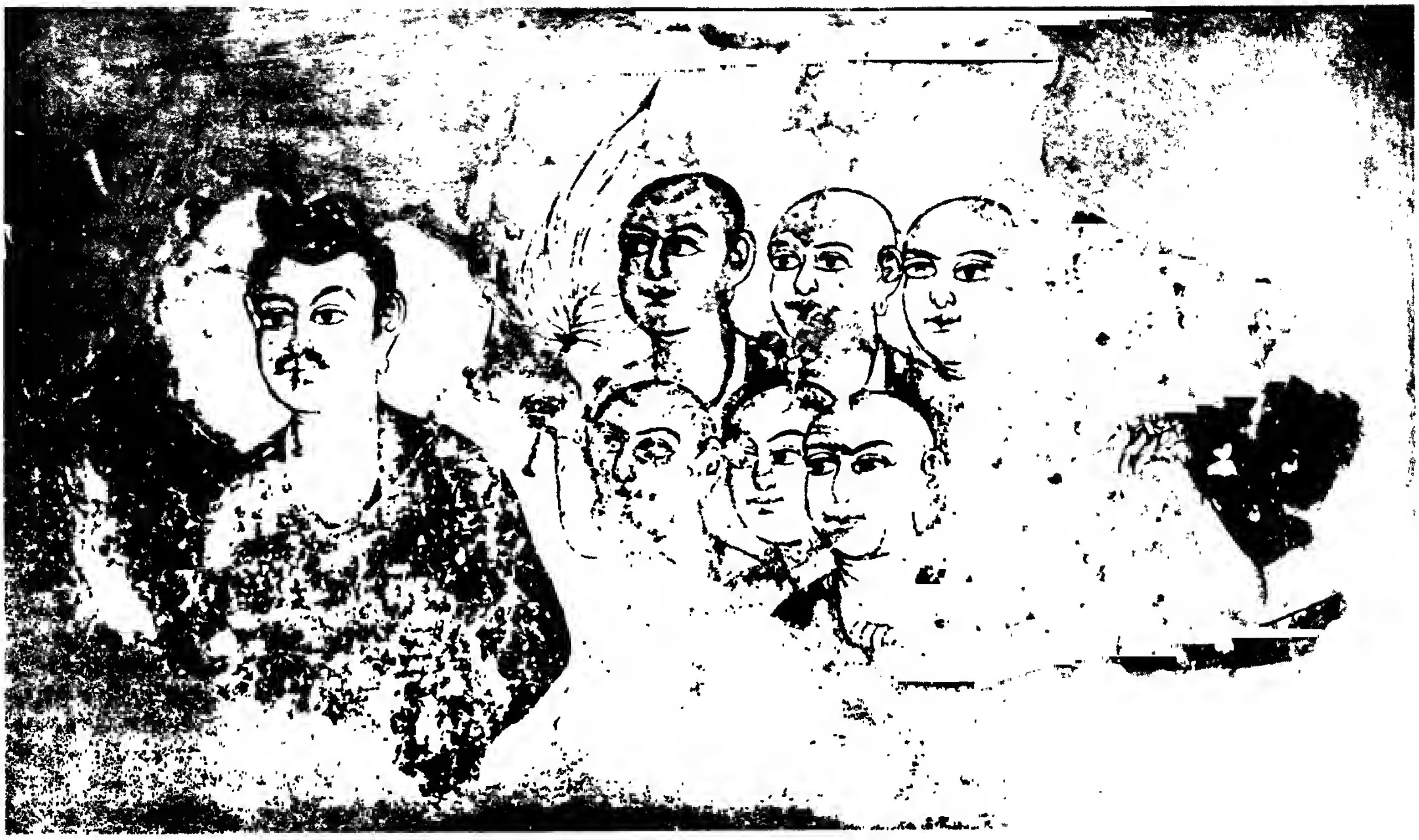
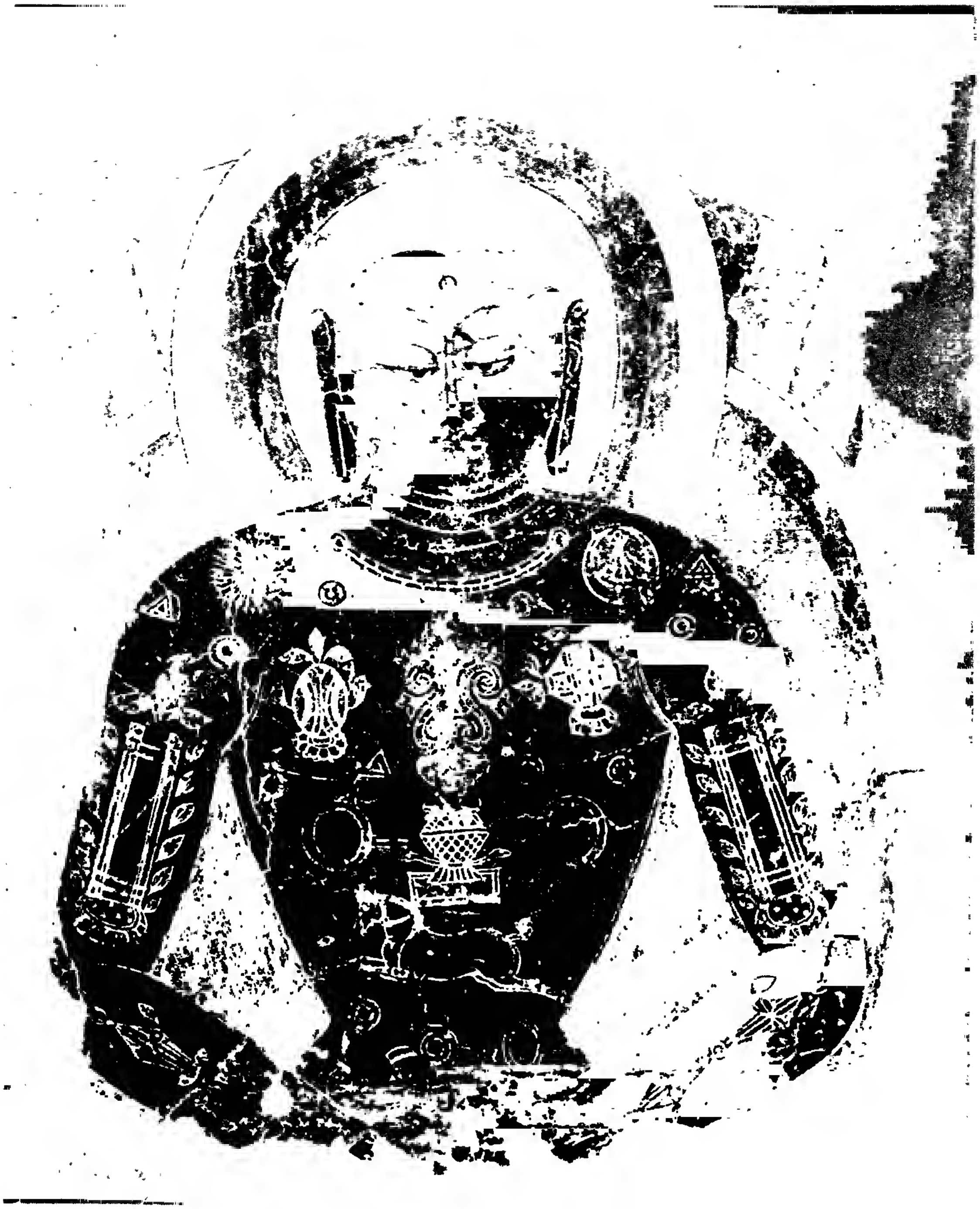
18. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol 1, pp. 292 ff

19 Basil Gray *Buddhist Cave paintings at Tun-huang*, pp 1–20
20 Andrews *Catalogue of Wall-paintings from Buddhist Shrines in Central Asia and Sistan*, pp 35–36
21 Stein, *Ancient Khotan* Vol 1, pp 494 ff., fig. 67, ii, pl XIV, LXXXV
22 Sir Charles Eliot, *Japanese Buddhism* p 355, London, 1935



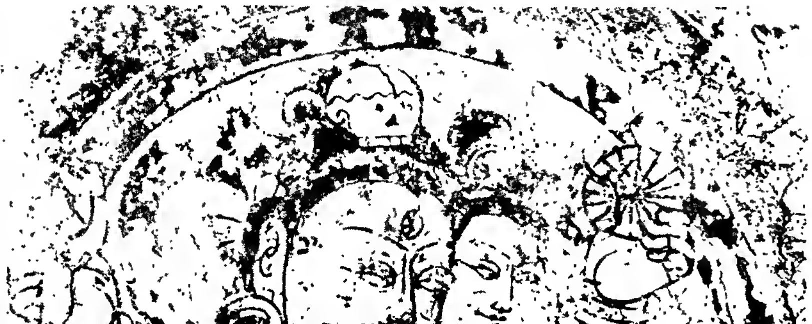


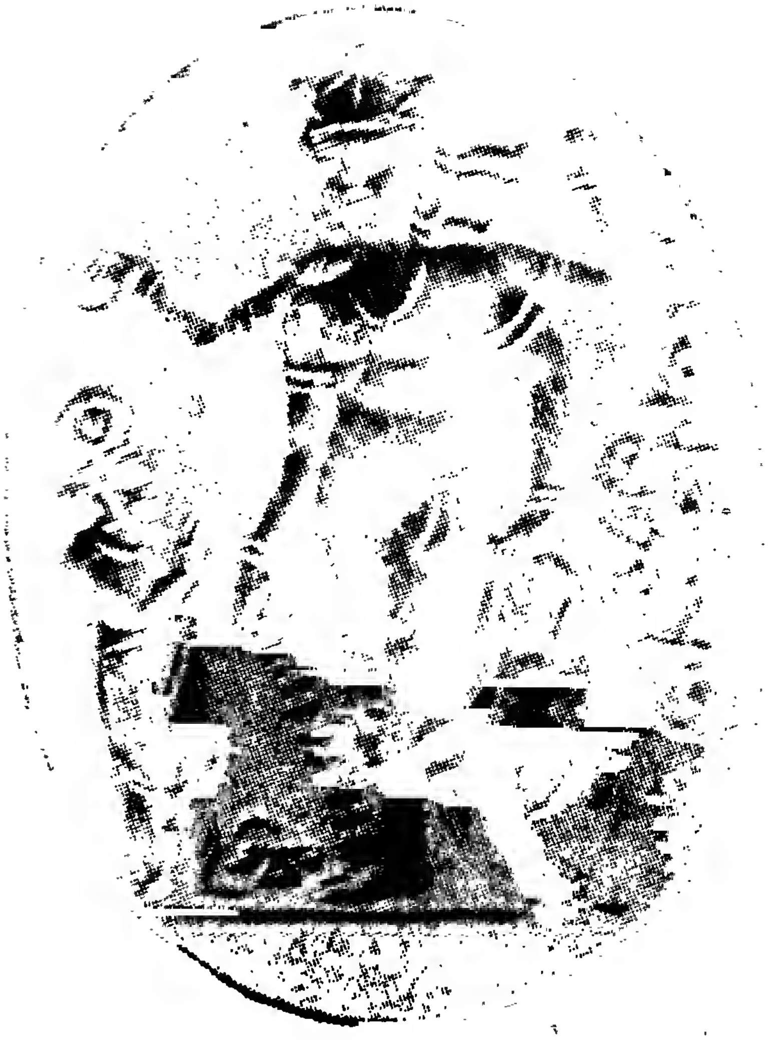
48 Six monks and Buddha with moustache and swelling uṣnīsa. From Miran, Central Asia (courtesy National Museum, New Delhi)



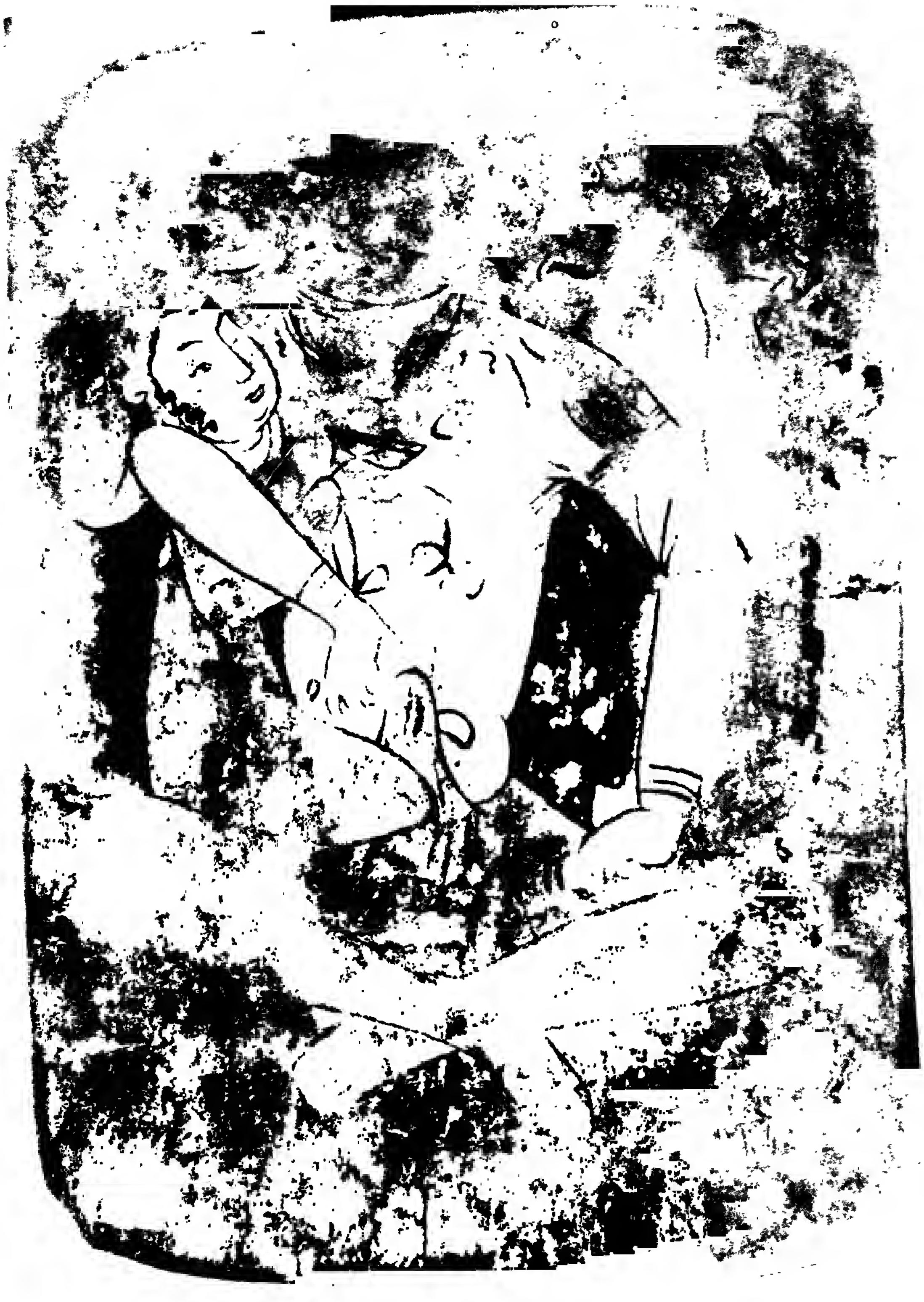
49. Wall-Painting of Buddha from Balawaste with auspicious symbols. (courtesy: National Museum, New Delhi).

50. The figure of Trimūrti (Śiva), wall-painting from Balawaste, c. eighth century A.D. (courtesy: National Museum, New Delhi).

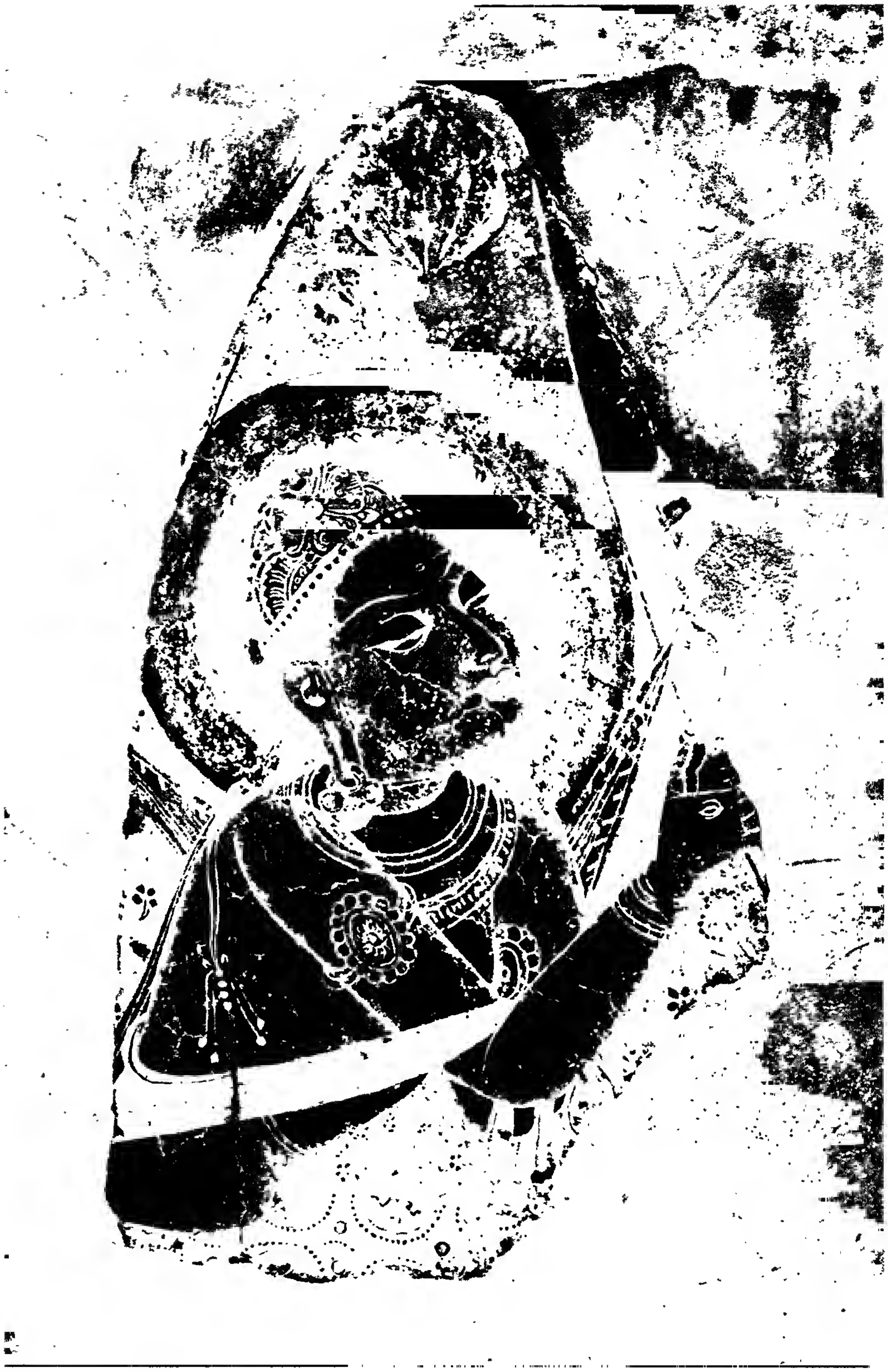




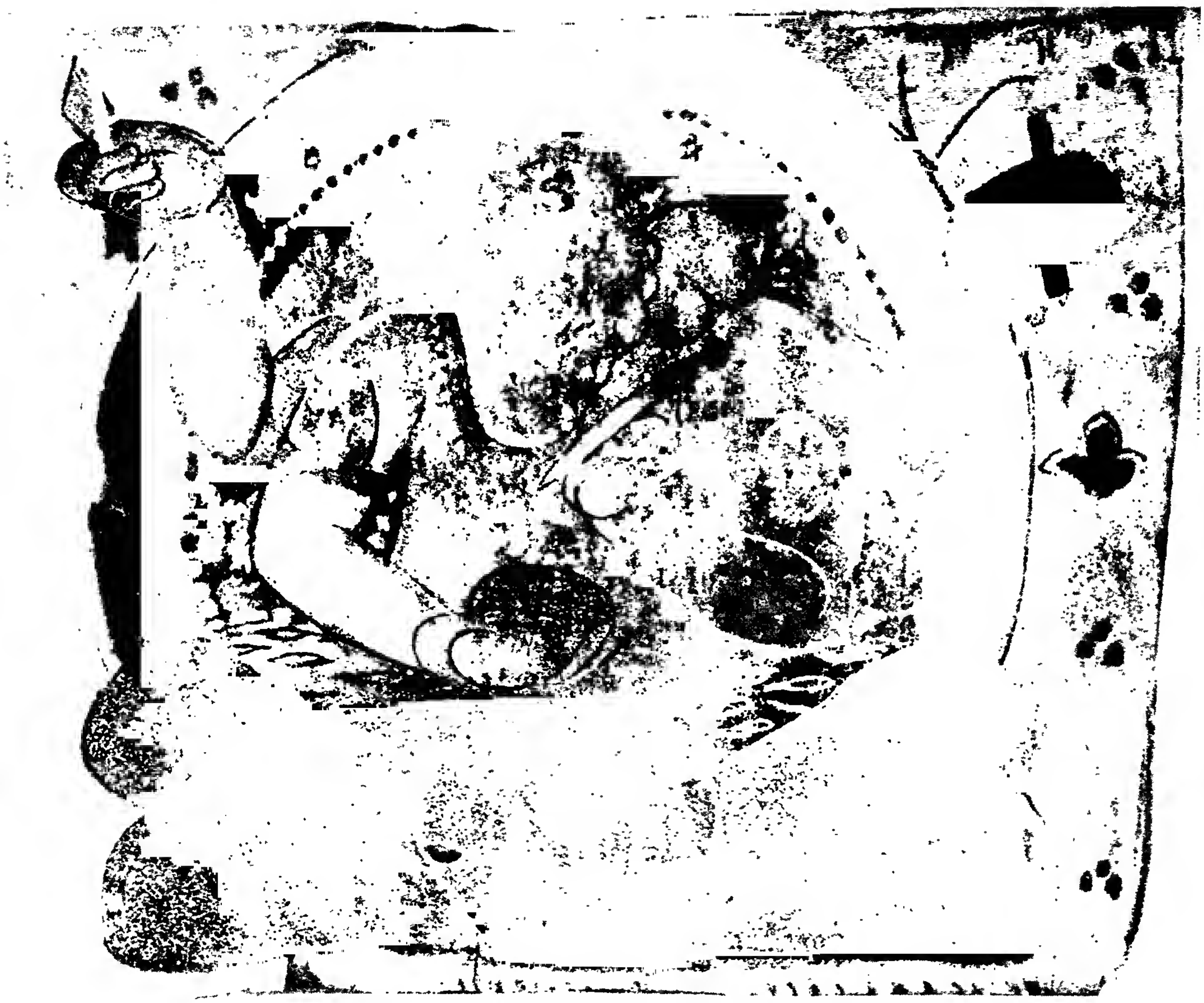
51. A composite fugure with an inscription in Tocharian script, mentioning the names of the Iranian form of the Sun-God, Viṣṇu and Śiva, Nicolosea, c. 5th century A.D. (After pl. XI, fig. 2 in the Development of Hindu Iconography by J.N. Banerjea).



52. Śiva with Śakti, painting on wood, from Dandan-uiliq, Central Asia, c. eighth century A.D. (courtesy: British Museum, London).



53. Indra, wall-painting from Balawaste, Central Asia, c. eighth century (courtesy: National Museum, New Delhi).



54. Gaṇeśa, painting on wood from Endere, c. eighth century A.D. (courtesy: British Museum, London)

55. Lakṣmaṇa offering water to Rāma. Prambanan (Indonesia).

56. Rāvana carrying away Sītā. Prambanan (Indonesia).

Rāmāyaṇ scenes from Prambanan temple (Indonesia).

57. Abduction of Sita

Jatāyu presenting Sita's ring to Rama

Rāma killing a demon

58. Rāma witnessing fight between Bāli and Sugrīva

Rāma shoots Bāli

Enthronement of Sugrīva

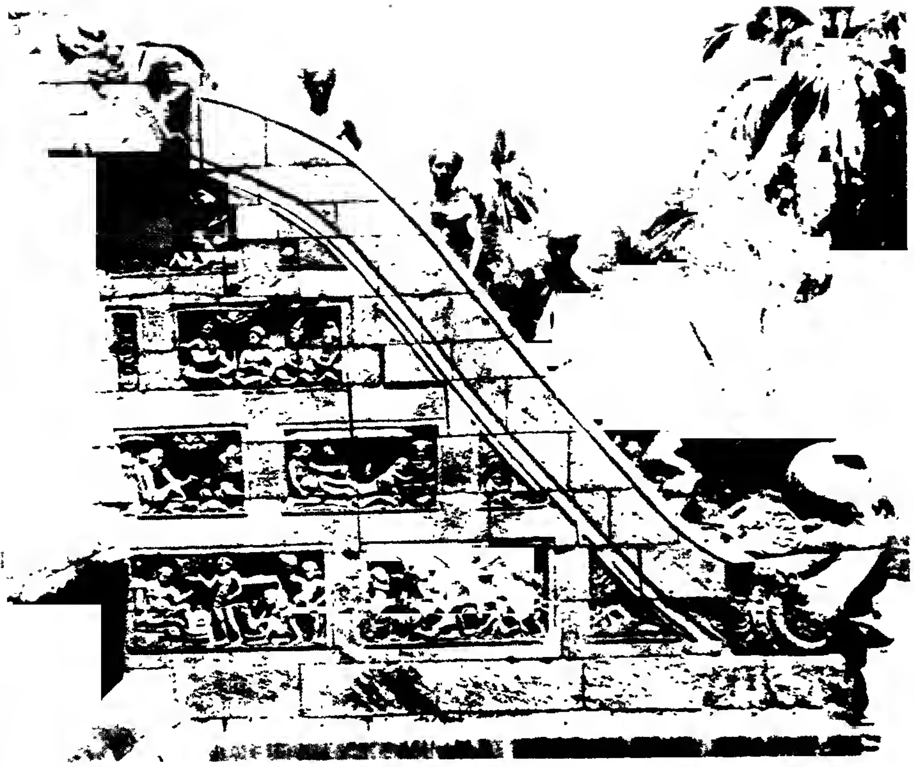
59 Rāma acts against the sea

60. Añgada enumerates episodes of Lañkā and monkies marching with Rāma

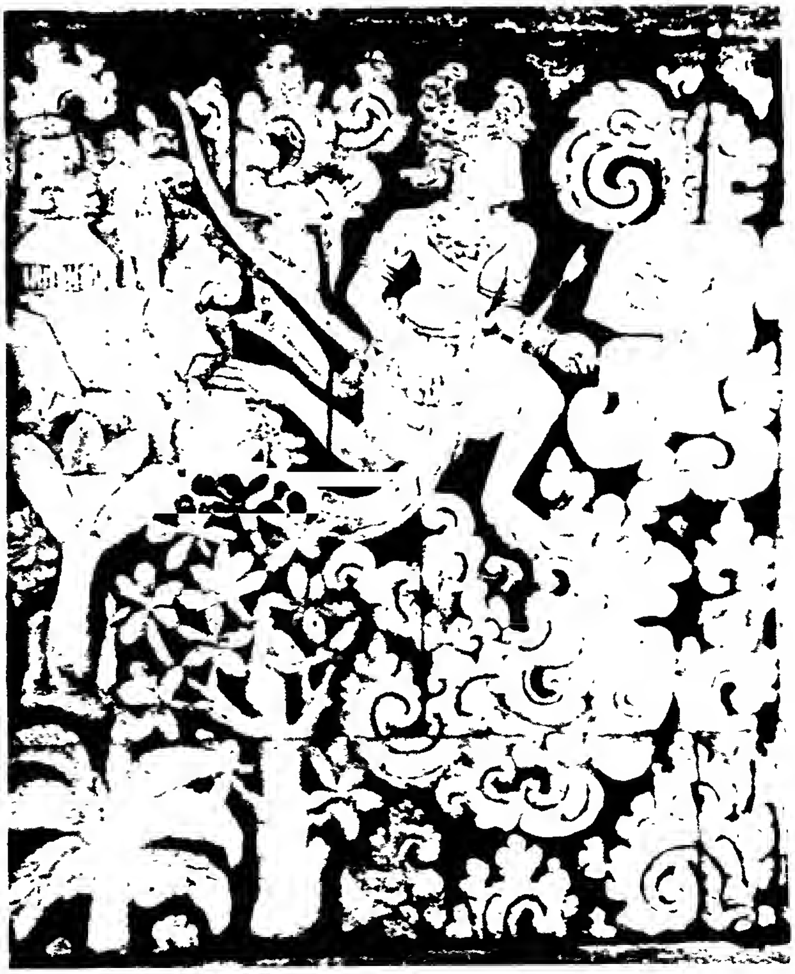
Space donated by D. B. BANDODKAR, PANJIM (GOA)

61. Kumbhakarṇa being aroused. From the Brahmā Temple at Caṇḍi Loro Jongrang, Prambanan, Java, Indonesia.

62. Dvārapāla or door guardians of the second central chapel of Banteay Srei, Cambodia. Late 10th and early 14th century A.D.

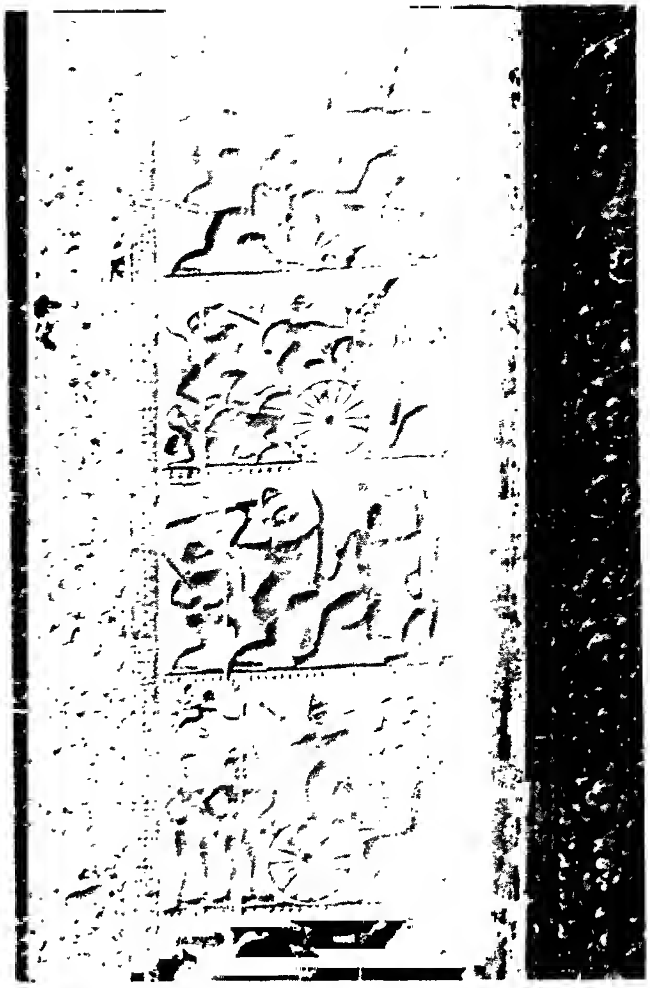


63. Northern wing of the flight of the steps of the Caṇḍi Mendut, Java, Indonesia.

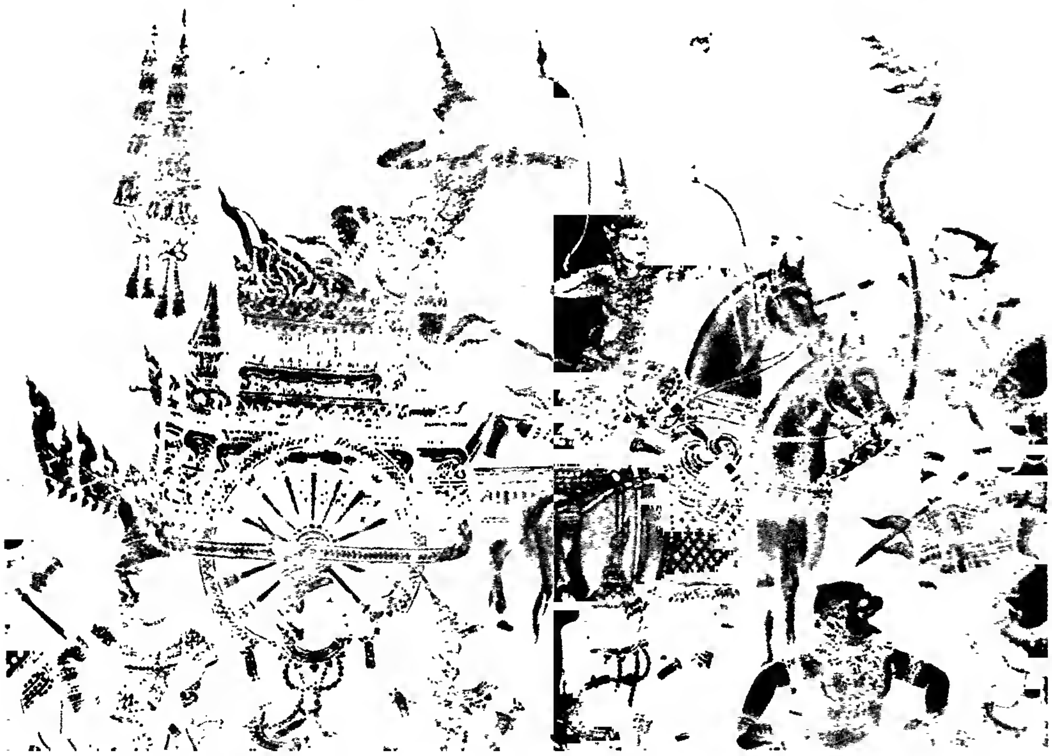


64. Hanumān in the air with an arrow in his thigh. From the main temple of Caṇḍi Panataran, Java, Indonesia.

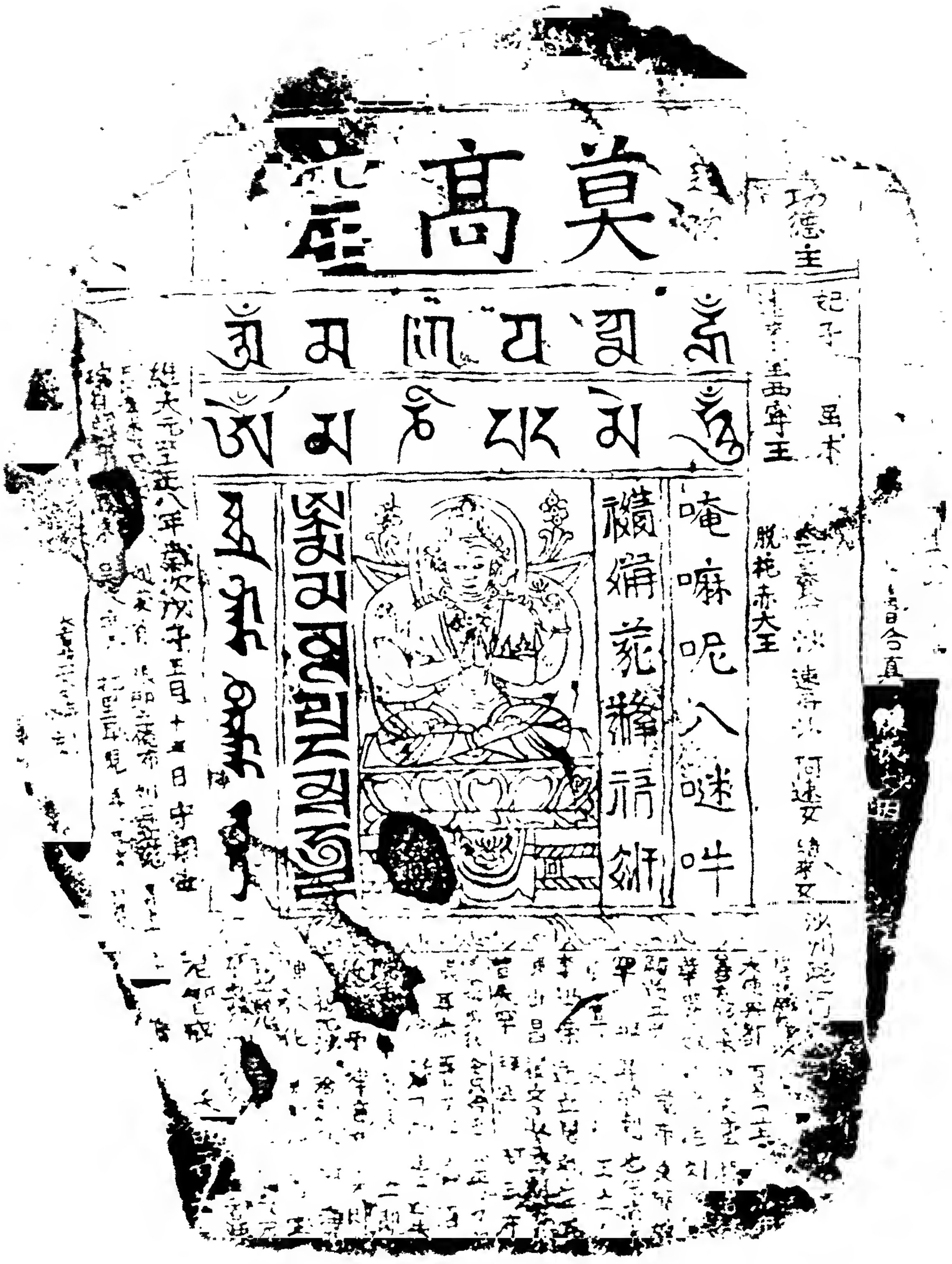
65. Fight between Rāma and Rāvaṇa in the Baphuon, Angkor, Cambodia.



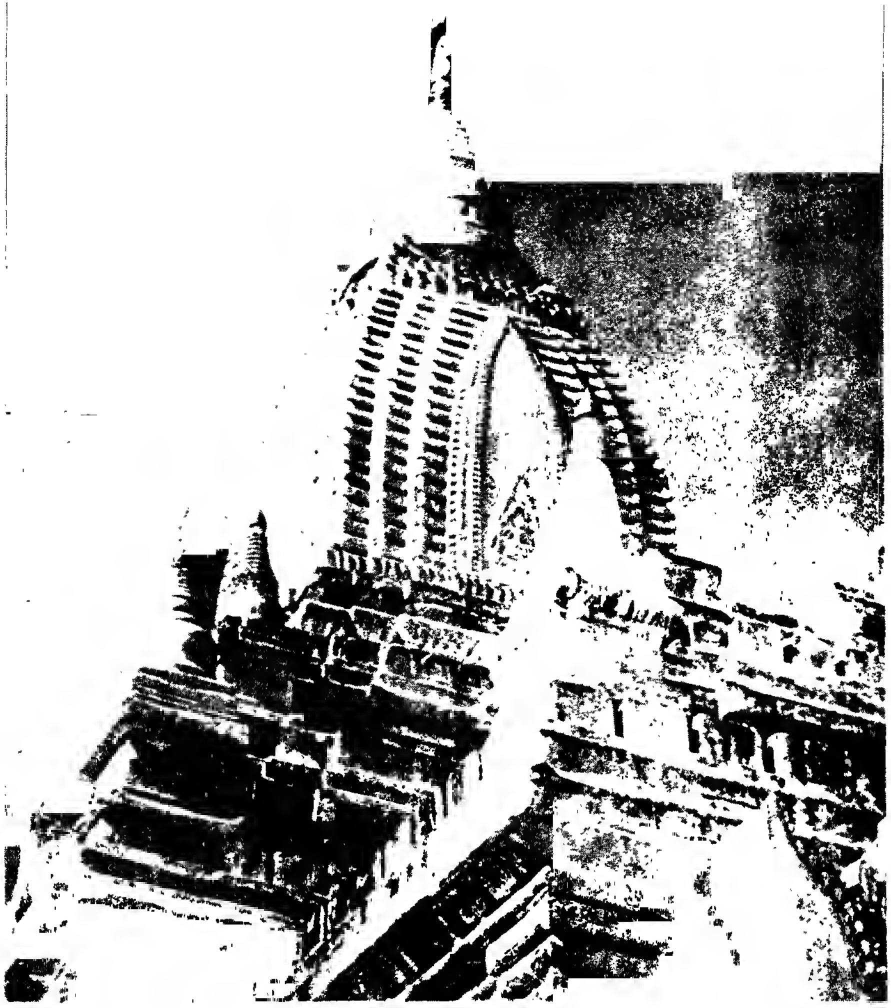
66. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in the battlefield-depicted on the wall-paintings of Vat Phra Keo, Bangkok, Thailand.



67. Lung-men Caves in Honan Province of China. Its sculptures range between 220 and 905 A.D


莫高窟
唵嘛呢八咪吽
功德主
脫花赤大王

68. Oṃ maṇi-padme hūṃ in six scripts (Lantsha, Tibetan, Mongolian, Ḥphags-pa, Hsi-hsia, and Chinese) at the 'Cave of Unequalled Height' or Mao Kao K'u, which was the earliest chapel to be constructed in 366 A.D. by an Indian bhikṣu whose name is preserved as Lo-ts'un in a stone inscription of the T'ang Dynasty, China.

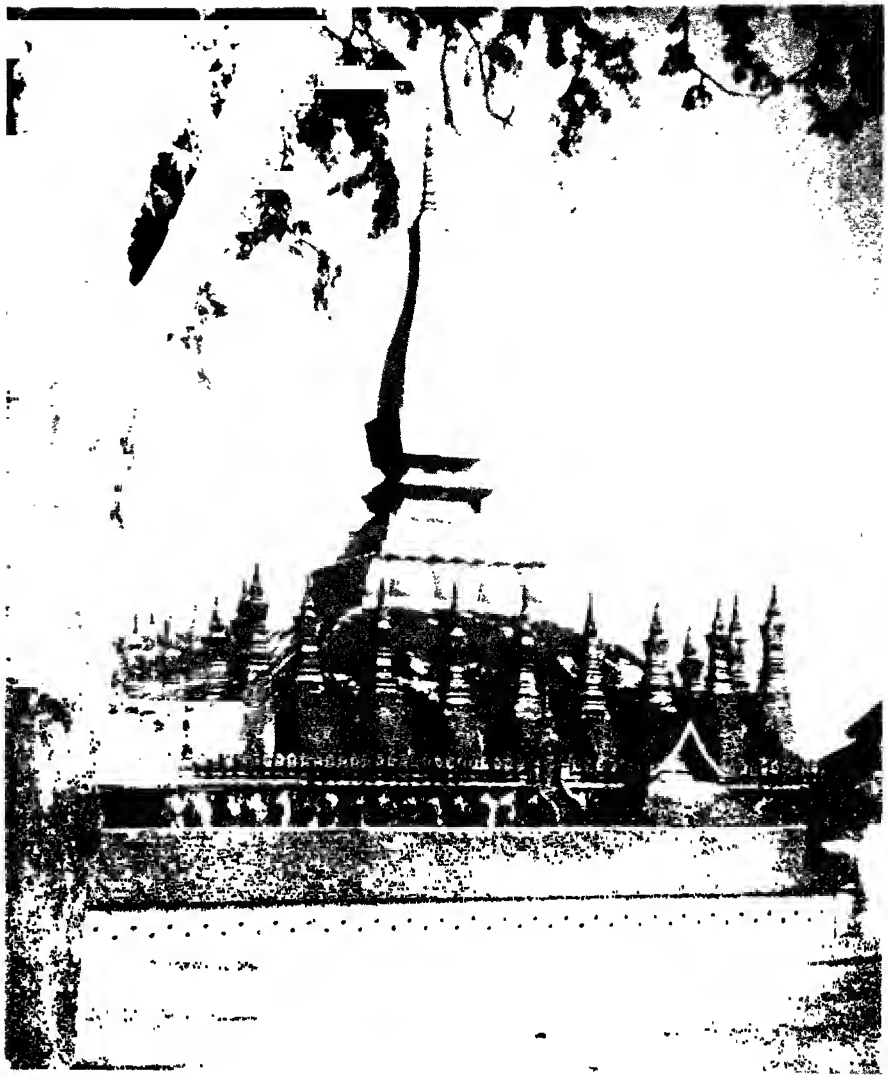


69. Minnanthu, Lamyethna Temple at Pagan, Burma.

70. Terracotta panel at the Mingalazedi Pagoda, Pagan, Burma.

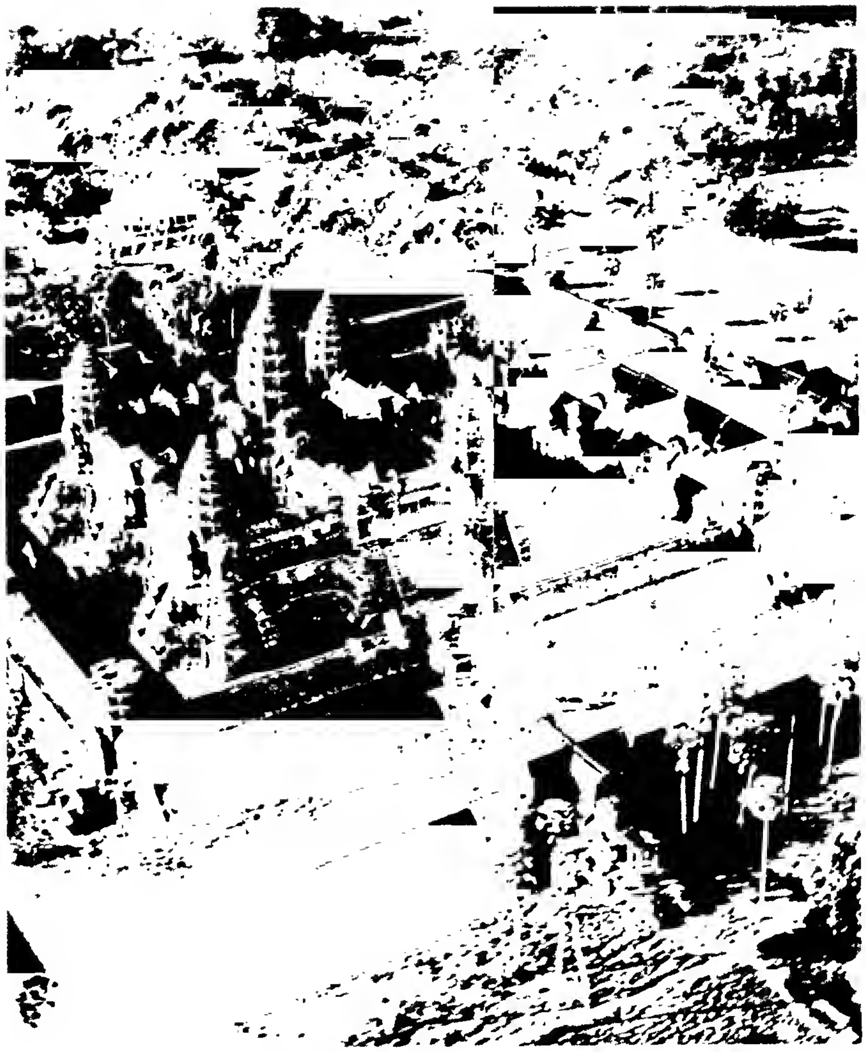
71. Nathlaung Kyaung, Burma.

72. Viṣṇu, the central image of the above. (courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India).

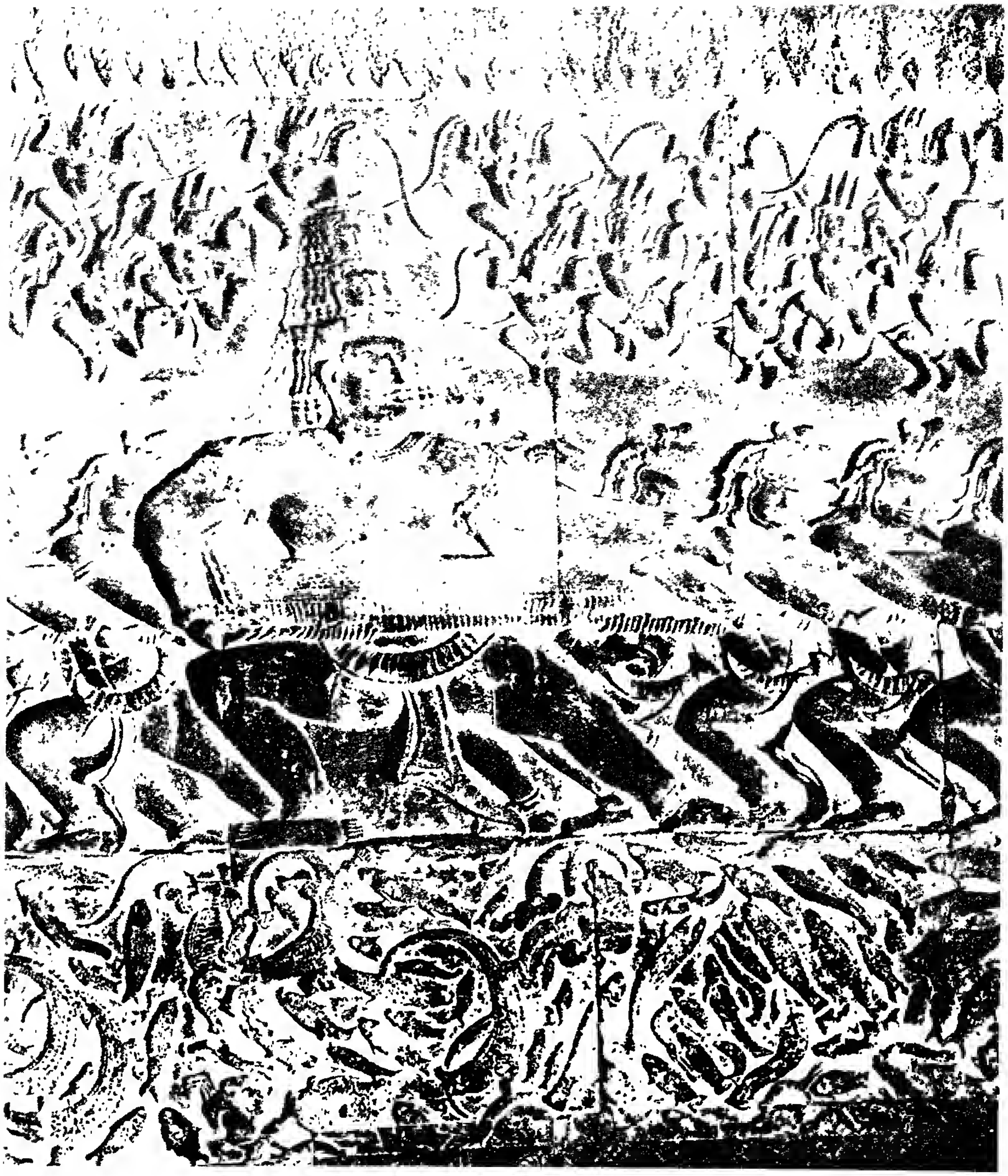


73. That Luong Temple, Vientiane, Laos.

74 A rare view of images in the lower Caves, Pak Ou, Laos



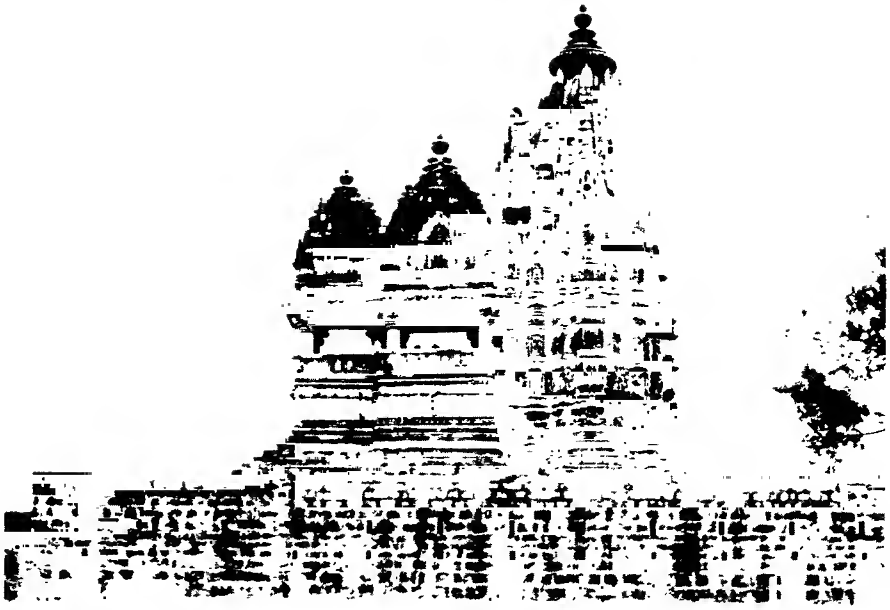
75 Aerial view of Angkor Wat, Cambodia, from the north-east. Early 12th century A.D.



76. A part of the Samudra-manthana scene (churning of the ocean) at Angkor Wat, Cambodia

77. Rome, St. Peter's interior. 1506-1626 A.D.

78. Dambal, Mysore, Doddabasappa Temple, view of antechamber and shrine. Late 11th cent. A.D.



79. Khajuraho, Javari temple, view of exterior. Late 11th cent. A.D.

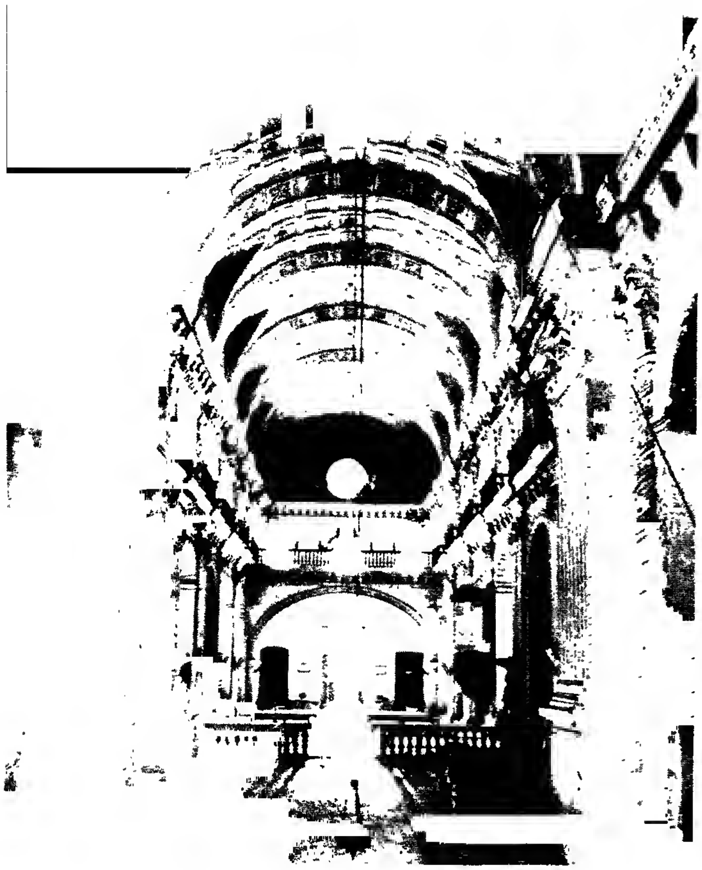
80. Chenganoor church, detail of gable, showing how a Pre-Baroque Christian sanctuary probably looked like. The garbhagraha is flanked by the dvārapālas as Peter and Paul. 15th cent. A.D.?

81. Kuaravilangad chapel, facade and sanctuary tower 17th cent. A.D.

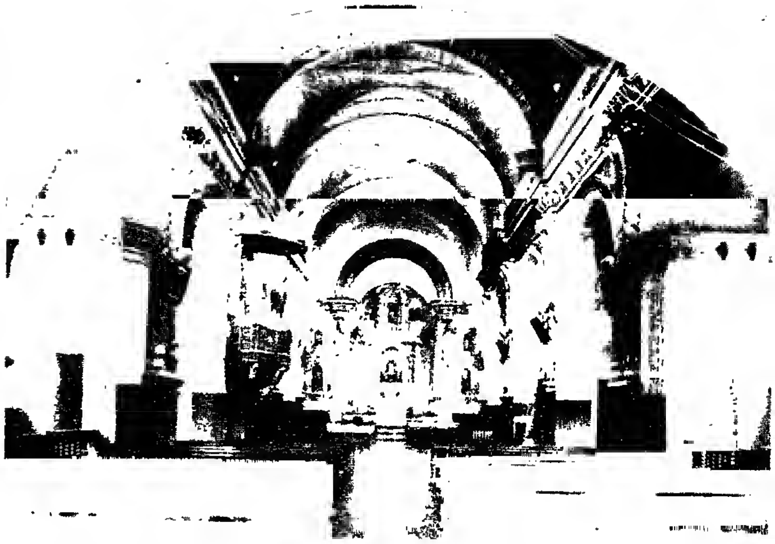
82. Rome, Gesù, interior. 1568-1584 A.D.

83. Lisbon, Jerónimos, interior. 1502-1519 A.D.

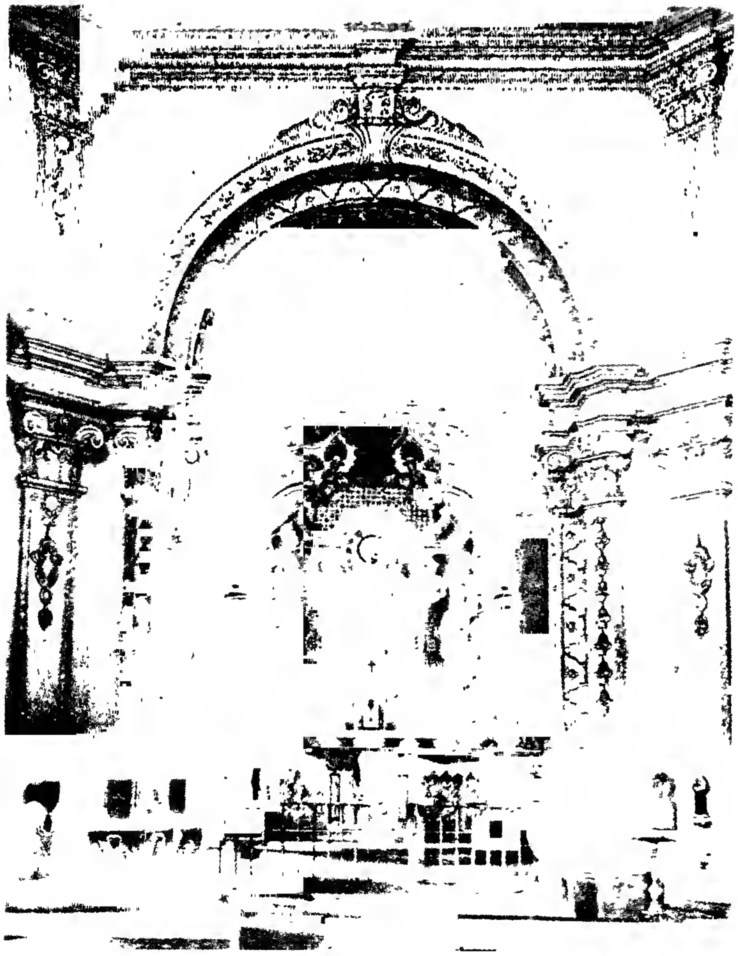
84. Cochin, Santo António (St. Francis), interior, circa 1516 A.D.



85 Goa Velha Santa António chapel, sanctuary. 1768 A.D.

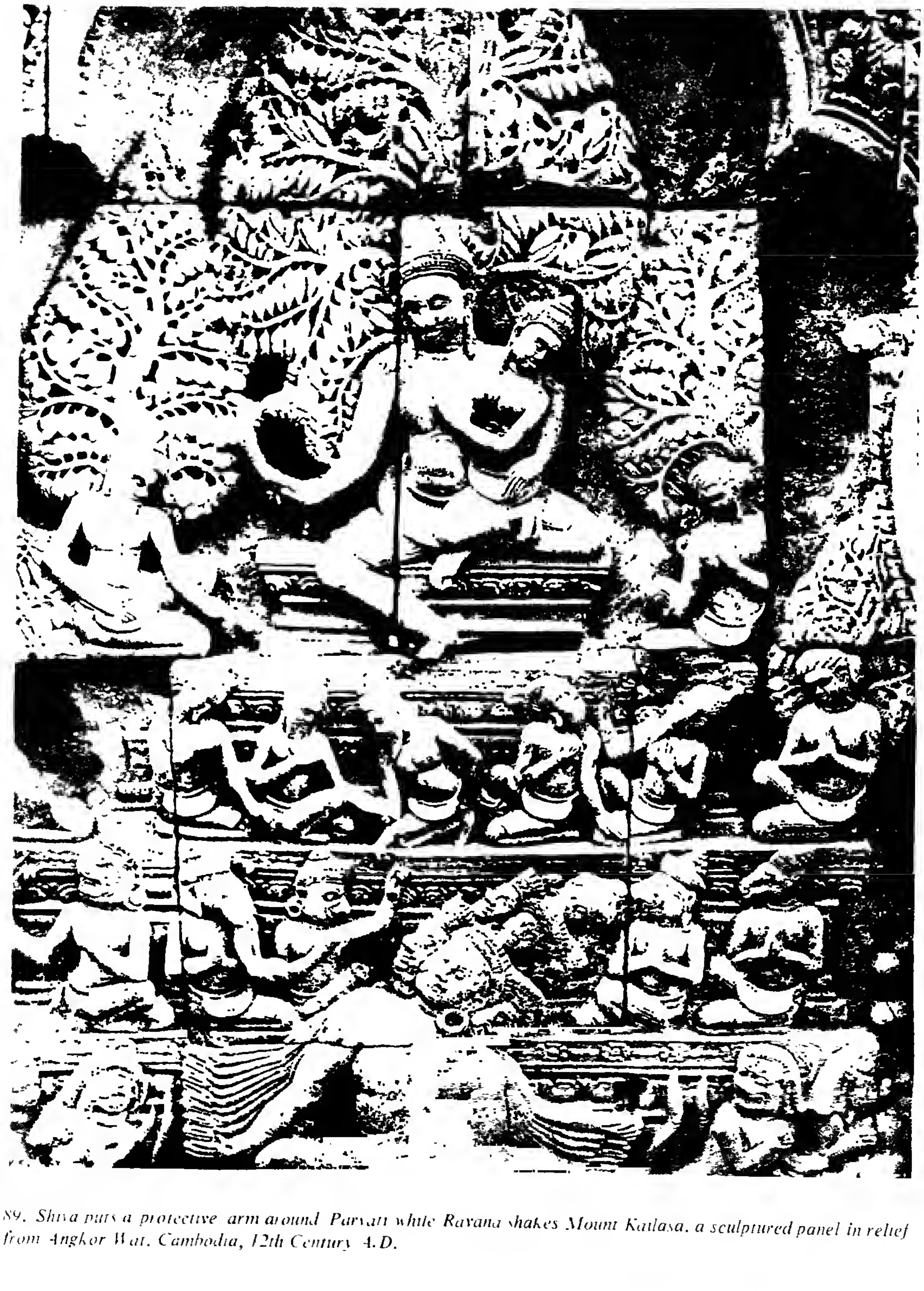


87. Divarhe (Divar). Nossa Senhora da Piedade, interior. 1700 A. D.

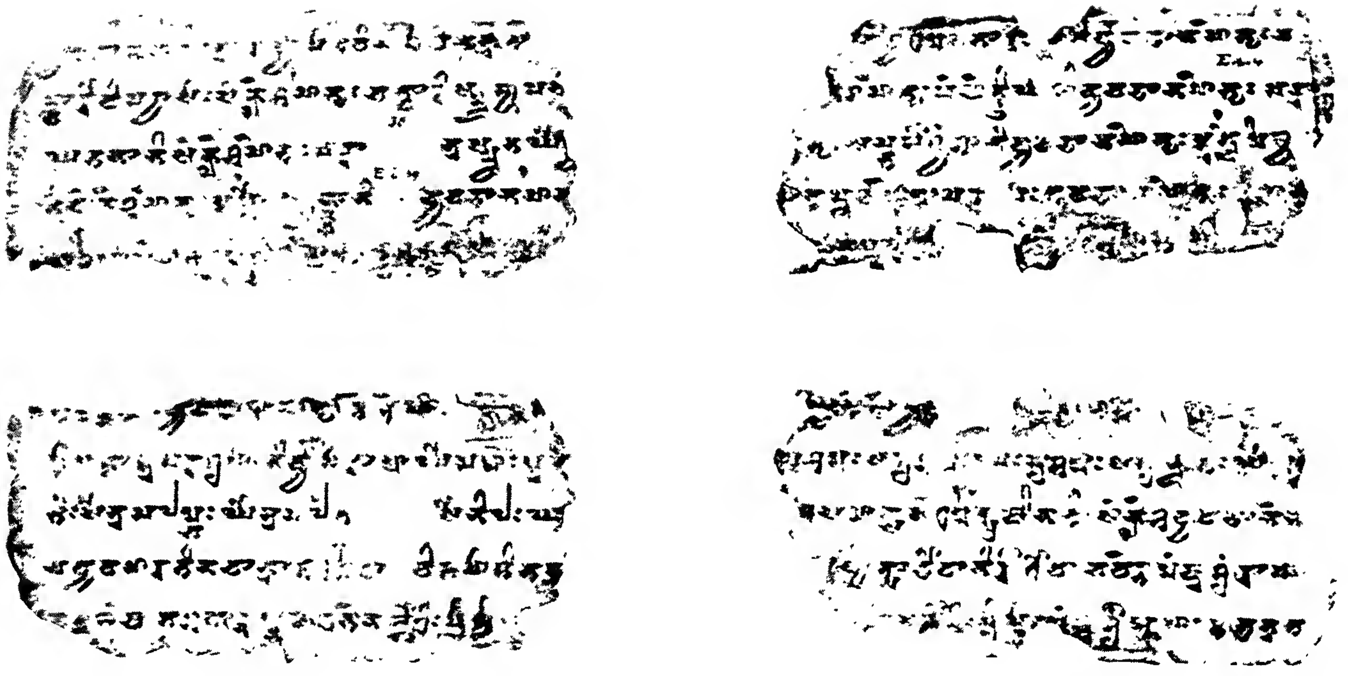


86. Talaulim, Santana, nave viewed from sanctuary. 1695 A.D.

88. *Colossal statue of Buddha with worshipping monk from Maichishan caves, North-West China, 8th century A.D. Photo by Darbois: Expedition de Silva-Darbois-Thapar.*

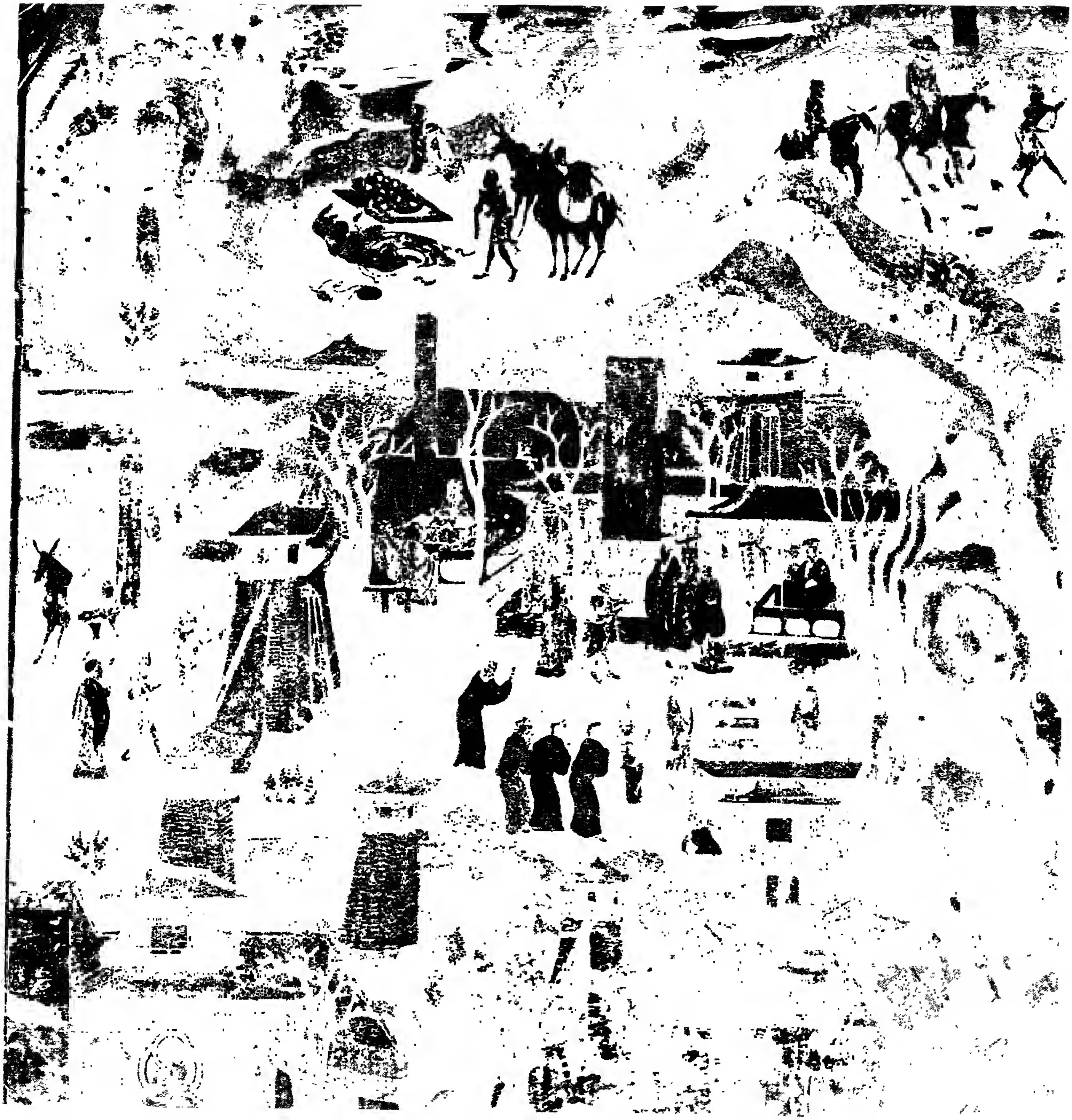


89. Shiva puts a protective arm around Parvati while Ravana shakes Mount Kailasa, a sculptured panel in relief from Angkor Wat, Cambodia, 12th Century A.D.



90. Fragments of a leaf of a Buddhist Dharani in Sanskrit, broken in two halves, found in Endere temple.

91. Fresco depicting a pilgrim believed to be Huang T'sing on his way to India to collect sutras, late 7th century A.D. Photo by Darbois: Expedition de Silva–Darbois–Thapar.



India—A Major Source of Central Asian Art

CHHAYA BHATTACHARYA

Introduction

THE VAST AREA stretching from the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea to the Great Wall of China is often designated as Central Asia. Geographically it is divided by the Pamirs: the western part, now under Russian domination, comprises the ancient regions of Chorasmia and Sogdiana, and the eastern part, now occupied by the Chinese, comprises the ancient kingdoms of Khotan, Kucha, etc., collectively known as Serindia. The importance of Central Asia lies in the fact that 'from classical times to the days of Marco Polo, it was the bridge of trade, religion, and culture that spanned the world between the East and the West.'

The International Routes which took the Message of India

A greater part of the eastern region is a dry tract with oases flourishing along northern and southern edges. Through these oases pass two very important international trade routes, called the northern and southern Silk-Roads, which connected China with the Western world. These routes, one encircling the Taklamakan desert from the north and the other from the south, were studded with important stations, viz. Khotan, Dandan Uiliq, Farhad-Beg-Yailaki, Balawaste, Endere, Niya and Miran on the southern route, and Kizil, Kucha, Kumutura, Sorcuq, Turfan, Koco, Bezeklik, Toyuk, etc., on the northern route (see Map). These two routes meet at Tun-huang at the eastern end and at Kashgarh at the western end of the Taklamakan desert. These stations played a significant role in the exchange of religious, cultural and art elements of different regions of the Western and Eastern worlds since these were 'visited by traders when Ptolemy worte his *Geography* and by the Chinese pilgrims like Fa-hien who recorded their travel accounts in their diaries till the ninth century . . . Life depended on trade and on the constant vigilant supervision of the irrigation systems . . . Once these systems were destroyed, as they were by the Arabic and Mongol invaders, the desert quickly and inexorably buried the silent places and temples.'[1] Indeed, explorations followed by excavations of these sites by eminent archaeologists like Sven Hedin, Aurel Stein, Paul Pelliot, A. Grünwedel, A von Le Coq reveal the picture of a most alive and vibrant culture enjoyed by the people from about the 2nd century B.C. to the 10th century A.D. Benjamin Rowland rightly observes: "The ravages of the Mongols and the mortifying hand of Islam that has caused so many cultures to wither forever, aided by the process of nature, completely stopped the life of what must for a period of centuries have been one of the regions of the earth most gifted in art and religion."[2]

The art of Central Asia reflects an extraordinary integration of the 'aesthetic sensibilities' of India, Iran, Graeco-Roman world and China, through which the arterial routes of the Silk-Roads passed. Volumes have been written on the integrated character of this art but the purpose of the present paper is to bring in focus some of the paintings which clearly exhibit Indian art idioms.

One may agree with Rowland in so far as he maintains that there is no such thing as 'Central Asian painting', i.e., a tradition originating exclusively in Central Asia and developing in a linear fashion, as Bussagli would like us to believe in his book entitled *Painting of Central Asia*. "A favourite device of Russian archaeologists to turn art to propaganda purposes is the assertion that the art of sites like Piandzikent and Balalik Tepe represents the autonomous artistic expression of the free peoples of Central Asia working under the yoke of wicked slave-holding dynasties . . . it is no more possible to recognize an indepedent separate style in the paintings of these famous sites in Sogdiana than it is in the case of the oases of the Silk Road."[3]

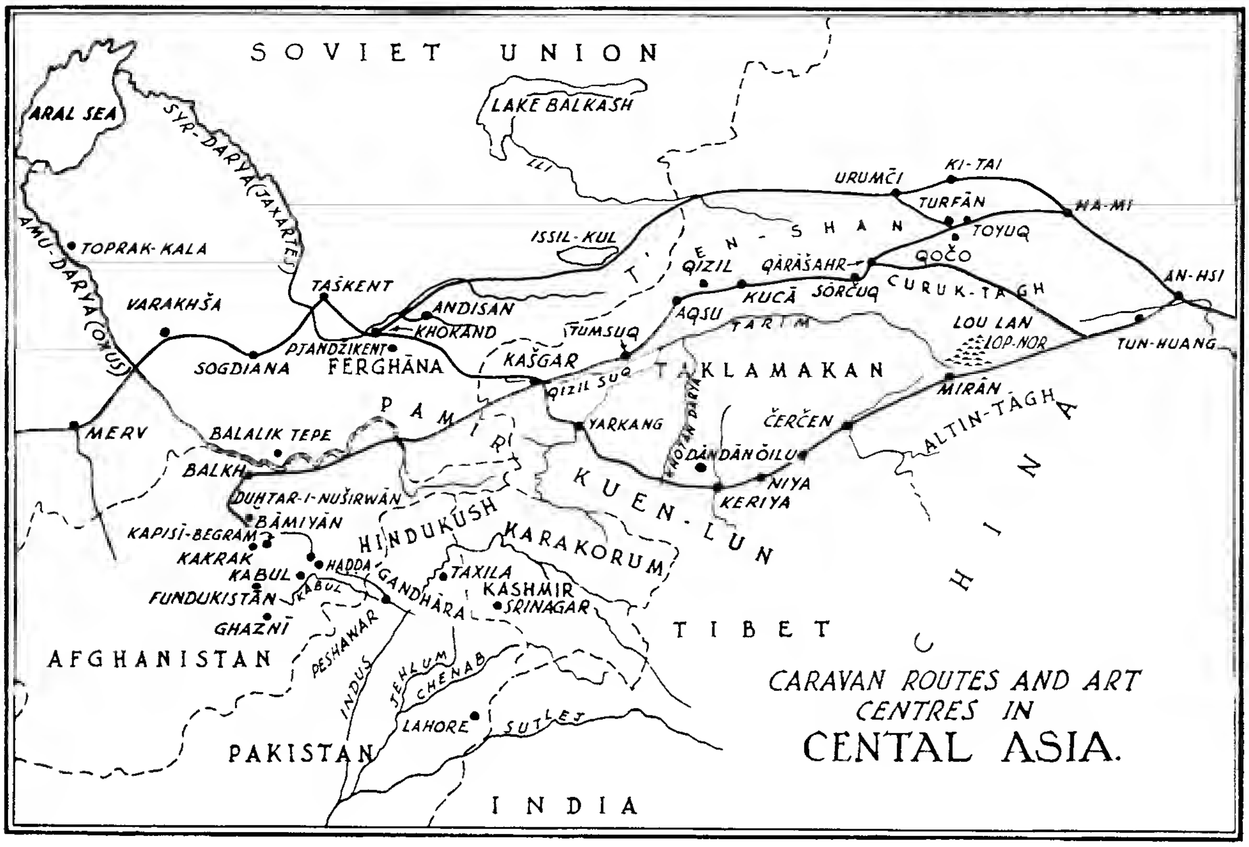
'Gandhāra Art' was an Indian School of Art

It is, however, difficult to agree with Rowland[4] that Gāndhāra Art should be included into the Central Asian Art of the western zone for one feels that the art tradition not only of the Gāndhāra region but also of the whole of the Swat Valley and beyond, much of which has recently been explored by the Italian Missions under Tucci,[5] has a life-history very much similar to these of the Mathurā or Amarāvatī art schools. Besides that, the writer is of the opinion that Gāndhāra Art, when seen in the historical as well as socio-religious perspective, emerges more as an Indian school of art than as Central Asian art. Similarly, 'the portrait art' of the Oxus basin for which the Russian authors claim an independent origin, under the title of 'Bactrian Art', is also politically motivated.[6] About 80 % of it is of the Gāndhāra Art tradition and the rest is Graeco-Iranian. This, however, does not mean that the Gāndhāra Art had no Graeco-Roman elements; they are there, but that is a separate issue. Afterall, leaving probably the folk art traditions, such as the archaic style of the Mathurā Art, all arts, in one way or the other, do contain elements of a number of contemporary art traditions in whose touch they happen to come. Gāndhāra art also could not be an exception.

Bamiyan was an Outpost of North-West Indian Art

Almost the same observations apply to the Bramiyan paintings. The art traditions of this centre were also born and brought up in a socio-religious set up which was thoroughly Indian. As the economic ties with Iran and the Graeco-Roman world brought traders to the neighbouring towns so also the appetite for wisdom brought intellectuals to these caves. These two reasons appear to be responsible for a certain amount of hybridization of art at a later stage in practically the whole of central and northern Afghanistan as also in the upper Oxus Valley. It is, to some extent, also true that here at Bamiyan 'many of the styles seen at Kizil and Tun-huang were first evolved.' It appears that only Chorasmian and Sogdian schools, which were in fact the 'eastward extension of Sassanian Art,' formed part of the western zone of the Central Asian art traditions, and the so-called Bactrian school, which was only the westward extension of Gāndhāran Art, served as a link between the western and eastern zones.

With this much of clarification, let us come to the main issue which aims at finding out a few good examples of the paintings whose style exhibits the elements of the art traditions of India, whether they were of the Gāndhāran School or the Gupta School, whether they went through Bactria or through Kashmir. Prof. Hambis, writing about Khotan art says, "The Hindu influences appear to have come from India through Kashmir."[7] It may, however, be



CARAVAN ROUTES AND ART CENTRES IN CENTAL ASIA.

SOVIET UNION
ARAL SEA
SYR-DARYA (JAXARTES)
AMU-DARYA (OXUS)
LAKE BALKASH
ILI
TOPRAK-KALA
VARAKHŠA
TAŠKENT
ANDISAN
KHOKAND
PJANDZIKENT
SOGDIANA
FERGHĀNA
MERV
BALALIK TEPE
BALKH
DUHTAR-I-NUŠIRWĀN
BĀMIYĀN
KAPISĪ-BEGRAM
KAKRAK
KABUL
HADDA
FUNDUKISTĀN
GHAZNĪ
AFGHANISTAN
PESHAWAR
GANDHĀRA
TAXILA
KASHMIR
SRINAGAR
HINDUKUSH
KARAKORUM
INDUS
JEHLUM
CHENAB
LAHORE
SUTLEJ
PAKISTAN
INDIA
PAMIR
ISSIL-KUL
TIEN-SHAN
KAŠGAR
TUMSUQ
QIZIL SUQ
YARKANG
QIZIL
AQSU
KUCĀ
QĀRĀŠAHR
SÖRČUQ
URUMČI
KI-TAI
TURFĀN
TOYUQ
QOČO
HA-MI
AN-HSI
CURUK-TAGH
TARIM
TAKLAMAKAN
LOU LAN
LOP-NOR
TUN-HUANG
MIRĀN
ČERČEN
KHOTAN DARYA
DĀNDĀN ÖILU
NIYA
KERIYA
ALTIN-TĀGH
KUEN-LUN
TIBET
CHINA

pointed out that probably all the examples quoted here exhibit the characteristic features of different art-traditions—broadly covered under the term 'Indo-Iranian', used by Hallade and Rowland[8]—but so long as they were dominantly or significantly Gāndhāran or Gupta or Vakshaian (i.e., Bactrian) or Kashmīri they have been designated by a common term 'Indian'.

Miran, an Early Centre of Indianized Art

It may be good to start our explorations from the famous site of Miran, the capital of the ancient kingdom of Shan-shan, about which Fa-hien wrote : "The laity and *śramaṇas* of this country wholly practice the Indian religion . . . all use Indian books and the Indian language."[9] The discovery of a large number of wall-paintings in the stūpa temples of this site clearly demonstrates the truth of the Chinese traveller's account. It was that part of the art traditions of Gāndhāra and the Swat Valley which mainly breathed the winds of the art-traditions of the rest of India that influenced the Miran artists most. Thus the Buddha 'with moustache and swelling *uṣṇiṣa*' (pl. 48) has been compared with the Buddha head of gilt bronze found by Otani at Khotan. Kumagai has called attention to the resemblance of the Khotan bronze to a slate Buddha head from Butkara in Swat. This is a rather interesting observation which seems to bear out Bussagali's suggestion that "Gāndhāra's influence penetrated into Central Asia by way of Swat and the Southern Silk Road."[10] Rowland sees typical *uṣṇīṣa* of the Miran and Khotan figures in the 'Mardan panels, which were excavated in Buner.'[11] (See pl. 46).

The principal structure at Miran is a stūpa in a circular room. The upper part portrays the story of the *Vesantara Jātaka* while the lower part, the *dodo*, bears a garland supported by *putti,* interspersed with the busts of several personages. The lower panel with winged angels and cupids holding garlands exhibit garments, hairstyle, chiaroscuro, etc., which clearly compare with the similar representations in stone carvings from Charsada[12] as well as a similar sculpture at the Kunala Monastery, Taxila.[13] However, one of the figures in the Phrygian cap is distinctly of the western strain. The upper part of the panel, however, exhibits examples of Indian Art. Prof. Hambis observes : "... the characters are distinctly of Semitico-Oriental type; one of them wears a curious sort of headgear, plainly of Indian type; and the prince's car is reminiscent of that of *Sūrya* at Bodhgaya. The persons portrayed are not of Indian type; however, some of the details of their presentation are obviously Indian."[14] It may further be noted that the depiction of the same story in a carved panel from Sahari Behlol[15] is to a great extent similar to the Miran painting.

The Aesthetic Quality of the Miran Paintings

The paintings of Miran are also known for their optical illusion intelligently created by means of lines, colour-combinations and light and shade. In plate no. ... the spectator is puzzled and astonished to find six monks, one of whom is holding a leaf-shaped fan or a *chowrie,* staring at Buddha from different angles and the eyes of the Buddha are fixed on the spectator in whichever direction he or she moves. It was possible through the eyes drawn frontally, and the faces turned in three-quarter. This is also a well-known technique adopted by Indian painters and sculptors from an early period, although its ultimate origin may be in the Roman world. It was frequently used in the 'diagonal arrangement' of figures in the 'story-telling' panels, mostly concerning Buddhist themes both in Amarāvatī and Gāndhāra schools. The counterpart of this scene can be traced on the wall of Cave XVII of Ajanta where Buddha is shown preaching to the congregation. The eyes of the listners are quite large, the heads of the monks, in front, are almost shaved (only traces of hair can be seen), bold outlines are used to make out the figures and the colours are varied from brown to dark sienna. All these features of the Ajanta example are very well reflected in the present panel.

The Oasis of Khotan was the Home of Paintings in Indian Style

Miran was, however, not the only site with strong Indian influences on its art. The kingdom of Khotan was also an important centre reflecting the same picture. Excavations reveal that from very early times "a uniform and well-defined civilization" flourished in the Khotan area. The entire region had been influenced, from time to time, by different religious, cultural and art elements but the presence of Indian traditions remains conspicuous throughout, as Sir Aurel Stein said, "this bygone culture rested mainly on Indian foundations."[16]

Most of the paintings, which show Indian influence, come from the Domoko region in the eastern part of the Oasis of Khotan. The sites here are Dandan Uiliq, Balawaste and Farhad-Beg-Yailaki. The paintings from these places belong approximately to the period from the middle of the 6th to the end of the 8th century A.D. The paintings are found either on the walls of the shrines or on wooden takhtis. The painted wooden tablets, found at the base of divine figures in the temples, were the votive offerings placed by the devotees.

The themes of the paintings were largely drawn from Mahāyāna Buddhism. Along with the Buddhist mythological panels and scenes depicting the worship of the Buddha, some popular Hindu divine figures, e.g., Maheśa, Gaṇeśa, Sūrya (?) are also found depicted on wooden tablets and the temples walls. At Balawaste the juxtaposition of Buddhism, Śaivism and Hindu Tāntrism is in a manner which clearly shows that Buddhism and Hinduism had combined to form one single religion of India. It is absolutely certain that here Buddhism was one with Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. In Central Asia the Buddhists freely adopted many of the important and popular Vaiṣṇavite and Śaivite deities. This religious trend of synchronism seen at Khotan, with local variations, found a suitable home in other parts of Central Asia and China. Synchronism was the keynote of all Central Asian art, and different forms of deities whose iconographic details are not found in the texts are in fact the syncretic forms adopted locally in a most unorthodox manner. They were evolved to satisfy the needs of those devotees who came from different lands and from different religious folds. It was this catholicity of Buddhism which made it readily acceptable to all those who belonged to other religions.

The paintings on the walls of the shrines of Khotan are made on fine-grained and well-prepared plaster-surface. These are, in many examples, highly stylized. The figures are generally frontal. The faces are mostly round and have mixed features. The anatomical details are drawn geometrically, e.g., the joints of the elbow and knee-cap are shown either in the form of a segment of a circle or in an ellipse or in a round bold outline. The designs of Maheśa's cushion-cover (Maheśa drawn on a wooden panel from Dandan Uiliq, dated to the 7th century A.D.) are geometrical in nature. The chequer pattern is filled with different colours (see colour plate). So far as the identification of this figure is concerned Matsumoto[17] calls it Maheśvara of a 'Tantric allegory of Buddha as Supreme Lord.' Gupta [18] recognizes it as a syncretic figure of *Śiva* and *Avalokiteśvara*.

An outstanding Buddha figure from Balawaste (pl. 49) shows some highly significant non-Buddhist elements. Various symbols, e.g., sun, moon, flaming jewls, etc., originally used in Hindu iconography were definitely Tantric of the later period. The *śrīvatsa* mark seen in the centre of the chest of Buddha is one of the auspicious symbols, originally meant for Viṣṇu. Another fine representation most probably depicts the famous Vaiṣṇava legend *samudra-manthana*. It includes the Mandara mountain and snake Vāsuki as churning rod and rope respectively and the horse Uccaiḥśravas. It is an unmistakable evidence of Buddhism adopting not only the Vaiṣṇava deities but also Vaiṣṇava legends. One wonders as to what more proof is needed to show that Buddhism in Central Asia was not isolated from Hinduism. It was truly Indian with a definite purpose to serve all sections of Indian and non-Indian population in the villages and towns of Central Asia. Matsumto,[19] however, feels that it is a representation of a form of the Buddha Vairocana as described in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra (Kegon-kyo)*. But it is more conjectural than real. Rowland,[20] on the other hand, has rightly observed that "the style of this Buddha from Balawaste resembles the Bodhisattva from Group E at Bāmiyān in the round face, the elliptical eye sockets, wire-like lines, and heavy proportions."

The paintings on the walls of the Buddhist shrines at Balawaste in the Domoko region have got a close resemblance to the paintings of Ajanta. The beautiful figure of an adorer in kneeling posture (pl. 53) is distinctly Indian in origin from the point of view of style, colour combination and ornamentation. The facial features, e.g., the half-closed yogic eyes and eye-brows are frankly Ajantan in style. According to Bussagli the flames on the nimbus and shoulders are of the Kuṣāno-Khotanese tradition. However, on the basis of the eye drawn on the hand and the cap (a variation of *kirīṭa* or crown), P. Banerjee identifies the figures as Indra.[21]

Similarly, the voluptuous figure of the water-nymph represented on the walls of a shrine at Dandan Uiliq shows features which are also quite common in early Indian sculptures representing Yakṣiṇīs, Vṛśchikas and also the dancing girls. According to C. Sivaramamurti, she is an "example of a figure of classical Indian grace found in Central Asia. It recalls a verse of Kālidāsa describing a summer scene when the lotus stalks in the pond rise out of the water as it recedes from the steps of the pond, so that the damsel stands only to her hip in water as she steps in for her bath: *uddaṇḍapadmaṁ gṛhadīrghikāṇāṁ nārīnitambadvaya saṁbabhūva*".[22] The same figure has been interpreted by P. Banerjee as 'a composite figure partaking of the characteristic of *Lakṣmī* and *Hārītī.*' On the basis of the female figure being accompanied by a child to her right and the presence of Buddha and a monk, he has explained the scene as conversion of *Hārītī* 'from a malevolent yakṣiṇī to a kind matron, a giver of children' by Buddha; and because of her association with lotus and rise from the pond she is Lakṣmī—which offers a close parallel to the description given in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (part I, chapter 9, verse 100): *tataḥ sphurat-kāntimatī vikasitakamale sthitā. Śrīrdevī pavasastasmādudbhūtā dhṛta-paṅkajā.*[23] Whatever may be the identification of the figure it may be boldly stated that the style of showing the upper portion of the females in a nude form was an age-old Indian tradition, both in sculpture and painting and never found used in any typically Central Asian painting. It has, however, Gupta influence since the delicacy and style are classical. Kumagai's attempt to correlate it with the Iranian figures at Naqsh-i-Rustam[24] has to be rejected. (See pl. 47).

Like Khotan and Miran on the southern route there are some important sites on the northern Silk-Route also, e.g., Kucha, Turfan and Tun-huang, which carry unmistakable imprint of Indian art traditions.

Kucha Reflects the best of the Indian Traditions

Kucha was one of the most important seats of Hīnayāna Buddhism. The paintings here range from about the 4th century to the 8th century A.D. and beyond. In later period, i.e., 7th century onwards, the oases of Kucha and Turfan were swayed by Manichaeism, a West-Asian religion greatly influenced by Buddhism and Nestorian Christianity. Mahāyāna Buddhism, blended with Tantrism, entered into this land quite early. Thus with the advent of the new religion the art in Kucha, as well as in other neighbouring regions, witnessed different elements derived from the Western world and India. From a close observation it appears that the paintings at Kucha have undergone at least three styles of development. These styles of development are established on the basis of technique, dress and iconography.

The paintings of the first style (5th to 7th centuries) are realistic. They show clear influence of the Gāndhāra and Gupta traditions in the treatment of chiaroscuro. The artists attempted to bring out the effects of relief by means of broad and heavy outlines as well as highlights on prominent parts of the body, like the tip of the nose, cheek, eye-brows, as also on the ornaments. This technological element came, probably, from Bāmiyān as well as from the southern centres like Khotan and Miran. At Tun-huang also figures of this style are found, e.g., in Cave No. 285.

In the second style of paintings (5th to 7th centuries) one finds a tendency towards stylization. The art tends to evolve from reality to abstraction. Most probably the semi-industrialization of the towns was responsible for this change. The artists took resort to easy means and spontaneity was lost. This style reached its zenith round about A.D. 600–650. Scholars have seen an introduction of Iranian elements in this style.

In the third style, which according to Bussagli is "a transitional phase",[25] one comes across more of Chinese elements than Indian or Iranian. This happened after the 7th century.

It may be seen that first and second styles existed side by side.

Kāzil Cave Paintings Remind us of the Ajantan Traditions

The art of Kizil, however, shows the presence of Indian elements in more emphatic terms than the art of other sites on the northern route. The figure of *Gopāla* with cows from the Cave of the Statues, Kizil, is one of the best examples of this category. *Gopāla* is shown leaning on a club. The structure of the figure translates very much the physical description of King Dilīpa given by Kālidāsa in *Raghuvaṃśa*.[26] The figure has a broad chest (*vyuḍhoraskaḥ*), wide shoulder like a bull (*vṛṣaskandhaḥ*) with long arms and the height resembling the *śāla* tree (*śālaprāṁśur mahābhujaḥ*). At the same time this muscular and well-built body reminds us of the Gāndhāra features too. The largeness of eyes indicates the Iranian element but the dreamy expression is Indian. The figure is endowed with a typical Indian lioncloth or *dhoti*. Besides this the other typical element that strikes the spectator is the bend of the body. The towering body is broken on its axis in a *dvibhaṅga* style. (See colour plate II).

Another important figure in this context at Kizil is that of a young ascetic, (see colour plate V) framed within the shelter of foliage of acanthus leaves on the walls of the Cave of the Navigator. The three-dimensional effects are produced here also by means of soft colours, highlights on the tip of the nose, on the eyelids and on the chin, and eliptical lines showing curves of hair. The figure is an embodiment of a true Hindu ascetic, under a *parṇakuṭī*. It is also shown with long matted hair tied in double knot above the head as well as with a necklace and a pair of armlets made of *rudrākṣa*, a scarf on the left shoulder passing through the right arm recalls the tiger skin or deer skin (*ajina*) the most common garment used by the *Śaiva* ascetics. The inner spirit, i.e., the contemplative mood, tranquil mind and serenity are skilfully brought out by outward expression, e.g., half-closed yogic eyes and tight lips. This harmony of external form with the inner spirit was one of the major contributions of Gupta art traditions to Indian art wherever it went. The impression of beard (not very prominent), the elliptical lines of hair, the wavy moustache and the acanthus (?) leaves forming an arch around the head of the figure, however, remind us of Gāndhāran touches, for instance, the Buddha heads from Sikri,[27] head of Maitreya[28] and Boddhisattva Siddhārtha in Meditation[29] from Sahri Bahlol in Pakistan. Rowland feels that it is "in a provincial version of the Indian manner of the classic murals at Ajanta, with the soft modelling intended to give a relief to the form."[39]

Another example of the same Ajantan style is also found at Kizil. It is the famous panel of the graceful dance of Queen Candraprabhā. The composition of the painting is the same as the composition adopted by the artists at Ajanta. The entire composition is just like a flower—all the figures around the central figure are like petals. The central figure appears to be of the most important person in the whole painting whose divinity is indicated by the halo and the body size. It is the largest amongst all other figures surrounding it. The proportions of the bodies adopted here is also based upon the principles of foreshortening (*kṣayavṛddhi*). The treatment of delicate colours, elegant dress, floating streamers, etc., of course, could also be derived from Sassanian sources. But in one important respect the Indian influence is strongly felt : the well-balanced and, to some extent, disproportionately elongated and supple body of the queen in her dancing pose clearly resembles the scene from *Mahājanaka Jātaka* depicted on the walls of Cave I of Ajanta. The elongation of the body of the queen cannot be understood in any other context.

The Kumtura Rock-Cut Caves

The shrines at Kumtura are rock-cut. The Buddha figure and the praying monks at Kumtura Cave, dated to 650 A.D., are shown with light and flames, indicating, symbolically, the Supreme Knowledge. Light and flames around the figure indicate the luminous nature of the divinity. This characteristic feature had its origin in India as it was contained in the early religious texts. It was undoubtedly very much favoured by the Central Asian artists.

Another example is from the Cave of the Apsarās at Kumtura in which the scene from *Tuṣita* heaven is depicted. Here, interestingly enough, the drapery, and the expression of the faces of gods show certain Chinese elements working under Gāndhāran and Iranian influences. The Gāndhāran features can be traced in the treatment of hands, certain conventional gestures and the use of double outlines to emphasize specific details.

The paintings of the later phase, i.e., of the 8th–9th centuries A.D. show a tendency towards imbibing Chinese elements. The theme of the paintings was, of course, still based on the stories of Mahāyān Buddhism.

Sorcuq is another important site in this region. But the artists of Sorcuq showed less interest in religious themes; on the contrary they devoted themselves to depicting the every-day life of the monks in the *saṁgha* through which they showed their interest in the Buddha and his life. The art elements were borrowed both from Kucha and Khotan.

Turfan Known for its Monumental Painted Panels

Turfan is also one of the very important sites on the northern caravan route. The land had undergone various ethnic and political fluctuations which had left strong impression on the art. The traces of Indian elements are very few, although well marked. The art, at this site, however, became inferior to those of the early paintings. Nevertheless, now the painted panels were huge and lines intricate. Facial features of some of the monks do resemble those appearing in the Ajantan Caves of a late date. Here was a combination between 'the Indian fullness of form and the Chinese sense for rhythmic line drawing' of the T'ang period.

A very interesting type of paintings found at Turfan shows the realistic characterization of individual figures in a composition, e.g., the scene depicting the mourners, in the pensive mood, on the death of the Buddha. It belongs to Bezeklik, Shrine IX dated to the 8th century A.D., that the assembly of the dignitaries in the *Parinirvāṇa* scene consisting of peoples of all nationalities is clearly borne out by the dress and facial features of the individual figures. This is a marvellous example of a painted panel demonstrating the wide popularity of an Indian religion.

The elegant Buddha head from Koco which belongs to 7th–8th century A.D., is one of the most beautiful specimens showing the intermingling of various influences both from the Western and Eastern worlds. The round Mongoloid face, the almond-shaped eyes are of course typically Central Asian. Here, the Buddha head with *ūrṇā*, hair tied in a knot above the head, and the halo, reminds us of the traditional Gāndhāran Buddha figures of the late 4th century A.D.

Tun-Huang : The Caves of Thousand Buddhas

Tun-huang also played a very important role in the dissemination of Indian religion and Indian art. It is the eastern-most point where the two Silk Roads meet. Being an important site for trade, it had the opportunity to accumulate enormous wealth and royal patronage. This ultimately led to the carving of a large number of caves in a cliff of a hill. The motive underlying this monumental work was to pay offerings and pray for a safe journey through the long trade-routes crossing one of the most difficult deserts of the world always fraught with great dangers from the attacking nomadic and barbaric hordes from the north and fierce desiccation of land. This execution led to the development of the great centre of Buddhist art. The artists painted the walls and ceilings of the caves depicting scenes from the life of the

Buddha, stories narrated in the Jātakas, the Bodhisattvas and various gods and goddesses including Śiva and Gaṇeśa.[31] (See pl. 44).

The panels of the Thousand Buddha figures in meditative poses and robes of various shades of red colour are drawn schematically on the walls of Cave No. 257 of Tun-huang. The colours of the robes show the orthodox colour used by Indian saints and monks : orange and yellow. The same composition is represented on the side-walls of the shrine of Cave II of Ajanta. Both at Ajanta and Tun-huang, the Buddha figures are separated by columns.

Apart from the usual Buddha figures of Indian inspiration the geometric patterns on the ceilings and walls of the caves also remind us of the Ajanta (Cave Nos. I, II, XVII) traditions. The floral designs, of course, were Chinese. The emphasis laid on light shown falling on figures and making their drapery transparent reminds us of the 'wet-cloth' technique of the Gupta art. The crowns decorated with floral motifs and the dress showing plaited knots or bows and the structure of the bodies are also reminiscent of post-Gupta forms in many cases.

In paintings, the floor and ceiling of the palace are shown receding diagonally in the background (Cave No. 220) and thereby the artists attempted to give the idea of interior space of the palace or building. This perspective vision was already common in the Ajanta paintings, e.g., the palace of King Mahājanaka in Cave I.

In general, therefore, the form of leaves, the meandering stem of creepers, dwarf figures of male and female, etc., as design motif at Tun-huang are borrowed from India where these motifs represent one of the pleasing and graceful specimens of architectural ornaments. Similarly, the concept of innumerable eyes (*sahasrākṣa?*) placed on the limbs of the deity like *Avalokiteśvara* depicted on certain silk paintings from Tun-huang, four or more armed divinities with long ear-lobes, etc. found in Central Asian art, are also Indian in origin. The lotus, used for the seat of the Buddha or as a stand on which the divinities rest their feet, is again an Indian art motif. The exchange of art traditions appears to be a continuous process specially at Khotan, Miran, Kizil and Kucha. The art of these places was highly influenced by Indian art traditions although Hellenistic, Iranian and Sassanian elements were present in different degrees. The paintings of Tun-huang and Turfan show more of Eastern and Western elements, but in essence many of them were also Indian. (See pl. 45).

Central Asia was a Miniature India

This brief survey of the painted panels in eastern Central Asia makes it amply clear that India, whose cultural frontiers at one time extended up to Balkh on the Oxus and beyond, played a very prominent role in shaping the art traditions which flourished in Central Asia during the Ist-8th centuries of the Christian era.

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The Spice and Silk Roads

ANIL DE SILVA

India, the Land of Plenty

"INDIA" WROTE HEGEL, "as a land of desire formed an essential element in general history. From the most ancient times onwards, all nations have directed their wishes and longings to gaining access to the treasures of this land of marvels, the most costly which the earth presents, treasures of nature—pearls, diamonds, perfumes, rose essences, lions, elephants, textiles, spices—as also the treasures of wisdom. The way in which these treasures passed to the West has at all times been a matter of world historical importance bound up with the fate of nations." In fact, trade with India and China has been one of the "great motivating factors of history."

"Pepper," as another writer said, "may not mean much to us, but in that age it ranked with precious stones . . . Men fought and died for pepper." Spices, silk and cotton textiles were perhaps the most powerful factor in stimulating European expansion to the East. The desire to bypass the Islamic monopoly of the maritime trade from India gave them the impetus in the 15th century to find a new route to "the Indies where the spices grow".

Ancient Trade Routes

Since ancient times the two routes to the East, the land route commonly called the Silk Road and the maritime route called the Spice Road, were known to the early traders and navigators. Both in fact are the earliest trade routes known to man. The Silk Road was used in prehistoric times for the exchange of bronze and furs—it stretched from the shores of the Mediterranean to the end of the Gobi desert and the Jade Gate, marking the north-western extremity of the Great Wall of China.

Egyptian sailors about 3000 B.C. sailing along east coast of Africa give us the first written records of the Indian Ocean. The earliest sea route between India and Mesopotamia seems to go back at least to the first millennium B.C., and the Baveru Jātaka mentions sea trade during the 6th century B.C. between Bharukacha (Broach) and Śūrpāraka (Suppara) and Baveru (Babylon). Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, and its king Asura-Bāṇa (Ashurabanipal) are mentioned in the Purāṇas. All this maritime trade was mainly carried on by the Indians and there is evidence of Indian trade settlements in Arabia, on the east coast of Africa and on the coast of China. The famous manual of the Ist century A.D., *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, describes the Indian Ocean with astonishing precision. One has yet to see a better treatment of the subject.

Indian Philosophies Abroad

Along these trade routes, the archaeological remains of oasis kingdoms and maritime settlements give us ample proof that along with the merchants and armies came the religions of all these regions: from India Buddhism spread to the East, and though the Good Law was known in Greece and Rome, it was Hinduism that dominated the philosophical discussions during the reign of Marcus Aurelius around 161 A.D.; later, Saint Hippolyte in Rome in his Refutation of all Heresies, attacked the ideas of the Upanisads. Professor Filliozat remarks: "One must note that Hindu ideas played a more important role than Buddhism in the Mediterranean world. Hinduism has not, like Buddhism, a human figure to oppose to Christ. . . . Buddhist ideas did penetrate the Occident more than once during the first century of our era. For example, when Basilide explains the suffering of the martyrs by saying that it was an expiation for faults committed in 'another life', we cannot refuse to recognise a popular Buddhist concept. . . ."

Along with Indian religions and philosophies Zoroastrianism, Nestorian Christianity and Manicheism (a hybrid doctrine which was perhaps influenced by the dualism of the Jains) held sway for a certain period. With these religions went the literature and art attached to them; and with traders and armies, new industries sprang up. The most remarkable fact about all this exchange of goods and ideas was that neither her culture nor Confucianism and Taoism flourished, even for a short spell, outside China. There is as yet no real explanation for this phenomenon.

History gives us glimpses of the vast movement of men at this time: prisoners of war, recruits in various armies (Indian archers excelled in the Persian army and they fought on Greek soil), and deserters who roamed about from place to place; craftsmen, metal workers, ivory carvers, silk weavers, jewellers, sculptors, ceramists, jugglers, acrobats, Arab and Jewish slave traders, ambassadors, pilgrims and monks travelled by sea and in the desert, back and forth, throughout this region.

Scientific ideas also spread along with this irresistible movement of caravans and ships. Dr. Joseph Needham has shown that mathematics and science from India and China, transmitted by Arab scholars to Europe was the basis of Renaissance science. The Arabs describing the Indian decimal system, called it 'the Indian art,' and, as Dr. Basham says: "The debt of the Western world to India in this respect cannot be overestimated. Most of the discoveries and inventions of which Europe is so proud would have been impossible without a developed system of mathematics, which in turn would have been impossible if Europe had been shackled by the unwieldy system of Roman numerals." Perhaps the most important discoveries coming through the trade routes were the decimal system and cotton from India and the magnetic compass for navigation from China.

Trade and Commerce

Trade naturally fluctuated according to the political conditions prevailing in the kingdoms and countries along the way, but the maritime route, while slower and full of peril, was far more stable and not quite as dependent on political factors as the land route. However, one of the great periods of peace and stability was during the Ist century A.D. when four great states were solidly established: Imperial Rome, the Kuṣāṇa Empire in North India, the Han dynasty in China, and the Parthian Empire which spread from ancient Bactria to Persia. Trade, cultural and religious exchanges flourished along both routes at that time.

According to Pliny's *Natural History* and the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, the maritime passage took almost four months to reach India from Rome. Ships usually arrived in October and left in April. From Broach in Gujarat, along the coast, to Pondicherry on the Coromandel coast, Roman and Arab merchants could buy the large quantities of silk and furs which came from China by sea and were unloaded in the Indian ports. India was the meeting place of all the ships coming from the East as well as the West. Her ports were stocked with goods for the markets of Persia, Egypt, Greece and Rome. Medicine in those days needed certain products such as camphor. Sugar (discovered in India, the Greek name for sugar is *sukhara*), cardamom, cinnamon and pepper. Perfume was a highly developed industry in antiquity for which cinnamon was an essential ingredient; pepper was so important for both food and medicine that it seems not to have been taxed in Rome.

Indigo and cinnabar (resin), less costly than the purple dye (taken from a shell fish and much prized in the ancient world) were used for dyes of blue and crimson. Sandal wood and palm oil were also meant for medicinal purposes; lycism was used in the cosmetic industry and incense at all times in temples and houses. Along with silk from China, the transparent muslin from India called 'nebula' by the Romans was in great demand, as also an Indian metal 'which resisted rust'. With these products came precious stones, pearls, emeralds, rubies, diamonds, crystal, and above all ivory. Animals and birds from India were also sought after; elephants, lions, tigers and buffaloes; parrots and the golden pheasant, regarded as the fabulous phoenix. No less were Indian cooks appreciated, and a late Emperor of Constantinople had an Indian cook. Fortune-tellers, conjurors, musicians, dancing girls and mahouts who accompanied their elephants went to the West.

From the West, India wanted gold, above all; and pottery, glass, tin, lead, coral, and slave girls; this last trade was mainly in the hands of Arabs and Jews. Roman coins too were exported in such proportions to both India and Ceylon that they must have been in some use. Engineers for the construction of war machines both in Central Asia and in South India are mentioned many times. Words from India entered into the Greek, Roman and Egyptian vocabularies, particularly for such products as emeralds *(markakata)* pepper *(pippali)*, rice (the Tamil word *arisi*), cotton *(karpasa)*, etc.

Silk, one of the most important articles of trade in this whole period along with spices and cotton, came, as we saw, from China and was unloaded at the Indian ports. For a long time the West did not know where China was, and the silk trade was handled by the Persians in their commerce with Greece and Egypt. Persia blocked both the land and sea routes to the West. China was called Sere and the origin of silk was considered vegetal. Much later, Roman merchant ships went as far as China and left traces of their passage in Indo-China.

During the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Justin, the Persians raised the price of raw silk to an impossible level and Justin implored the Ethiopian king in the name of their common religion to buy silk directly from India and sell it to Rome. But the Persian merchants bought whole shiploads of silk as they came from India. However, in about 550 A.D. the Emperor received two monks coming from 'Serinda' who told him that they could bring back the 'seeds' of the silkworm. This they did two years later and for the first time silkworms were cultivated in the Mediterranean.

From the land route merchants from Sogdia (a kingdom to the north of modern Afghanistan) also tried to break the Persian monopoly of commerce with Rome: they attempted to treat with Khosrau. He bought all the silk they brought from China and burnt it in front of them to show the Sogdians that Persia did not need their help in procuring silk from China. If the Sogdian and Byzantine merchants wanted to bypass Persia they had to take the longer route by the northern coast of the Caspian Sea. Silk was used as money for exchange and even taxes could be paid in bales of silk, for the product was standardised in length and width.

When the Roman World lost its Fortune

Rome was the centre of the luxury market of the Mediterranean world. There was not a year, according to Pliny, when fifty million sesterces of gold did not go into the pockets of Indian merchants. Roman senators complained bitterly that "articles that served feminine vanity, the jewels and luxury objects drained all the riches out of the Empire." Others were scandalised by the demand for transparent muslins and silks. Very often Indian and Chinese goods were sold at a hundred times their original cost.

Roman settlements or trading posts have been dug up at Arikameḍu near Pondicherry and in Indo-China, where Roman glass, coins and jewellery have been found along Indian and Chinese objects. Roman coins are found both in the north and south of India, as well as Roman glass, particularly the translucent multi-coloured beads which were in great demand throughout Asia.

Tamil poems of the *Śaṅgam* age tell us of the foreigners : "Agitating the white foam of the Periyar the beautifully built ships of the Yavanas (foreigners) came with gold and returned with pepper." A Pāṇḍya Prince is asked to drink the "cool and fragrant wines" brought by the Yavanas. Many Indian missions were sent to Rome and Persia. An Indian embassy sent to Antioch was noted by Strabo, while another coming from the king of the Pāṇḍyas brought a letter to Emperor Augustus, who received it at Athens in 20 B.C. The mission included an ascetic named Śamanācārya, who apparently, growing tired of earthly life, burnt himself to death at Athens.

The Port that served Indian Merchant Ships

Tāmralipti, in the Gulf of Bengal, was a large port which served Indian merchant ships sailing to the Malaya archipelago, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Sumatra, Borneo and China. In all this trade, religious images, manuscripts and pilgrims were no less important than the trade. Besides silk and muslins, the merchant ships carried statues of the Buddha made in the busy centres of Mathura and Nalanda. Pilgrims in thousands from all over Asia thronged the great Buddhist universities of Taxila in the north, Nalanda in the south-east, and at Bodh Gaya in Bihar. Yi-T'sin, a Chinese pilgrim travelling by sea to India, stopped in the Kingdom of Śrīvijaya (Malay peninsula) for six months to perfect his Sanskrit grammar. He says : "There were more than a thousand Buddhist monks whose minds are set on study and good works. They examine and discuss all possible subjects exactly like in India itself. If a Chinese monk wishes to go to India in order to read and study, he cannot do better than stay here for a year or two, he will then be fit to go to India for further study." Yi-T'sin spent ten year in Nalanda and translated many texts into Chinese.

Role of Central Asia

In the history of the land route across Central Asia, the lost oasis kingdoms with their archaeological evidence of close contact, not only with India, but with Rome, Persia, Greece and China, claim a special place. Nineteenth century archaeologists and explorers, British, Russian, French and German, brought to light the sand-buried monuments described by pilgrims and travellers like Huang T'sang(7th century) and Marco Polo (14th century).

If Aurel Stein revealed the civilization that flourished for over a thousand years in these lost kingdoms, we have to thank the practically unknown Indians who went with him and who executed the delicate task of detaching the frescoes from their walls and packing them for transport over three thousand miles of desert and mountain ranges. Indeed, one of them, Ram Singh, a Sikh sapper, actually returned alone to Miran and "heroically endeavoured to save these ancient paintings until glaucoma struck him blind in that desolate desert."

From India, the southern road passed through Bamiyan in Afghanistan, Yarkand, Khotan, Miran, Charchan and Lobnor. The northern road passed through the Pamirs and the oasis kingdom of Kashgar, Kucha, Kyzyl and Turfan. The two routes met at the frontier town of Tun-huang. Tun-huang is situated outside the Great Wall and its last fort, the Jade Gate. The territory is encompassed by immense mountains—the massifs of the Karakorum and the K'un-Lun in the south, and the Celestial Mountains (T'ien Shan) in the north. The hardship of the journey over snow-clad passes, across burning sands, buffeted by icy winds and sand storms, was only relieved by the luxury and plenty found in these romantic oasis cities.

Huang T'sang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, leaving by the Jade Gate and Tun-huang took the northern route to India in the 7th century. He tells us in his memoirs of this unforgettable journey. The Kingdom of Kucha, he says, "was about a thousand li (one li = 654 yards) to the east and west and 600 to the north and south. The soil produces rice, red millet, raisins, pomegranates, pears, prunes, peaches and apricots. There are mines of gold, copper, tin and plumbago. The climate is mild, the ways of the people pure and honest, and their writing is taken from India. Their musicians are renowned for their skill in flute and guitar playing."

Later Chinese historians tell us of the charms of the women of Kucha who were seen at the Imperial Chinese fetes dressed in crimson silk turbans. We are told they sang 'The Meeting of the Seventh Evening', 'The Woman of jade takes round the cup', and 'The Battle of Flowers'. Huang T'sang describes the splendid cavaliers who escorted him on his way, and they are painted on the walls of Kucha, Kyzyl and Kumtura. They wear long boots, coats of silk falling to the knees and tucked in at the waist with metal belts. Their tunics of blue, grey, white and lined and bordered with fur; their reddish hair was caught up with ribbons at their necks. They were a glorious sight to Huang T'sang with "their coloured and gilded banners and standards, sculptured and painted with heraldic animals." Huang T'sang returned to China laden with images of the Buddha, manuscripts and *sūtras*. King Harṣa gave him a truly royal gift of a white elephant which unfortunately got drowned near Kashgar.

Marco Polo, in the 14th century A.D., seems to have taken the southern route for, speaking of Khotan, he says : "Everything necessary for human life is here in the greatest plenty, cotton, flax, hemp, grain, wine. The inhabitants cultivate farms and vineyards and have numerous gardens. They also make a living by trade and manufacture." Of Lobnor he writes : "Travellers who intend to cross the desert usually halt for a considerable time, both to rest from their fatigue and to make necessary preparations for their further journey."

Most interesting to us is his obvious reference to the large composition of the Parinirvāṇa : ". . . They have many monasteries and abbeys built in the manner of this country. In these are a multitude of idols, some of wood and some of stone and clay. They are all highly polished and covered with gilding. They are carved in a masterly style; some of great size and others small. The former lie in a recumbent posture, the smaller figures stand behind them and have the appearance of disciples in the act of reverential salutation. Both great and small are held in extreme veneration."

Bamiyan in Afghanistan at one end and Tun-huang near the entrance to the Jade Gate at the other were halting places for caravans; the former for those going or coming through the difficult passes of the Hindukush and the other for those journeying to China. At Bamiyan, on the facade of the great cliff cave sanctuaries, colossal Buddhas were carved and painted. Tun-huang with the Caves of a Thousand Buddhas developed into one of the great centres of Buddhist culture. Merchants paid craftsmen and artists to paint and carve statues and scenes from the life of the Buddha as offerings for a safe journey.

The Central Asian Ajanta Tun-huang

Tun-huang benefited not only from the merchants but also from royal benefactors of the Wei, T'ang Sung dynasties in China. All of them contributed to the creation of one of the most extraordinary monuments of Buddhist culture. During the Tibetan occupation of north-west China in the 9th century, Tun-huang certainly had Indian artists, for one of the caves there could easily have been painted in Ajanta, better preserved because of the dry desert climate. Christians, Manicheans, Hindus and Buddhists lived side by side. In Tun-huang as in other Central Asian kingdoms, a hybrid population came into being. One of the renowned Buddhist teachers in China, Kumārajīva, was the son of an Indian father and the Princess Jiva of Kucha.

Tun-huang dates back to 105 B.C. when the Han Emperor sent the following imperial edict to the governor of the nearby frontiers: "Two thousand soldiers together with generals and officials are to proceed to occupy a locality in order to establish there an agricultural colony ... let there be no negligence of any kind, and let the orders be conformed to."

Tun-huang and other posts were repeatedly subject to attack. An anonymous Chinese poet wrote:

Bitter sorrow it is to inhabit the frontier,
three of my sons went to Tun-huang.
Another sent to Lung-Hai,
The fifth still further west,
Their five wives are pregnant.

At the beginning of this century, 20,000 manuscripts were discovered in Tun-huang where they had been walled up for over 900 years for protection against persecution and invaders; they were in Brāhmī, Kharoṣṭhī, Persian, Tibetan, Turki, Uighur and Tokharian and throw light on the extraordinary community of peoples that lived in these Central Asian kingdoms.

The art of this region and of Tun-huang is an expression of this unique mixture of peoples, religions and cultures. It appears that a Roman artist called Titus painted frescoes in Miran which certainly show moustached men who could be from Rome. The face of a young Greek girl looks out from the walls. These are, as Stein says, "representations as classical as the cherubin." The survival of all these monuments is something of a miracle: for nearly 2,000 years they have been subject to invasions and exposed to erosion by the devastating desert winds that sweep down from the north.

As one enters a cave at Tun-huang and looks silently at the wal~~k~~s, the majestic clam of the Buddhas and other divinities, hieratically still and immense, contrasts with the secular scenes where the life of man, the mere earthdweller, continues on its mundane course. Galloping cavaliers fight endless battles; merchants sail ships on rough seas; cavaliers venture forth from strong fortified cities to remote regions; pious devotees stand or kneel in reverence. Man ploughs, hunts, intrigues; dancing girls whirl to the music of ancient instruments in painted and sculptured pavilions, while the spiritual world of compassionate benevolence, the world of the eternal Buddhas, looks down upon it all.

Parya : An Indo-Aryan Dialect in Central Asia

M. G. PANSE

Introduction

RESEARCHES CONDUCTED IN Central Asia by the Soviet ethnographer. I.M. Oranski between 1952 and 1964 have brought to light the existence of a number of speech communities using Indo-Aryan dialects. In two articles in *Sovetskaya etnografiya* in 1956, he presented a preliminary report on Afghon. Now he reports the existence of (1) Parya, (2) Kavol, (3) Jugi, (4) Chistoni, and (5) Sogutarosh-hisori[1] in a recent monograph (1967) on the Parya dialect[2]. The present article is intended to make readily available the main results of this important study in Russian and supplement them with a historical study of their links with Sanskrit and the Prakrits.

0.2 Parya (abbr. Par.), like the other four mentioned along with it, is spoken in the valley of a tributary of the Amu Dariya (River Oxus). The chief town is Hissar (spelt Gissar in Russian), about 30 km. to the south-west of Dushanbe (formerly Stalinabad), the capital of the Tajik S.S. Republic in U.S.S.R. The dialect Parya shows affinities to New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages like Hindi (H), Punjabi (P), Lahnda (L), Rajasthani (R), Gujarati (G), Sindhi (S) and Nepali (N). The Parya-speaking people show some link with the Changars of Punjab. In his work Oranski records phonological and morphological correspondences between Parya and Hindi and some of the above mentioned relevant NIA languages. Here it is proposed to trace these correspondences back to Sanskrit (OIA) through the Prakrits (MIA) and lend an historical dimension of the study.

0.3. There are only about 200–250 families in the Parya group, i.e., not more than about 1000 persons in all. A majority of these live in the Hissar region including Shakhrinausky. The Leghman Valley, lying between Kabul and Jalalabad, is their motherland. According to Parya elders many families live there and some of them have been to Kabul, Khanabad, and Talikan in Afghanistan. Parya population gradually goes on decreasing towards the South West and one finds only a few isolated families beyond the boundaries of Sari-Asiya-Denau. The Paryas work on collective farms growing cotton and are Sunni Muslims. The Paryas do not noticeably differ from the surrounding population in their customs, dress, type of houses and daily life.

The Paryas—even the women—are bilingual, speaking their own dialect at home and among their group and a variety of Tajik or Uzbek elsewhere. Inspite of the small size of the community and the need for throughgoing bilingualism with the regional language, the Parya dialect is very stable inside the family.

0.4. Fairy tales in the Parya dialect are inter-spersed with detachable portion known as "bait". The *bait* is in Pushto, the language of the Afghans, quite different from the language of the tales. Lyrical *gazals* and *gītas* (songs) are also in Pushto. The Paryas learn *"baits"* by heart and are content to know the bare substance of the *bait* portion on account of their ignorance of Pushto.

The Parya group has some subsections *(quom, urug)* known by the names *Kalu kalo, Jitaṇ Jitiyaṇ Juni, magara, bisyaṇ bisyoṇ* and *musli musalli*. The first four of these form the nucleus of the group designated by the term *śai-xel śahi-xel.*

Marriage Customs among Paryas

Marriages among the Paryas usually take place within the limits of their own group. The Paryas often take Tajik girls in marriage and thus bring Tajik element in their group but they never give their daughters to any member outside the tribe. They do not enter into a matrimonial relationship even with Jugi—the socalled gypsies of Central Asia.

Punjabi Elements in Parya Dialect

0.5. The representative of the Parya group have given this name to their tribe and dialect. They often tell children : *beṭa, tu urusí gal nā kar, tu paryasazi gal kar*—"My boy, don't you speak in Russian, speak in Parya". But the local population around do not use this term but call the Paryas by the name *afghono* and also *afghono-yi siyorui (siyopust)*, i.e., black-faced (black-skinned) Afghans, *afghono-yi nosfurus*, i.e., Afghan traders of chewing tobacco *(nos)*.

0.6. Of the other terms used to denote the Parya group the term Changar is the most important one. It shows the connection of the Parya group with the well-known community in Punjab of the same name. According to Leitner[3] the Changars are to be found in Lahore, Ludhiana, Amritsar, Ferozepore, Jullundur and in the region of Peshawar, Gujarat, Faridkot and especially in Sialkot. The Changars of Lahore, as they themselves say, have come from Darap-region of Sialkot.[4] Their forefathers were settlers from Kashmir and the Pathan hills. It is noteworthy that five of the eleven sections of the Changars as named by G.W. Leitner agree with the five sections of the Paryas, e.g.,

Changar	Parya
kale	kalu
magharé	magara
jiteyan	jitiyaṇ
basian	bisyaṇ
jenu	juṇi

There is another fact which confirms the connection between the Changars of the Punjab and the Paryas of Central Asia. Ancestors of the Paryas are believed to have been the disciples of Sheikh Shams Tabriz (Hazrat-i-shams) whose name and activities were connected with Punjab. And according to their own tradition the forefathers of the Changars of the Punjab were converted to Islam by Shams Tabriz of Multan.[5] The dialect of the Changars is likely to substantiate the above view on its comparison with the Parya dialect of Central Asia.

The Paryas and Changars

It seems possible that (i) the Parya group is a branch of the Changars of the Punjab which migrated to Central Asia. This supposition finds a basis in the census report of the North-West Province at the end of the last century or may be that (ii) the Changars and the Paryas have sprung from common ancestors coming from Laghman in the Kashmir-Afghanistan region.

Linguistic evidence of Migration

0.7. The language material of the Parya dialect can be presented in three parts. (I) Text of folklore, (II) Conversational patterns, matters dealing with daily life, and ethnographical contents and (III) dictionary. Without going into detail it will be advisable to select some items from the material and trace them back to Sanskrit (OIA) where it is possible. Ornaski has made it clear that a thorough comparison or etymology is not the task in view though parallels in Hindi, Punjabi, Lahnda and other NIA languages have been given and occasionally the OIA origin is suggested.

Hindi being the most widely known language is given priority over Punjabi and Lahnda which are closer to Parya.

Phonology

1.1. *Vowels*

Par. *o, ō* : H.P.L.*–ā* MIA*–aa*—OIA*–aka* Par. *kuto* (m)–dog, H.P.L. *kuttā,* R. *kutto,* S. *kuto,* G. *kutro* MIA *kuttara*. OIA *kuttira.*

Par. *loyo–* iron : H.P.L. *lohā,* R. *loho* MIA *lohaa* OIA *lohaka.*

Par. *susro* father-in-law : H. *susrā,* P. *sahurā,* S. *sahuro,* G. *sasro,* N. *sasuro* MIA *sāsura* OIA *śvaśura.*

Infinitives : Par. *bandno* to tie : H. *bā̃d(h)nā,* P. *bannhṇā* MIA *baṁdha–* OIA**bandha*—

Par. *becno* to sell : H. *becnā* MIA *veccai* OIA *vetyayati*

Par. *carṇo* to sift : H. *channā,* P. *chaṇṇā* MIA *chāṇa–* OIA **kṣaṇati*–is sifted.

1.1.2. Par. –e–(–I) = H.P. *–ai–* MIA*–ai* OIA *–ai–.*

Par. *per* the leg(s) : H.P. *pair.*

Par. *peṇ* younger sister : H. *bahin,* P. *bhaiṇ, paiṇ.*

Par. *beṭno* to sit : H. *baiṭhnā,* P. *baiṭhṇā,*

1.1.3. Par. *–o(u)* : H.P. *–au* MIA *–au* OIA *–a–u, –ava.*

Par. *kõ, koṇ* who : H. *kaun,* P. *kauṇ,* L. *koṇ*

Par. *duṛ* to run : H.P. *dauṛ–,* L. *doṛ–.*

1.2. *Consonants*

1.2.1. Voiceless nonaspirates p–, t–, ṭ–, k– and voiceless affricate *c* in Parya correspond to voiced aspirates *bh–, dh– –ḍh–, gh–* and voiced affricate *jh.*

(i) Par. *p–* : H. *–bh–* MIA *bh–* OIA *bh– bhr–* etc.

Par. *pai* younger brother : H. *bhāi* MIA *bhāi* OIA *bhrātṛ.*

Par. *pa(n)jo* sister's son : H. *bhā̃jā* MIA *bhāiṇijja* OIA *bhāgineya.*

Par. *peṇ* younger sister : H. *bahin* MIA *bahiṇ(i)* OIA *bhaginī.*

Non-initially.

Par. *cap* chew : H. *cab(h)* MIA *cabba* OIA *carva–.*

Par. *jib* tongue : H.P. *jībh,* L. *jibbh* MIA *jibbhā* OIA *jihvā.*

(ii) Par. *t–* : H.P. *dh–* MIA *–dh, –ddh–* OIA *dh–, gdh–,* etc.

Initially

Par. *tup,*(sun's heat) : H. *dhup* **dhuppā.*

Par. *tago* thread : H. *dhāgā* **dhāgga,* MIA *dharagga.*

Par. *tar–* to hold : H. *dhar–* MIA *dharai* OIA *dharati.*

Non-initially

Par. *dut* milk : *dudh,* L. *duddh* MIA *duddha* OIA *dugdha.*

(iii) Par. *ṭ–* : H. *ḍh–* MIA *ḍh–* OIA *ḍh–.*

Par. *ṭo* to drag, to carry : H. *ḍho-* MIA *ḍhoa* OIA *ḍhaukayati.*

Par. *ṭuṇḍ-* to search : H. *ḍhuṇḍha-* **ḍhuṇḍh-, ḍhuṇḍh-.*

(iv) Par. *k-* : H.P. *gh-* MIA *gh-* OIA *gh-, gṛ-* etc.,

Initially :

Par. *kas* grass : H. *ghā̃s* MIA *ghāsa* OIA *ghāsa.*

Par. *kar* house : H. *ghar* MIA *ghara* OIA *ghara, gṛha.*

Par. *koṛ(ṛ)o* horse : H. *ghoṛā* MIA *ghoḍaa* OIA *ghoṭaka.*

Non-initially :

Par. *ak (āk)* fire : H. *āg,* P. *agg* MIA *aggi* OIA *agni.*

(v) Par. *c+* : H. *jh+* MIA *jh-, jjh-, jja* OIA *j-, jh-, dy.*

Initially :

Par. *cuṭ (cuṭ)* lie, deception : H. *jhūṭh,* MIA *jhuṭṭha.*

Par. *cāṛu* broom : H. *jhāṛu* MIA *jhāḍa* **jhāṭ.*

Non-initially :

Par. *āc (ac)* today : H. *āj,* P.L. *ajj* MIA *ajja* OIA *adya.*

Par. pawac younger brother's wife : H. *bhāwāj* MIA *bhāujjā* OIA *bhṛatṛ jāyā.*

Devoicing and deaspiration of the initial voiced aspirates in Parya may be compared with that in Punjabi e.g., Panjabi *koṛā-* horse, *pāi* brother, *paiṇ* sister, etc.

1.2.2. Voiced aspirates in Hindi *bh-, dh-, ḍh, gh,* as a rule correspond to the voiced non-aspirates *b, d, g* in Parya.

Par. *pabi* (pâbi) wife of the elder brother : H. *bhābhī.*

Par. *gaba(n)* pregnant : H. *gabhan* MIA *gabbhiṇi* OIA *garbhiṇí.*

Par. *indaṛ (indar)* firewood : H. *īndhan.*

Par. *buḍo* old man : H. *buḍḍha-* MIA *vuḍḍhaa* OIA *vṛddha-.*

Par. *langno* to cross, to pass by : H. *lābhnā, lānghnā* MIA *laṁgha-* OIA *laṅgha-.*

1.2.3. There are some cases in Parya where voiced aspirates in Hindi correspond to unaspirated voiceless stops.

Par. *kota (khota)* donkey : H. *gadhā* MIA *gaddhaa* OIA *gardabha.* Compare this with conversational Punjabi *khotā,* L. *khotā.*

Par. *khki (kaki)* comb : H.P.L. *kaṅghi* MIA *kaṁkaya* OIA *kaṅkata.*

1.2.4. Voiceless aspirates in Hindi are normally deaspirated in Parya.

Par. *pepuro* lung : H. *phephrā*

Par. *pui* father's sister : H. *phuphi.*

Par. *patar* stone : H. *patthar.*

Par. *uṭ* to get up : H. *uṭhnā.*

Par *unguṭi* ring : H. *anguṭhí.*

Par. *muc* moustaches : H. *mūch.*

Par. *can* to sift : H. *channa,* L. *chaṇnā.*

In a number of cases both the pronunciations are heard.

Par. *dekh* *dek-* to look at : H. *dekhnā.*

Par. *makhi* *maki* fly : H. *makkhī.*

Par. *muṭho* *muṭo* sweet : H. *míṭhā.*

Par. *maṭho* *maṭo* the head : *māṭhā.*

Par. *churi* *curi* knife : H. *churī.*

1.2.5. The aspirated flap *ṛh* in Hindi corresponds to its non-aspirate in Parya.

Par. *caṛ-* to climb : H. *caṛhnā* MIA *caḍḍha* OIA *caḍha.*

Par. *dāṛi* beard : H. *dāṛhī* OIA *dāḍhikā.*
Par. *paṛ–* to read : H. *paṛhanā* MIA *paḍhai* OIA *paṭhati.*
1.2.6. Initially Par. *v–* corresponds to H. *b–* MIA *v* OIA *v*
Par. *vac(c)o* *vacho* calf : H. *bachrā* OIA *vatsa.*
Par. *viya* marriage : H. *b(i)yāh* MIA OIA *vivāha.*
Par. *va, vā* wind : H. *bāv*; P.L.G. *vā* MIA *vāu* OIA *vāta.*
1.2.7. Hindi *h* is not to be found in Parya.
Par. *as–* to laugh : H. *hasnā* MIA *hasai* OIA *hasati*
Par. *bar* *bār* outside : H. *bāhar* MIA *bāhira* **bahir.*
Par. *bot* much, many : H. *bahut* MIA *bahu* OIA *bahu.*
Par. *bau* bride : H. *bahu* MIA *vahu* OIA *vadhu.*

Morphology

2.1.1. *Noun*

Gender : Parya hat only two genders Masculine and Feminine
Par. mas *–O* = H. mas. *–ā* MIA *–aa* LIA *aka*
Par. fem. *–i* : H. *–ī* MIA *–iā* OIA *–ikā.*
Par. *koṛ(ṛ)o* horse : H. *ghoṛā* *ghoḍaa* *ghoṭaka.*
Par. *koṛ(ṛ)i* mare : H. *ghoṛi* *ghoḍiā* *ghoṭikā.*
Par *kuto* dog : H *kuttā*
Par. *kuti* bitch : H. *kuttī.*
Par. *poto* grandson : H. *potā* *puttaa* *putraka.*
Par. *poti* grand daughter : H *pōtī* *puttiā* *putrikā.*

These endings also denote size of a thing in Parya. *o* big and *i* small. e.g. Par *čamčo* laddle, *čamči* spoon; Par. *kaṭo* big (irrigation) ditch or canal. Par *kaṭi* small ditch, trench. Here the apparent tendency is to mark gender.

The same apposition is noticed in adjectives, including pronominal adjectives, functioning as attributes like Indo-Aryan languages in all the historical stages.

Par. *kalo kuṛ(ṛ)o*	blackhorse
Par. *kali kuṛṛi*	black mare
Par. *kali gā*	black cow
Par. *bago fil*	white elephant
Par. *bagi ruṭi*	white bread
Par. *nuko jatak*	small child (boy)
Par. *niki handi*	small pot
Par. *susro turo*	your father-in-law
Par. *sasu təri*	your mother-in-law

2.1.2 *Case* :

Direct singular	Par. *-o, õ*	: H.	*ā*
.. plural	Par. *e*	: H.	*e*
Oblique singular	Par. *-e*	: H.	*e*
.. plural	Par. *un, ũ*	: H.	*õ*

e.g.,

Par. *kuto kale-pəra čaṛyo*	Dog seized the head
Par. *kute-ko heka-se bagāyo*	(He) threw in front of the dog

Par. *panǰ boṛe kute č^{h}o*	There were five big dogs.
Par. *kutũ-na dumbun-ta rat-a raka č^{h}e*	At night the dogs guarded the sheep.

2.2. *Pronoun*

2.2.1. First and Second Person Pronouns.

	Parya	Hindi	MIA	OIA
I Sg. Direct	*me*	*maĩ, mẽ*	*mai, mae*	*mayā*
Oblique	*ma–, məre–*	*mujh* [L.R.G. *mā–, māro–*]		
I Pl. Direct	*ham*	*ham*	*amha*	**asme*
Oblique	*ma–, mare–*	*ham* [G. *am–, amāro*]		
II Sg. Direct	*tu*	*tū*	*tuvam*	*tvam*
Oblique	*ta–,(ə)re–*	*tujh-*, [L.R.G. *tā-*, G. *tāre*]	*taa*	*tava*
II Pl. Direct	*tam*	*tum* [G. *tame*]	*tumhe*	**tuṣme*
Oblique	*taro–, tare–*	*tum*, G. *tam-, tamāro–*		

I and II person singular ergative forms *minǰa* and *tinǰa* have no corresponding form in any Indo-Aryan language considered here.

Ergative I Pl. Par. *ham-na* : Hindi *ham-ne*
II Pl. *tam-na* : *tum-ne*

2.2.2. Demonstrative and Personal pronouns.

ya—this, he, she, it

	Par.	Hindi	MIA	OIA
Sg. Direct	*ya*	*yah*	*eha*	*əṣa*
Oblique	*is–*	*is–*	*eassa*	*etasya*
Pl. Direct	*ye*	*yah, ye*	*e(y)e*	*ete*
Oblique	*in̄–*	*in–*		

u– that, he, she, it.

	Par.	Hindi	MIA	OIA
Sg. Direct	*u, (ō)*	*vah, voh*		
Oblique	*us–*	*us–*	**aussa*	**avasya*
Pl. Direct	*u, (ō)*	*vah, ve*		
Oblique	*un–, (unu-n–?)*	*un–, unhō-*		

2.2.3. Personal Possessive Pronoun

	Par.	Hindi
I Sg.	*muro*	*merā* (R. *mero*)
Pl.	*maro*	*hamārā* (R. *mhāro*)

II Sg.	*turo*	*terā* (R. *tero*)
Pl.	*taro*	*tumhārā* (R. *thārō*)

2.2.4. Interrogative, Relative Pronoun

	Par.	H.	MIA	OIA
(i) Who				
Direct	*kõ(n), koṇ*	*kaun* [P. *kāon*]	*kouṇa*	*kaḥ punaḥ*
Oblique	*kis–*	*kis–* [P. *kis– kih–*]	**kissa, kassa*	*kasya*
(ii) What				
Direct	*ka*	*kyā* [P. *kī*]		
Oblique	*ka–*	*kis–* [P. *kās, hāh*]		
(iii) Which, what				
Direct	*ju*	*jo* [P. *jo*]	*jo*	*yaḥ*
Oblique	*jis–*	*jis–* [P. *jis- jih*]	*jissa, jassa*	*yasya*

2.2.5. Existence of pronominal enclitics *-so*, *-sō*, *-su* and feminine *-si* of the third person plural in Parya brings it close to Lahnda III Sg. *-s*, Sindhi III Sg. *-se* and Punjabi. These are not noticed in other NIA languages.

2.3. *Numerals**

Numeral	Parya	Hindi	Punjabi	MIA	OIA
1	*yek*	*ek*	*ikka*	*ekka*	*eka*
2	*do*	*do*	*do*	*do*	*dvau*
3	*tin*	*tīn*	*tin*	*tinni*	*trīṃ*
4	*čār*	*čār*	*čār*	*čaur*	*catur-*
5	*panj́*	*pā̃ć*	*panǰ*	*paṁca*	*pañca*
6	*čhe*	*čha*	*čhe*	*čha*	*ṣaṣ*
7	*sat*	*sāt*	*satt*	*ṣatta*	*sapta*
8	*aṭ*	*āṭh*	*aṭṭh*	*aṭṭha*	*aṣṭa*
9	*nu*	*nau*	*nao*	*na(v)a*	*nava*
10	*das*	*das*	*das*	*dasa*	*daśa*
11	*yârân*	*gyārah*	*yārā̃*	*egāraha*	*ekādaśa*
12	*bârân*	*bārah*	*bārā̃*	*bāraha*	*dvādaśa*
13	*terân*	*terah*	*terā̃*	*teraha*	*trayodaśa*
14	*čaudân*	*čaudah*	*čaodā*	*cauddaha*	*caturdaśa*
15	*pan(ḍ)rân*	*pandrah*	*pandarā̃*	*pannaraha*	*pañcadaśa*
16	*saulaṇ*	*solah*	*sōlā̃*	*solaha*	*soḍaśan*
17	*səṭaṛan*	*satrah*	*satārā̃*	*sattaraha*	*saptadaśa*
18	*aṭaran*	*aṭhārah*	*aṭhārā̃*	*aṭṭharaha*	*aṣṭādaśa*
19	*uni*	*unnis*	*unni*	*unavīsa*	*ūnaviṃśati*
20	*bis*	*bīs*	*vih*	*vīśa*	*viṁśati*
30	*tric*	*tīs*	*tīh* (L. *trīh*)	*tisa*	*triṁśati*
40	*čal(l)i*	*čalis*	*čālī*	*ćattālis*	*čātvāriṁśat*
50	*pinj́ah*	*pačās*	*panj́āh*	*paṁčāsa*	*paṁčāśat*
100	*so, sō*	*sau*	*sāo*	*saa*	*śata*

The system of counting 60, 70, 80, 90 is a little different. Parya has no words corresponding to NIA *sāṭh, sattar, assī, navve*. These numbers are counted in terms of scores i.e.,

60	Par. *tin bisi* three twenties, cf. Marathi *tīn isā*.
70	Par. *sāṛetin bisi* three and half twenties M. *tīn isā dhā*.
80	Par. *čar bisi* four twenties, M. *čār isā*.
90	Par. *sāṛe ćar bisi* four and half twenties. M. *ćar isā dhā*.

sāṛe MIA *sa+addha*– OIA *sa+ardha*—with a half, added by a half.

They count twenty eight as *bisiti aṭ* twenty and eight, 31 as *tri-ti yek* thirty and one, etc.

2.4. *Postpositions*

Though some postpositions in Paryā are different from those in NIA languages, majority of them have corresponding NIA forms, e.g.,

	Par.	Hindi
1. Place and time of action	*–a, –ma*	*–me* (in)
2. Direction of action	*–a, –ma*	*–me* (in)
3. Comitative	*–nala*	(P.L.) *nāl* (with)
4. Superlative	*–ta*	(P) *–tõ* (from)
5. Attributive	*–ko*	*–kā* (of)
6. Subject of the action with tr. verb past tense	*–na*	*–ne* P. *–ne-nai* (by)

2.5. *Verbs*

The verbal system of Parya is developed. It includes a large number of simple and complicated verbal forms, participles, absolutives, infinitives etc. Simple verbal forms are obtained by adding personal endings to the root and other formations show participle forms with auxiliary verbs.

2.5.1. Personal endings of the present and future tenses of indicatives mood in Parya are close to the personal endings of the present tense of the subjunctive mood in Hindi, Gujarati and particularly in Rajasthani.

Conjugation

	Par.	Hindi	Rajasthani	MIA	OIA
I Sg.	*–ũi, –uĩ, ũ(n)*	*–ū̃*	*–ū̃*	*–aũ,*	
Pl.	*–aĩ, –ai*	*–ẽ*	*–ā̃*	*–ahũ*	
II Sg.	*–ai*	*–e*	*–e, –ai*	*–ai, –ahi*	
Pl	*–au*	*–o*	*–õ*		
III Sg.	*–ai*	*–e*	*–e, –ai*	*–ai, –ahi*	
Pl.	*–ĩ*(–in)*č*^{h}*i*	*–ẽ*	*–ẽ, –ai, –aĩ*	*–ahĩ*	

Parya has diphthongs *–ũi, –ai, aĩ, –au* instead of corresponding to monophthongs *–ū̃, –e, –ẽ, –o* in Hindi. Third person plural ending with an auxiliary verbal form is also peculiar.

2.5.2. Verbal conjugation with the auxiliary root *čh–* finds closest parellels in the Jaipuri dialect of Rajasthani (for present and past tense) and in Gujarati (present tense only). Basic verbal form *–i* common to I, II, and III singular of the present tense corresponds to Hindi, Punjabi, Lahnda III e.g. *hai* and *he* MIA *havai* OIA *bhavati* and the auxiliary root Par.

ch– : NIA– *č*^{h}*e*, *cho* etc. MIA *acchai* OIA *ākṣeti*.

Par. *–i če*, *č*^{h}*o* also function to mean "to be, to exist, to have, to be available."

Auxiliary čh–

Par	Hindi	Rajasthanı (Jayapuri)	Gujarati
Present Tense			
I Sg. *–ı*, *č*^{h}*ū̃*	*hū̃*	*čhū̃*	*čhū̃*
Pl. *čha*, *čhí*	*haĩ*	*čhāi*	*čhıe*
II Sg. *–i*, *č*^{h}*e*	*haı*	*čhai*, *čhe*	*čhe*
Pl. *–cho*, *č*^{h}*ĩ*	*ho*	*čho*	*čho*
III Sg. *–i*, *čhe*	*hai*	*čhai*, *čhe*	*čhe*
Pl. *čhĩ*, *čhi*	*haĩ*	*čhai*, *čhe*	*čhe*
Past Tense			
I Sg. *čho*, *č*^{h}*ō*	*thā*	*čho*	*hato*
Pl. *č*^{h}*e*	*thẽ*	*čhā*	*hatā*
II Sg. *č*^{h}*o*	*thā*	*čho*	*hato*
Pl. –	*the*	*čhā*	*hatā*
III Sg. *čho*	*thā*	*čho*	*hato*
Pl. *č*^{h}*e*, *čhi*	*thē*	*čhā*	*hatā*

2.5.3. In Parya infinitive is formed by adding *–nṓ*, *–ṇṓ* suffix to the root. e.g. Par. *marnṓ* —to beat. Le*ṅṓ*—to take. *langnṓ*—to go through. to cross. Par. *–nṓ*, *–ṇṓ* corresponds to H. *–nā*, P. *–nā*, R. *–nū̃*, *–ṇō* etc. MIA *–ṇa–* OIA *–na–*.

2.5.4. Present participle in *–to* (like *karto*) in Parya corresponds to Hindi *–tā* and R. G. *–to* MIA *–ta* OIA *–at* .

2.5.5. The non-conjugated participle *–o*, *–yə* in Parya is common to all the persons and numbers of a transitive verb and to all the persons in singular to intransitive verb. This *–o*, *–yo* in Parya : past participle *–ā* in Hindi, *–iā* in Punjabi, *–eā* in Lahnda and *-yō* ın Rajasthani and Gujarati coming through : MIA *–aa*, *–ia*, etc.. OIA *–ta*, ata, *ita* etc.

2.5.6. Absolutive *–ke* in Parya is similar to *–ke* in Hındi and Punjabi e.g. Par. *karke* having done, *marke* having struck, cf. H. *mārke*.

2.5.7. The rate form *ketə* OIA *kṛta* occurring in a compound verb like *le keto*—having taken, apparently corresponds to past participle form *kit(t)ā–* 'done by' in Punjabi and Lahnda.

2.5.8. Suffix *–nĕko* added to a root is functionally similar to *–vālā* in Hındi e.g. Par. *janĕko–* being ready to go, *lenĕko*—Intending to take, may be compared with Hindi *jānevālā*, *lenevālā*, etc.

2.5.9. The suffix *–ṇalo*, *–nyalo –n'alo* added to the root forms an agentive noun corresponding to Hindi *–ne-vālā* and Lahnda— *–neāla*, e.g.,

Par. *rōṇalo*	crying baby	: H. *ronevālā*
Par. *buṛnyalo*	weaver	: H. *bunnavāla*.

Vocabulary

3.1. It is true that vocabulary is not the deciding factor if one has to judge a speech form of a small ethnographical group like Parya. An impact of various factors is there. The relationship of a dialect is to be determined on the strength of phonology, morphology and syntax but lexical items do help us to understand its affinity with other languages. The sample of lexical items reveals that Parya is closer to Punjabi and Lahnda than any other NIA language.

3.2. *Sample of Vocables*

Par. *pai* younger or little brother; (2) a brother, (3) a form of address, (4) nephew (brother's son). H. *bhāi*, P. *paī* MIA *bhai* OIA *bhrātṛ*.

Par. *me—(me, mi)* I (Personal pronoun I sg.) H. *maĩ, mẽ,* P. *maĩ,* L. *maĩ, ma,* R. *maĩ* N. *mãĩ, ma* MIA *mai, mae* ·OIA *mayā*.

Par. *kaṭ*—(1) to cut, to cut out, to chop off, (2) to reap, (3) to bite, to sting. *kaṭo jā* to *crudle (milk)* H. *kāṭnā,* P. *kaṭṭṇā,* MIA *kaṭṭa–* OIA *karta–*.

3.3. Besides the sample given above such words as [Par. *gal* word, P.L. *gall* word.]

rũ	cotton	L. *rũ*. P. *rūī*	cotton
ran	wife, woman	P. *rann*	women
muṛs	husband	L. *muṛs*	husband
muṇḍo	boy	P. *muṇḍā*	boy
mangar	black	P. *magar*	black

and may others show that Parya has great affinity with Punjabi and Lahnda.

Conclusion

4.1. Some families from five subsections out of eleven of the Changars must have migrated to the Hissar Valley via Afghanistan. It cannot escape our notice (*a*) that it finds corroboration in census of N.W. Provinces, (*b*) that the Parya and the Changar had common ancestors, (*c*) that both the groups were drawn to the Muslim faith by Sheikh Shams Tabriz of Multan.

4.2. The dialect spoken by the Parya group of people shows a very close relationship with many NIA languages, though all the items of Parya dialect do not agree cent percent with any one of them. The corresponding froms in the NIA languages have shown how Parya stands in relationship with MIA and OIA, i.e., Prakrit and Sanskrit stages of development.

This will make manifest the vestiges of Sanskrit, the language of the Hindus, in the spoken language of Sunni Muslims settled in the Tajik-uzbek area in the southern part of USSR.

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I am very much thankful to Dr Ashok R Kelkar for bringing Oranski's work to my notice My thanks are also due to Mrs. Shanta M Ranade who read the text with me.

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*Numerals in Parya show such close resemblance with the corresponding numerals in Afghon dialect that one would suspect them to be identical. but Oranski has not clarified the extent of relationship between Parya and Afghon.; vide. J.M. Perrin, L'Afghon. Dialect Indo-Aryen parle au Turkestan. *Bulletin de z'cole Francaise*, Tome LII. Fasc. 1. 1964. pp. 173–181 based on I.M Oranski's two articles . (I) Indojazycnaja gruppa" Afghan" Srednej Azil, *Sovetskaja Etnografia*, 1956, No 2, pp 117–124, and (ii) Predvaritelnoje soobscenie ob obnaruzennom Srednej Azii indijskom dialekte, *Sovetskee Vostokovedenie*, 1956, No 4. pp 144–151.

Cultural Exchange Between India, China and Japan

SHIGEO KAMATA

Introduction

BUDDHISM, WHICH WAS founded in India, was introduced into China by Buddhist missionaries through the deserts of Central Asia. With its introduction into Chinese society, it gradually strengthened its influences, and under the Sui and T'ang Dynasties assumed the form of a Sinicized religious sect. Thus with the Sui-T'ang empires at its centre, a new sphere of Buddhist culture emerged in East Asia, covering Korea, Japan, Pohai, Vietnam and other countries surrounding China.

The greatest factor in the spread of Buddhism throughout China was the production of the Chinese translations of Buddhist scriptures by Indian monks who came to China and by Chinese monks who went from China to India. That such an immense amount of translation work should have been accomplished in a relatively short space of time is something worthy of admiration in the cultural annals of the world.

All-embracing Character of Buddhism

India and China are two heterogeneous culture-spheres isolated from each other by the Himalayan ranges. How do we explain, then, the spread of a culture to the other despite such completely differing cultural elements? It might be attributable to the fact that Buddhism by nature was not a religion intended for one nation, but it possessed a universal character above the narrow concept of race or frontiers of a country so that it could be adhered to by anyone; however, one must also remember the fact that there were China's own peculiar cultural traits that made the reception of Buddhism possible. Especially important was the existence of Taoism which played an important role in the reception and understanding of Buddhism.

Introduction of Buddhism in China

Concerning the period in which Buddhism was transmitted into China, a variety of theories have been propounded since time immemorial.[1] Among these there is one that maintains that the introduction took place in the time of Emperor Ming of the Han Dynasty in 67 A.D., when Chia-yeh Mo-t'eng and Chu Fa-lan[2] came to Lo-yang in the company of imperial envoys and put out a translation of the *Sūtra in Forty-two sections*. This theory is not a tradition that relays facts, but a mere legend. According to the *Hou-Han-shu Biography of Ch'u Wang-ying* this half-brother of the Emperor Ming was a believer in Buddhism in the eighth year of Yung-P'ing (65 A.D.), which clearly suggests that Buddhism had its followers in the period of Emperor

FIG. 1. *A close-up of the Hsüan-chuang T'a where the mortal remains of Hsüan-chuang were buried in* 669 A.D. *by Imperial Order, and a temple erected. The temple was named as Hsing-chiao ssu by Emperor Su-tsung as a homage to the* (hsing *'establisher of the'* Chiao *'Doctrine'*) (*Raghu Vira Collection*)

Ming of the Han Dynasty. But it seems to me that from around the commencement of the Christian era golden-coloured statues of Buddha, along with bronzes, were gradually making their way into China along with the caravans.

Thus Buddhism, which spread to China by degrees, was accepted into Chinese society and went on to become, both doctrinally and as a religious body, a great social influence. Down through the period of the Southern and Northern Dynasties and by the time of the Sui and T'ang Dynasties, a Chinese Buddhism with its own peculiar special features had come into existence. The T'ien-t'ai School, Hua-yen School, Zen Buddhism, the Lotus School, Esoteric School and other schools had been formed, and had spread out both to Korea and Japan. In this way Buddhism, which had originated in India, spread from China as far as Korea and Japan, and, Buddhism thus disseminated was almost entirely a Chinese Buddhism. Nevertheless, there also were some Indians who spread Buddha's religion to these two countries directly from India.

In the short essay that follows, I would like to speak about the entrance of Indian monks into China and the visits of Chinese monks to India, and about the influence of Indian culture on both Korea and Japan.

Buddhist Scriptures Translated into Chinese

The first translations of Buddhist scriptures to be made in China were produced by An Shih-kao[3] and Chih-lou chia-ch'an[4] in the reign of Emperor Huan in the Han Dynasty. An Shih-kao was a crown-prince of An-hsi (Parthia) but he renounced the world and went to Lo-yang in approximately A.D. 148. He translated *An-pan shou-i-ching,* among other works. This marked the first transmission of a sūtra dealing with dhyāna, and it is thought that Chinese monks started to perform mental exercises with this sūtra as their handbook. Chih-lou chia-ch'an was a native of Ta-yueh-chih, and in the closing years of Emperor Huan's reign he also came to Lo-yang to translate *Tao-hsing-pan-jo-ching* and other works. Especially noteworthy is the fact that the Mahāyāna *sūtraṣ* including the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra,* were brought over into China at this time.

Next during the Three Kingdoms Dynasty, T'an-k'o chialo[5] of central India came to Lo-yang in the Wei Kingdom and translated works connected with Buddhist precepts. This marked the first transmission of the precepts to China.

Under the Western Tsin Dynasty, there lived in Tun-huang a man under the name of Chu Fa-Lu (230–308 A.D.) who though not an Indian, translated between 266 and 308 A.D., 150 works in 300 volumes, including the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*, *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* and *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*.[6] He is reputed to have known the languages of thirty-six countries. Buddhism's transmission to China is said to be really Fa-hu's achievement. Even while he was still alive he was called the Tun-huang Bodhisattva.

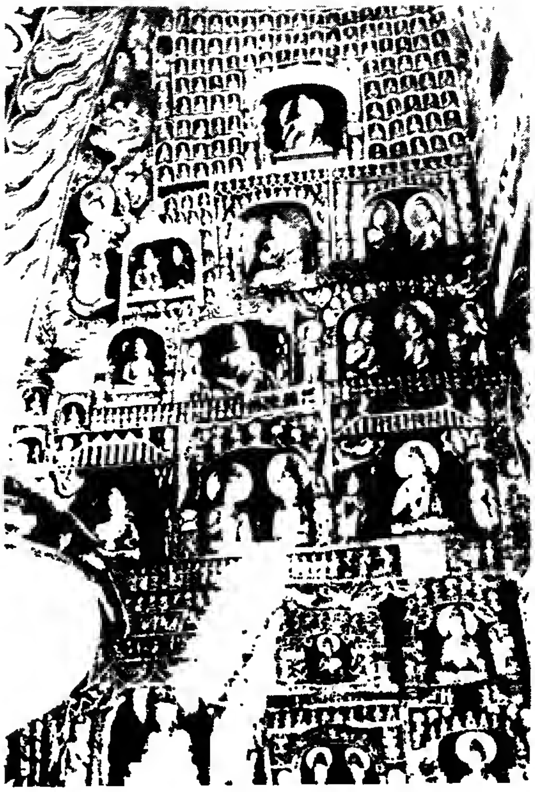

FIG. 2 *The interior of Cave 22 of Yun-kang wherein lies the gigantic Buddha Trinity. To the west of this Buddha, hundreds of caves and niches of various magnitudes are exposed. (Raghu Vira Collection)*

The Role of Kumarajīva

The arrival of Kumārajīva (344–413)[7] at Ch'ang-an constitutes an epoch-making event in regard to the translation of Chinese Buddhist scriptures. A native of Kuchạ, he studied Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna sūtras and śāstras before coming to Ch'ang-an in 401 A.D. at the age of 58. There he was accorded the reception of a *kokushi* (teacher of the realm) by the sovereign. In addition to the Mahāyāna sūtras of Prajñāpāramitā, Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, and Vimalakīrtinirdeśa, he translated several works of the Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna, e.g. the *Mādhyamika śāstra* and the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Śāstra*. His translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* is read to this day by Buddhists in Japan. As a result of these translations, the study of Śūnya doctrine became popular in a short time and finally led to the establishment of the Three Śāstra school in China. Further, it also considerably influenced later Chinese Buddhism, particularly *Chao-lun*,[8] the work of Kumārajīva's disciple Sêng-chao (384–414 A.D.).[9]

The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, chief representative of India's Mahāyāna sūtras, was translated during the Eastern Tsin Dynasty by Buddhabhadra (359–429 A.D.).[10] Fifteen years younger than Jīva, he was a man of a truly noble character. He met Jīva in Ch'ang-an, but was ousted by the latter's disciples. Thereafter he went to Lu-shan where he translated the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. During the Southern and Northern Dynasties his translation was studied by numerous scholars and commentaries were written on it, and in the T'anga Dynasty it was brought to perfection by Fa-tsang (643–712 A.D.) as the Avataṃsaka (Hua-yen) School. *Avataṃsaka* exerted a deep influence upon the history of Chinese thought, and it played a leading role in the formation of the Chinese thought after the Sung Dynasty. Further, a translation of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* was made during the T'ang Dynasty. This translation, done by Śikṣānanda (652–710 A.D.),[12] was read widely from that time onwards.

The Role of Buddhabhadra

In 416 A.D. Buddhabhadra collaborated with Fa hsien[13] in the translation and publication of the *Ma-ho-seng-ch'i-lü*, which pertains to the Vinaya category of scriptures, and worked hard for the dissemination of its precepts. About the year 402 Puṇyatara of Kashmir came to Cha'ang-an and translated the *Shih-sung-lü*. These Vinaya scriptures were studied and lectured upon, and during the T'ang Dynasty, owing to the efforts of Tao-hsüan (596–667),[14] they took shape as a new religious sect known as the Vinaya school.

The *Mahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra*, along with many other Mahāyāna texts, was translated about 421 A.D. by Dharmakṣema (385–433),[15] who was a native of central India. He first studied Hīnayāna, then Mahāyāna, and finally came to Tun-huang. With the translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, the concepts of *buddhatva* (the idea that the Buddha nature dwells within every man), and the teaching of *sattva* (the immanence of buddhatva in all beings) especially exerted a great influence upon Chinese Buddhism. Consequently, there grew up, with Southern China at its core, the Nirvāṇa School, and the Sūtra was widely studied. Its influence proved to be considerable even in the development of the *buddhatva* theory of the later Zen School. The impact of the concepts was also felt upon the Taoist scriptures; in the *Ta-ch'eng-miao-lin-ching* and others, for we know of a *Tao-hsing* (Tao-nature) theory. Furthermore, the dwelling of the Buddha-nature was not confined to men, but it dwelt in the entire world of nature: mountains, rivers, trees and plants—all fell in its scope. This idea bore fruit in Japan in the form of the beautiful words: *"sansen sōmoku shikkai jōbutsu"*. It could be said that these words express the deep feeling for nature experienced by the Orient.

During the Southern and Northern Kingdoms Dynasty, Bodhiruci[17] and others translated Vasubandhu's twelve volumes of the *Daśabhumika-sūtra* over a four-year period beginning from 508 A.D. Bodhiruci, a native of Northern India, had came to Lo-yang in the same year. As a result of the study of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, the Ti-lun School came into being in China. The chief representative of the Ti-lun School was Hui-yuan (523–592 A.D.),[18] whose literary work, the *Ta-ch'eng-i-chang*, can be said to be an encyclopaedic compendium of Buddhist theory under the Sui Dynasty.

The Ti-lun School was absorbed into the Hua-yen (Avataṃsaka) School during the T'ang Dynasty and gradually died out. However, its role in the formation of Hua-yen (Avataṃsaka) thought proved great, especially in the typical development of the Tathāgatagarbha theory. Originally, Chinese thought did not concern itself adequately with the personal autonomy of man, i.e., with what concerns the heart; but due to the dissemination of the Buddhist vijñaptimātra and Tathāgatagarbha theories, there was firmly established a philosophical position that deeply penetrated the mysteries of the human heart. It may thus be said that it was perhaps Buddhism which introduced the philosophy of the heart into Chinese thought.

The Great Philosopher Paramārtha

Again, in the Southern Kingdom we find the most famous of all translators: Paramārtha (499–569 A.D.).[19] Landing in Southern China in 546 A.D., he reached Chien-kang in 548 and was received in audience by Emperor Wu of Liang. He translated the *Mahāyānarisaṃgraha-śāstra*, the *Ta-ch'eng-ch'i-hsin-lun*, and other works but the most famous of them all was the *Mahāyānaparisaṃgraha-śāstra*. A product of Vasubandhu, this work was a general introduction of Mahāyāna Buddhism, as seen from the viewpoint of the Yogācāra School. It has great value as the basic text of Buddhist philosophy. It was translated into Chinese four times, the versions of Paramārtha and Hsüan-tsang being the best known. It was especially in Paramārtha's version of the Śāstra that the Yogācāra School's ancient interpretation of the Buddhist doctrines was handed down, and it is also important from the standpoint of *Vijñaptimātra* theory. Out of Paramārtha's translation of this Śāstra grew the thought of the Shê-lun School. with which were associated scholars like Hui-K'ai (518–568 A.D.) and Ching-sung (537–614 A.D.). The teachings of the Shê-lun School were then transmitted to northern China by T'an-ch'ien (542–607 A.D.). They began to be studied at Chang-an also. Afterwards. this school got merged with the Ti-lun School into the Hua-yen School and became extinct as a separate sect in the closing years of the Southern and Northern Kingdoms Dynasty. In the *Hai-k'ung-chih-ts'dang-ching*, a Taoist scripture written in the eighth century, the *ariyasiki* and *trisvabhāva* theories of Paramārtha's *Mahāyānaparisaṁgraha* have been quoted and recast in Taoist terms.[20] When one considers the way the theories. which originally came from Indian Mahāyāna philosophy, were introduced into China influencing even the Taoist scriptures, one is surprised at the rapid speed with which thought spread. Another notable fact which helped the formation of the Hua-yen School towards the end of the eighth century, despite the availability of Hsuan-tsang's new translation which was completed within the first half of the same century. It was not the latter translation but the one done by Paramārtha which became popular. Similarly, even though by the end of the eighth century Śikṣānanda's new translation of the *Ta-Ch'aeng-ch'i-hsin-lun* had been completed, Paramārtha's earlier translation of the same work was preferred by the Hua-yen School. As regards this latter work, it is difficult to ascertain whether it was produced in India or is a work written in China: in either case, its influence upon Chinese Buddhist thought is considerable. *Ch'i-hsin-lun's* central idea is the theory of *tathatā*, and it is well known how great a role it played in the formation of Hua-yen thought. It also prompted Fa-tsang to write the *Ch'i-hsin-lun-i-chi*. Chinese and Japanese students of *Ch'i-shin-lun* relied completely on this commentary of Fa-tsang for their attempts to understand the thought contained in the *Ch'i-hsin-lun*. Under the impact of this thought, the *Ta-ch'eng-chin-kuan-fa-mên* was composed in the Tien-tai School. the *Shih-ma-ho-yen-lun* in the Esoteric school, and in China was produced the *Yüan-chüeh-ching* sūtra. *Ch'i-hsin-lun* thought grew even stronger after the middle of the T'ang Dynasty, and has kept influencing Chinese philosophical development even since the Sung Dynasty. It possessed some facet which evoked a sympathetic response in the Chinese.

During the T'ang Dynasty the greatest of Chinese translators Hsüan-tsang produced remarkable works. However, before we discuss him, let us first take up those scholars of India who travelled to China and translated Indian Buddhist scriptures. Thus we turn to men such as Śubhākarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi, and Amoghavajra, who made the deepest impact upon T'ang Buddhism and brought about the formation of new religious schools.

The works of Subhākarasiṁha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra

The Esoteric School of India had already been introduced in the Eastern Tsin Dynasty (317–419 A.D.), but much of it was only incantation formulas and true Esoteric thought was not passed on. It was only due to Śubhākarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra that an advanced and faithful Esoteric School was transmitted in the time of the Hsüan School. Śubhākarasiṃha (637–735)[21] was the sovereign of Wu-t'u, i.e., Orissa, in India. Renouncing his throne he left the world and under the tutorship of Dharmagupta studied Esoterism at Nālandā. In 716 A.D. passing through Kashmir, he came to Ch'ang-an. In 715 he published a translation of *Ta-jih-ching* which he had done in co-operation with I-hsing and others. Vajrabodhi (671–741 A.D.)[22] was a native of southern India. At the age of 10 he left the world and entered Nālāndā and from the age of 15 he studied Hetu-vidyā from Dharmakīrti in western India in addition to the doctrines of Mādhyamika and Vijñaptimātra. From the age of 31 he studied in southern India Esoterism for a period of seven years with Nāgājna. Subsequently, he left southern India and, crossing the South Sea, arrived at Lo-yang in 720 A.D. Amoghavajra (705–774 A.D.)[23] was a native of northern India, and he landed at Kang-tung together with Vajrabodhi and with him entered Lo-yang. After the latter's death, he crossed the South Sea again and went to Ceylon where he studied Esoterism. He returned to Ch'ang-an in 746. He adopted the teachings of the Hsüan, Su and Tai Schools, and made Esoterism flourish with the solid support of the Imperial court and nobility.

Famous among his translations of the scriptures is the *Chin-kang-ting-ching*. He is said to have translated 110 works in 143 volumes, thus meriting for himself a place alongside Kumārajīva, Paramārtha, and Hsüan-tsang.

This Esoterism was introduced to Japan's Kunkai through the mediation of a disciple of Amoghavajra named Hui-kuo (746–805 A.D.), and eventually it flowered there as the Shin-gon Sect. The almost direct line expansion of the Esoteric School within the space of a short time, from its birthplace in India to China and then on to Japan, is an unparalleled phenomenon. The Esoterism brought into central China seeped gradually into the hearts of the ordinary masses, and fusing with Taoist beliefs settled itself firmly in Chinese society. In addition, it linked itself with Shamanism under the Liao and Chin Dynasties, and from the northern districts of China all the way to Korea, one found Esoteric belief at its highest peak.

After the introduction of Esoterism in the middle of the T'ang Dynasty, perhaps no Indian monk came over to China, and it seems that the work of translating the scriptures also did not make much progress thereafter. Of course, even during the Sung Dynasty translator monks such as Dānapāla came to China at least temporarily and executed translations, but none of them eventually brought about the formation of new sects or schools based on their translations.

Up to this point we have been discussing the history of the Indian monks or Central Asian monks who came to China and translated there the scriptures of Indian Buddhism, together with an account of each of the schools and sects in Chinese Buddhism that developed from those scriptures. However, Chinese Buddhists did not just one-sidedly accept Indian culture in a passive manner. Quite the contrary, there were a few who, notwithstanding their being Chinese monks, acted with aggressive initiative and passed through Central Asia to travel into India, whence, despite all kinds of hardships and long intervals of time, they brought back with them to China copies of the scriptures.

What possible explanations are there for the enthusiasm of the Chinese monks to venture to India? For one thing, they certainly felt a strong longing to see the land of birth of the founder of Buddhism, Gautama Buddha. Again, they must have desired to see the true Buddhism of India first hand, with their own eyes, and to come into contact with real Buddhism. To go to the Buddhist Holy Land of India was one manifestation of their desire to seek the way.

Visits of Chinese Students to India

Under the Kingdoms Dynasty, the first man to try to go to India was Chu-chüeh-hsing.[24] He devoted himself to a study of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, but, noticing the incompleteness of that particular copy, he went to Khotan in 260 A.D. and there he was able to acquire a complete copy. He had some disciples to take it back with them to China, and he breathed his last in Khotan, and was thus prevented by death from reaching India.

Besides him, K'ang Fa-lang[25] journeyed to Liu-sha, Chu Fa-ch'eng to Tun-huang, and Yü-fa-lan[26] to Chiao-chou (North Vietnam), but there was no one who went to India. Probably, the first to set foot upon Indian soil was Hui-jui (355–439 A.D.)[27], who went to southern India. After his return to China, he is said to have lived in Lu-shan. The most famous of travellers to India were Fa-hsien (339–420 A.D.),[28] Chih-yen (358–437 A.D.?),[29] and Pao-yün (375–449 A.D.).[30] Fa-hsien, left Ch'ang-an in 399 with four of his disciples. It took them six years before they reached central India where they stayed for three years. Then they spent two years of study in Ceylon wherefrom they crossed the South Sea and landed in Ch'ing-chou around 412. Entering Chien-K'ang, they translated the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (six volumes) together with Buddhabhadra. Chih-yen met Fa-hsien in the Wu-i Kingdom. He studied the *Śamatha-vipaśyanā* in Gandhāra, and then came to Ch'ang-an with the permission of Buddhabhadra, who was a native of central India. In 427 he translated the *P'uyao-ching* with Pao-yün. Thereafter he again travelled by sea to India and died in Gandhāra at the age of 78. Pao-yün left China more or less at the time when the other two men left. He travelled around northern India and returned to Ch'ang-an.

Chih-meng (who died around 453 A.D.) also left China in 404 A.D. and entered Kapilavastu from Kashmir, from where he returned to China after acquiring, like Fa-haien, the *Parinirvāṇa-sūtra*.

Many of the men who journeyed to India seem to have taken a westerly route and to have passed over the deserts of Central Asia, trekked along the Silk Road, and further into Kashmir. The return journey was made by crossing the South Sea by ship and landing in southern China.

The Chinese Traveller Hsuan t'sang

The most famous of all Chinese travellers to India in the annals of the transmission of scriptures to China was Hsüan t'sang (600–664 A.D.).[31] He renounced the world while yet a child, and first of all studied the *Parinirvāṇa-Sutra* and the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha-śāstra*. But he began to entertain doubts, and seeking out the complete works of the *Yogacārabhūmi-śāstra* of Maitreya-nātha (ca. 250–350 A.D.); he made up his mind to resolve his doubts and set out from Ch'ang-an bound for India in 628 A.D. Enduring adversities and trials, he reached Nālandā in India and become a student of Śīlabhadra. From him he learned the Vijñaptimātra theory. He studied with special eagerness the Vijñaptimātra theory of Dharmapāla. Afterwards he travelled almost throughout India and managed to acquire 657 Sanskrit works. In 645 A.D. he returned to Ch'ang-an, after a long trip of about seventeen years.

Among the scriptures which he translated, the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* and the *Yogācārabhūmi*, *Abhidharmakośa*, and *Mahāyānasaṃgraha-Śāstra* are the most noted: of especial importance is the fact that he translated Dharamapāla's *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra*, the basis of the theoretical explanation of this last-mentioned work, was founded the Dharmalakṣaṇa School, which later spread into Japan and was counted among the Six Sects of Nara. It was Chi (632–682 A.D.)[32] who played a significant role in the establishment of the Dharmalakṣaṇa School. The T'ang T'ai-tsung held Hsüan-tsang in respect, and rendered much support in translating the scriptures. Supported by the T'ang Imperial court, the school was possessed of mighty energy for a time, but once the Tsêtien-wa-huo Dynasty began, it was superseded by the Avataṃsaka School of Fa-ts'ang. Apparently felt to be too subtle, the Dharmalakṣaṇa School ended up as philosophical Buddhism and was unable to enter into the masses.

Korean Scholars visited India and China

Among the scholars belonging to the Dharmalakṣana school, there were many whose place of origin was Korea; for example, Yüan-ts'e (613–696 A.D.)[33] was a native of Hsin-lo (he has left to prosterity the superlative work called the *Chieh-shên-mi-ching-sun*). Another man from Hsin-lo, Yüan-hsiao (617–686 A.D.),[34] also learned the Vijñaptimātra theory, studied the Avataṃsaka philosophy, and left behind many literary productions. Under the T'ang Dynasty the exchange between Korea and China reached its zenith and many Korean monks came to China for study.

I-chang (635–713 A.D.)[35] went to India a little later than Hsüan-tsang. At first he studied the Vinaya and the Vijñaptimātra theory, but in 671 A.D. he set out for India and in 673 reached the mouth of the Ganges; he remained for about ten years at Nālandā, after which he wandered around all parts of India, obtained many Sanskrit books, and eventually reached Sumatra. In 695 he returned to Korea with 400 Sanskrit books in his possession. Altogether his trip took about twenty-five years. His *Nan-hai-chi-kuei nei-fa-chuan* and *Ta-t'ang sih-yu Ch'iu-fa kao-seng-chuar* both written in Sumatra, are along with Hsüan-tsang's *Ta-t'ang hsi-yüchi* valuable materials for knowing about the manners, customs, and life in Buddhist monasteries in Central Asia, India, and the south Seas; they are also important as sources for research in Indian history.

Indian Ācārya Dharma Founded Zen Buddhism

We have till now explained the cultural exchange between India and China on the basis of our study of the works and life of translator monks. The picture would, however, remain incomplete unless we also see the part played by an Indian Buddhist Dharma in the field of Chinese culture especially Chinese Buddhism. He is said to have been a native of P'o-ssu and, according to the account given by Tao-hsüan in his *Hsukao-seng-chuan*, he went by way of the South Sea and landed in southern China, passed through Liang and arrived at the capital city of Pei-wei, Lo-yang. Sometime later he entered the Shao-lin Temple in Sung-shan, which he did not leave for the rest of his life. The Zen Buddhism which he transmitted was received by the Chinese and later, as the Zen Sect, it was to become the chief representative of Chinese Buddhism. Exactly what it was that he taught is not known, but tradition has it that he taught the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*.

His image changed with each changing age. Around the middle of the T'ang Dynasty, various legends accrued to his reputation, and he began being depicted as the ideal image of the Chinese Zen monk. During the Sung Dynasty, he was venerated by Tao adherents as well and came to be worshipped by the Chinese in general. He was also the subject of many paintings during this period.

The Zen School, which could claim him as its founder, was transmitted to Japan also, and is even today one of the very active Buddhist sects in Japan.

One can say that Dharma is the only man who, though not a translator monk, nevertheless had such a great influence upon Chinese Buddhism and came to be the founder of a sect that was in the mainstream of Chinese Buddhism. The members of the Zen School founded by Dharma believe that in their sect alone is the teaching of India's Gautama Buddha being faithfully handed down. The Zen teaching does not rely upon any scriptures, it denies absolutely all authority, it is a religion that demands that one just look at the Buddhatva that is one's own true nature. Further, the teaching that our whole lives are ascetical exercises make of it an extremely practical-oriented teaching.

The above has been an account of the cultural exchange between India and China seen from the standpoint of the spread of Buddhism. Since Indian culture and Buddhist teaching passing by way of China continued to spread to Korea and Japan also. I would like to touch upon this aspect too.

Indian Culture Spread into Korea and Japan

The first Indian monk to enter Korea was Malānanda.[37] He came from Eastern Tsin in 384 A.D. and spread Buddhism in Pai-chi. This marked the beginning of Pai-chi Buddhism and, in contrast to the Buddhism promulgated by Shun-tao[38] in 372 A.D. in Kao-li, by E-tao[39] in 374 A.D. in Hsin-lo, and by others, this was spread by one who was an *Indian* monk. By what route Malānanda came from India to China is completely unknown, but the fact that an Indian monk crossed all the way over to Korea is of great significance when one considers the eastern advance of Indian culture. Other Indians who came to Japan very early were the Brāhmaṇa priest Bodhisena[40] and the Campā monk, Fo-chê.[41] Even before them Indians who were Fa-tao (Dharmamārga or Dharmapatha?) are said to have come to Japan by way of China and Pai-chi, but it is uncertain whether this is a historical fact? Japan's ancient culture came to flower in the Nara Period, and its symbol must be said to be the Mahāvairocana Buddha at Nara. At the time of the ceremony celebrating the completion of the Mahāvairocana Buddha (made by orders of Emperor Shomu), it was Bodhisena who acted as the officiating minister. Born in a Brāhmaṇa family, he reached T'ang by way of the South Sea, and from there, in response to an invitation from Emperor Shomu, he set sail in 780 A.D with Fo-chê and a certain Tao-hsüan, who was a member of a branch of Northern sect Zen Buddhism, and they arrived in Japan in 736 A.D. Because he understood well the *Buddha-avataṃsaka-mahāvaipulya-sūtra*, he was called upon to officiate at the dedication ceremony marking the completion of the Great Buddha, which was modelled upon the originator of the Hua-yen Sūtra, the Mahāvairocana Buddha. He also taught Amitābha-buddha faith and Kuan-yin faith. Fo-che, as mentioned, came to Japan with Bodhisena. Though Campā corresponds in general, to present-day Vietnam, the Campā kingdom extended even beyond Indo-China. It is possible that he was a native of ancient Campā that lay in India in the modern Bhagalpur region on the southern bank of the Ganges. He is thought to have met Bodhisena while crossing the South Sea and to have come with him to T'ang .and from there to Japan. He is esteemed for transmitting Campā music. Both these Indian monks lived in the Dai-an-ji,in Nara, where they probably explained the *Hua-yen* Sūtra and taught Sanskrit. In my opinion, these two Indians, who in the Nara Period travelled so far as to reach Japan, contributed a great deal by way of imparting to Japanese culture the richness of Indian culture.

Conclusion

The influence of Indian culture upon Japan was great. There is no need to treat in detail the role of Buddhism. In addition to this, one could bring up such things as studies of the similarity between Japanese stories and Indian stories, the Indian gods that are made the objects of worship in Japanese folk beliefs, and Indian words used in Japan.

We have followed the traces of cultural exchange between India, China and Japan, focussing our attention on the spread of Buddhism. Despite enormous obstacles, the great distance and natural barriers between India and east Asian countries, cultural exchange on such a large scale is truly a fact in world history that merits admiration. By means of this fact, we can understand how an East Asian world, with its centre at T'ang, came into being and through the mediacy of Buddhist culture went on to become linked into a unity.

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Buddhist Contact of China

H. SARKAR

Introduction

IT IS NO distortion of facts to say that history has never cared to preserve in full the contributions of scores of Indians who spread Buddhism to China. It has preserved the names of several Chinese travellers with great fanfare but the names of Indians recovered from below the débris of time have yet to occupy their proper places in the pages of our history. Fa-hien, I-tsing, Hiuen-Tsang are known to us, .but we have to dig deep into the pages of voluminous works to trace the names of those Indians who helped so much in changing the face of a vast country like China. The contributions of men like Kāśyapa Mātaṅga, Dharmaratna, Kumārajīva, Guṇavarman, Guṇabhadra, Bodhidharma, Paramārtha and a host of others, if properly assessed, can easily rival the achievements of the best of our monarchs.

The most unfortunate part of the history of Buddhist missionaries in China is the general absence of information about them in Indian sources. We know about them mainly from Chinese accounts, and from texts that have come down to us. These books are mostly Chinese translations of some Buddhist texts by Indian authors.

A major difficulty that the early preachers faced in the propagation of Buddhism in China was the lack of a common medium of communication. This was understood from the very beginning; hence, all emphasis was laid on the translation of Buddhist texts, an effort which persisted for several centuries. The main purpose of the visits of several Chinese travellers was to collect manuscripts from different parts of India for translation, with a view to understanding the true purport of the teachings of Buddha and subsequent philosophic and mystic developments. They also studied in different institutions and monasteries to acquire proficiency in a particular branch of knowledge. On the other hand, their Indian counterparts went to spread Buddha's teachings, many of them at the invitation of the Chinese monks and emperors. It was, then, more or less, a one-way traffic. But it is true only in the sphere of cultural activities, for India's trade with China was certainly not a one-sided affair.

Difficulties Faced by Missionaries

Without any doubt, our missionaries had to tread the paths already traversed by hundreds of caravans. There had been several trade-routes connecting the two countries, of which those passing through Central Asia were generally used by traders and travellers. We have records about the existence of three well-known routes leading to the Tarim basin corresponding roughly to the modern province of Sinkiang. A much direct and shorter route to China lay from Kashmir along Gilgit and Yasin valleys: it was, however, the most difficult of all the routes from the north-west part of India. The fact that Kashmiri scholars played a leading role in the propagation of Buddhism in China may tend to show that the route specially during the fourth century A.D. was very much in use. Also, there were routes through Burma, and several Indian scholars travelled along them. According to I-tsing (671–695 A.D.) twenty priests from India took these overland routes, some time in the second century A.D. Many Indian and Chinese scholars also took sea-routes across the Indian ocean and the Chinese sea. For instance, Fa-hien (383–401 A.D.) returned to China in a merchant's ship although he came by a land-route through Kashmir, then an important centre of Buddhism.

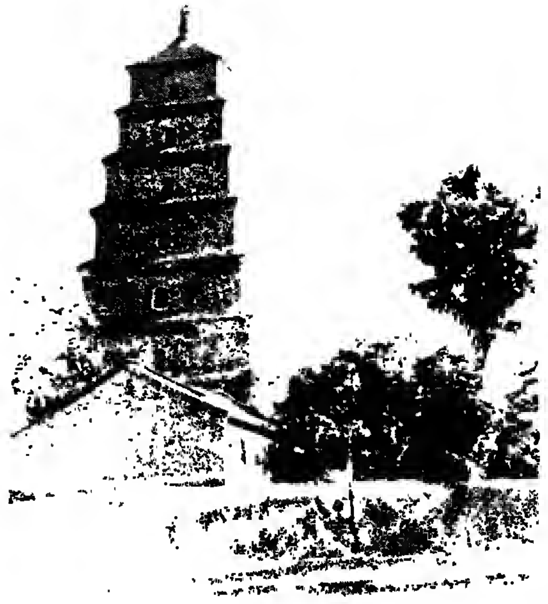


FIG. 1. *The Seven-storied pagoda Lofty Pagodas were rather an architectural speciality of Buddhism.*

In all likelihood, the first wave of Buddhism reached China *en route* Central Asia. It is evident from the inscriptions of Aśoka that the eyes of the Imperial missionary of Magadha were turned more towards the Central Asian region than to the East. Buddhism made rapid progress there because the region peopled by divergent races had no developed religion to meet the new challenge from India. But the Confucian faith and China's long cultural tradition proved a good match for Buddhist creed and ideology. In the eyes of China, Central Asia was just a land of the barbarians, and she would naturally refuse to adopt anything from her inferior neighbour. Yet, it was the Buddhist monk from Central Asia who first paved the ground for Buddhism to enter into China. It is true that by inviting Central Asian monks, China indirectly paid a tribute to Buddhism and Indian culture.

Cultural Victory over China

Chinese tradition has preserved many accounts of her Buddhist contact in pre-Christian times, but their historicity is often doubted. According to one account, Buddhist missionaries visited the court of T'sin emperor Shê Huang in 217 B.C. It is also said that a Chinese general, who led an expedition to Central Asia, introduced in the year 121 B.C. the first golden image of Buddha in his country. The official Chinese account, however, places the event of Buddhist contact in 65 A.D., although we have indubitable proof to show that the Yueh-chi rulers in the Oxus valley presented some Buddhist texts to the Chinese emperor in 2 B.C. A few more instances of sporadic contacts between the two countries may be cited here. Thus, it is well-known that India or *Shen-tu* is mentioned in the official annals dating back to 138 B.C. Further, one can easily detect the influence of Buddhist cosmology in the writings of a Taoist philosopher Liu-ngan who died in 122 B.C. All this may indicate that China came in contact with Buddhist ideas and philosophy much before the first official recognition of the religion in 65 A.D.

Two Indian missionaries who first visited China in 65 A.D. were Kāśyapa Mātaṅga and

Dharmarakṣa. It is stated that the Emperor Ming of the Han dynasty saw a golden image in his dream: the image was interpreted as that of Buddha. The ambassador who, after this event, was sent to Central Asia to bring a few Buddhist monks to China, returned with the two Indian missionaries. Soon a monastery called "The White Horse Monastery" was built at Loyang, the capital of the Han rulers. It was named so because the Indian missionaries brought a huge load of sacred texts on the back of a white horse. Kāśyapa Mātaṅga and Dharmarakṣa spent the rest of their lives in China preaching Buddhism among peoples there; they also translated five Buddhist texts.

The Converts Proved More Enthusiastic Propagators

Among the missionaries who participated in the propagation of Buddhism in China from Central Asia, there were monks other than the Indians like the Sogdians, the Parthians, the Yueh-chis, the Kucheans, the Khotanese and so on. By the first-second centuries A.D., Central Asia was almost an international colony, and Buddhism served as a bond between divergent elements. Moreover, during the period a considerable part of India came under the sway of the Kushanas, a branch of the Yueh-chis. Their empire embraced a vast region from the Oxus valley to Varanasi, including the regions like Kashgar and Khotan. Several Indian colonies came up during the period in different parts of Central Asia; also, there were monasteries belonging to various sects. This was the period when patronage of the Kushana monarchs created a favourable condition for Buddhism to take rapid strides in different directions. The impact created a breach in China's like of cultural isolation, several Buddhist missionaries, made their way into the country to break the lull that had descended down over the monastic establishment at Loyang after the death of Kāśyapa Mātaṅga. But this time non-Indian monks spearheaded the movement.

Of the non-Indian missionaries, the contribution of Ngan She-Kao, a Parthian monk, ranks foremost. He revived, in about 144 A.D., the tradition of the White Horse Monastery at Loyang. Nearly two hundred texts, of which about fifty-five have come down to us, were translated by him. He was assisted in this project by monks belonging to various monasteries, including three Indians. In his time, Buddhism made a steady progress in China, for a Chinese scholar Mou-tseu, of the second century A.D., declared Buddhist ideals superior to those of Confucius.

The Nālandā of China

It is thus evident that the Loyang monastery played an important role in the propagation of Buddhism in China. It continued its activity despite the indifference of the Wei rulers who came into power after the fall of the Han Dynasty in 220 A.D. At the request of Chinese monks, many Indian scholars undertook the translation of various Buddhist texts. For instance, Dharmakāla translated for the first time, the *Prātimokṣa,* while Saṅghavarman and Dharmasatya were responsible for producing Chinese renderings respectively for the *Karmavācā* and the *Prātimokṣa* of the Dharmaguptaka school of Buddhism.

It has to be borne in mind that a movement over a vast region can hardly keep a uniform pace everywhere. That was why Buddhism in the north of China followed a different course from that in the south. Che K'ien, the first translator in the north, however, belonged originally to the Loyang school. But Buddhism came to the north much earlier by the Yunan road from the north-east part of India and the sea-route. Che K'ien, who is said to have translated one hundred and twenty-seven texts, received royal patronage from the Wu dynasty at Nanking.

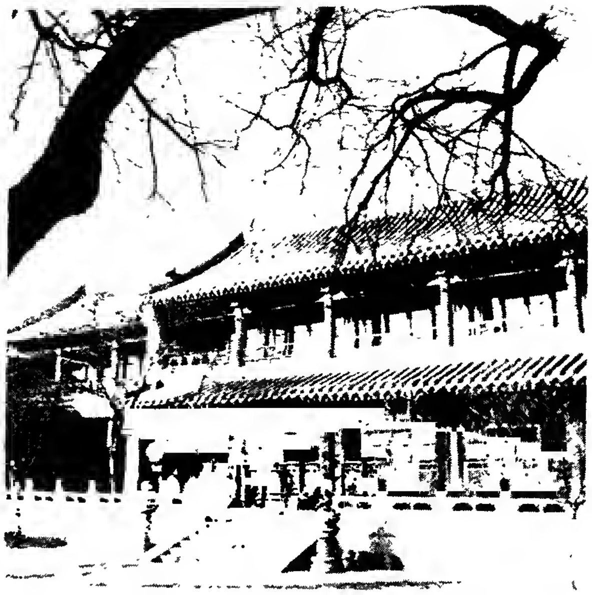


FIG 2. *The celebrated Chinese Buddhist Kuan Chi Temple, a rich repository of Buddhist texts and art treasures (Raghu Vira Collection).*

Consequently there was a considerable number of Buddhist activities in the Nanking region during the third century A.D. The first Buddhist temple there, to cite an instance, was established in the middle of the century by one K'ang Seng-Hui, born of Indian parentage. Several Chinese monks and nuns also visited India during the period; a Nagarjunakonda inscription of the third century clearly refers to this fact. Most likely, these monks and nuns took the sea-route to reach Nagarjunakonda, then an important centre of Buddhism in Andhra. Further, a place called Huang-Che mentioned in some passages of a Chinese text of the first century A.D. is generally identified with Kanchi. This Indian state seems to have had contacts with China since the middle of the second Century B.C. It is said that the Chinese emperors sent presents to the King of Huang-Che in A.D. 1–6, and requested him to send an embassy to his court. As a further proof of India's early maritime contact with China we may cite the evidence of the discovery of a Chinese coin of 138 B.C. at Mysore. All this clearly shows that Buddhism in north China drew inspiration not only from the Loyang school but directly from India also through overland as well as sea-routes, during the early centuries of the Christian era.

Tsin Rulers Built Innumerable Monasteries

The last quarter of the third century A.D. opened up a new chapter in the history of Buddhism in China. With the advent of the Tsin dynasty (280–317 A.D.) China once again was brought under one sceptre; moreover, the kings were great patrons of Buddhism. About two hundred monasteries for about four thousand monks were built in Nanking and Ch'ang-ngan during the rule of the first two kings of the dynasty. Further, more than two hundred works were translated by one Dharmarakṣa, of an Indo-Scythian family, at Ch'ang-ngan from 284 to 313 A.D. Chinese sources consider him as one of the best translators of Buddhist texts. Dharmarakṣa was educated in Kashmir and had command over both Sanskrit and Chinese. It was Dharmarakṣa and his Chinese disciples who succeeded in establishing Buddhism on a firm ground by the beginning of the fourth century. During the rule of the Tsin dynasty no less than 17,068 Buddhist monasteries were set up all over China. The figure bespeaks the rising popularity of the religion; the determined efforts of several individual missionaries thus started yielding fruits. That was the period when Kashmir became a great centre of Buddhist learning, and many Kashmiri scholars played a leading role in the propagation of Buddhism in China.

Buddhism received great impetus from the fourth century onwards and rulers of successive dynasties extended their active support. Many kings of the Wei dynasty (386–534 A.D.), who ruled over the northern part, were themselves Buddhists, and they were responsible for constructing innumerable monasteries and temples. In this period, some painters and architects also went to China to supplement the efforts of the Indian missionaries. For instance, three

Indian painters—Śākyabuddha, Buddhakīrti and Kumārabodhi—went to China during the rule of the Wei dynasty. It may be mentioned here that India contributed significantly even in the spheres of music, medicine, etc. Undoubtedly, all these influences entered China primarily in the trail of proselytizing activity. We have evidence to show that a certain type of temples in China bore the name "Indian style". Influences of Ajanta and Sarnath are also noticeable in the modelling of Buddha figures, while the cave temples there bear the imprint of the mature Indian tradition. Chinese annals also record the visit of an Indian musical party in 581 A.D. There were several other spheres where Indian influences crept slowly and steadily. All the while Buddhism must have been facing stiff opposition from the orthodox section of the Chinese people. Yet proselytizing efforts registered marked progress with the advance of time, thanks largely to the favourable circumstances created by royal patrons of the dynasties like the Sung (420–479 A.D.), the Tsi (479–502 A.D.) and the Lang (502–557 A.D.) in the sourthern China and the Wei, the northern Ts'i in the north. (See pl. 67).

The First Mahāyāna Interpreter Kumārajīva

However, much more important was the contribution of the individual missionaries who made a determined and sustained effort to introduce Buddhism on a large scale in China. The greatest personality of Chinese Buddhist world in the fourth century was Kumārajīva who cast a tremendous influence in consolidating the ground already gained by earlier efforts. His father Kumārāyaṇa went to Kuchi in Central Asia, abdicating his rights to the hereditary ministership of an Indian State. Kumārāyaṇa rose to the position of a royal preceptor to the king of Ḳuchi and married Jīvā, a princess of the royal family. The latter became a Buddhist nun soon after the birth of Kumārajīva. When he was nine years old, Kumārajīva was taken to Kashmir by his mother, where he studied literature and philosophy under a great Buddhist scholar Bandhudatta. He attained proficiency in several branches of knowledge. After completing his studies Kumārajīva, in the company of his mother, visited the famous institutions in Central Asia. By then, he had attained great renown as a Buddhist scholar. He returned to Kuchi but unfortunately, hostilities between Kuchi and China soon broke out. The victorious Chinese general took Kumārajīva to China in 383 A.D. He stayed for fifteen years with the ruler of Ku-tsang in Kan-su before proceeding to the capital in 401 A.D., at the emperor's invitation. The year marked the opening of a new chapter in the history of Buddhism in China. With his superb mastery over both Sanskrit and Chinese he set himself upon the task of translating Sanskrit texts. More than one hundred texts were translated by him and his scholarship attracted a large number of disciples from distant parts of the country. What is more, Kumārajīva was the first to interpret the Mahāyāna philosophy in China.

A period of much closer contact between the two countries had already begun, for several Indian missionaries went to China from different parts of India. At the same time, several Chinese scholars came to India to study Buddhism in different institutions. Fa-hien and his party travelled over a wide part of India for more than ten years (*c*. 400–411), and after his return to China, he alongwith Buddhabhadra, translated a number of texts. Buddhabhadra hailed from Jelalabad, and also met Fa-hien in Kashmir. He went to China via Burma and Tonkin, and collaborated with Kumārajīva. Of the Indian scholars who visited China from the fourth to the sixth centuries A.D., the majority belonged to Kashmir: a few of them were collaborators of Kumārajīva. Buddhayaśa, a Kashmiri scholar was associated with Kumārajīva, even before the latter's deportation to China. Before Kumārajīva's return to Kuchi, both of them studied sacred texts in Kashgar. Buddhayaśa was a man of strict principles and he never accepted any present from any king. When the king of Kashgar went to assist Kuchi in the latter's struggle with China, the young prince was left under the care of Buddhayaśa. He stayed in Kashgar for ten years more before joining Kumārajīva in China.

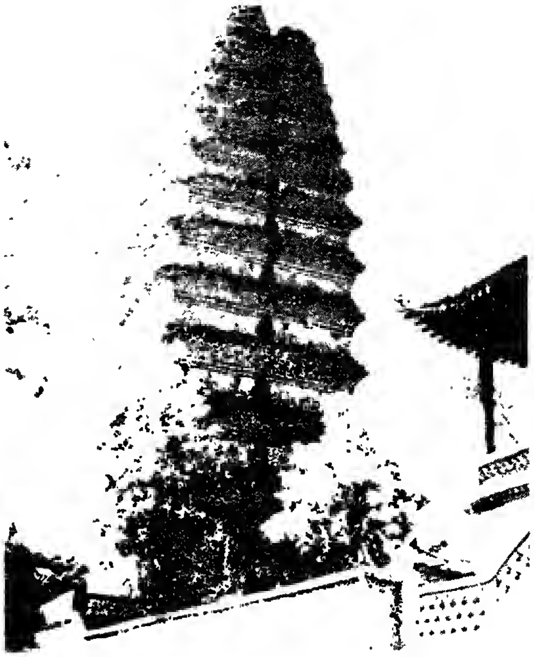


FIG. 3 *The fifteen-storied pagoda Hsiao-yen-t'a which was erected in 707-709 A.D. in the premises of the Ta-chien-fu ssŭ Monastery where the translations of Sanskrit texts were carried out under the supervision of I-tsing. It is also known as the Hsiao-yen-t'a 'Small Wild Goose Pagoda' in contradistinction to Ta-yen-t'a 'Great Wild Goose Pagoda' dedicated to Hsüan-chuang. Colloquially it is referred to as the 'I-tsing Stūpa'* (*Raghu Vira Collection*)

Guṇavarman in Java and China

Another great Kashmiri scholar who visited practically all Asian countries was Guṇavarman, born of a royal family. After the death of the king of Kashmir he was offered the royal throne which he refused. He took active part in the missionary activities in Ceylon and Java; in fact, the king of Java and his mother were converted to Buddhism by Guṇavarman. When Java was attacked by a hostile army, the king sought his advice on the propriety of a Buddhist king getting involved in blood-shed. Guṇavarman's forthright reply was: "every robber must be punished." It inspired the king who fought a great battle and attained victory. Guṇavarman's fame spread far and wide. The Chinese monks of Nanking made an appeal to the emperor for inviting him to China. Guṇavarman accepted invitation and reached Nanking in 431 A.D. after visiting various places on the way in a vessel owned by the Indian merchant Nandin. He was received by the Chinese emperor himself who arranged his stay in the Jetavana Monastery in Nanking. This was his last reception, for Guṇavarman died within a year of his arrival there. So great was his diligence and erudition that within the brief period of his stay in China he translated not less than eleven Sanskrit texts into Chinese.

There were several Kashmirian scholars like Saṅghabhūti, Gautama Saṅghadeva, Puṇyatrāta, Vimalākṣa and others who visited China between the years 380 and 450 A.D. Other parts of India, including the south, also sent Buddhist missionaries. Two south Indian monks who went to China in the sixth century A.D. founded two schools of Buddhism. One of them was Bodhidharma, virtually a mythical figure of Buddhist China. He was the third son of an Indian king, perhaps the Pallava king of Kanchi. So great was his fame that he was received by Emperor Wu on his arrival to China. And it was Bodhidharma who introduced the meditative form of Mahāyāna Buddhism to China. The other south Indian who reached the Chinese capital in 582 A.D. was Vinītaruci who founded the Dhyāna school in Tonkin.

The Golden Age of Chinese Buddhism

With the unification of China under the T'ang dynasty (618-907 A.D.) Buddhism entered its golden age. It was a period of close commercial and maritime activities also between the two countries. That the east coast countries took a leading role in the maritime activities is evident from the discovery of coins of the T'ang dynasty in south India. It was again the period when the fame of the Nalanda University reached every corner of the Buddhist world. Of the leading members who helped in establishing a closer contact between the two countries, the name of Hiuen-Tsang, the first Chinese traveller during the T'ang period, comes to our mind at once. He was treated as a royal guest by King Harṣavardhana, and on his return to China after a long period of fourteen years (630–44 A.D.) of sojourn, he likewise received a royal ovation; the emperor himself with his retinue came to receive the great traveller of the country. On his return, he founded a new school of Buddhist philosophy and translated about seventy-four texts. He rightly advised the emperor to establish political relations with the Indian kings because a new trend in the form of political relations between the neighbouring countries was then in the offing.(See Pl. 68).

Popularity of Buddhism alarmed the Chinese masses

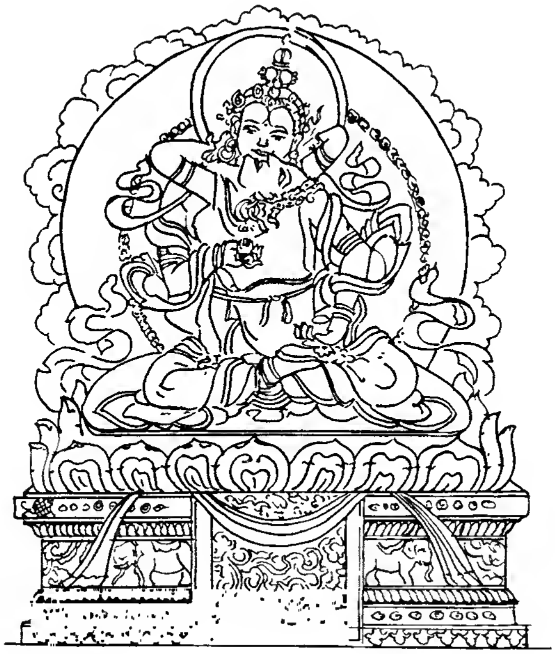
The intimate political connection between the two countries provided opportunity for Buddhism to assume great proportions which alarmed the general public of China very much. A memorandum was submitted to the emperor in 624 A.D. decrying the Buddhist practices. It was, however, too late for the T'ang emperors to reverse the process, for Buddhism then had become a political force. All the states encircling China had adopted Buddhism and the ruling power could hardly take the risk of any kind before stabilizing its position. As a result, the rulers of the T'ang dynasty after a brief period of hesitation pursued a pro-Buddhist policy. It continued till about the eighth century.

Distinguished Buddhist Scholars

Following the foot-steps of Hiuen-Tsang several bands of Chinese pilgrims poured into India during the seventh and eighth centuries; biographies of sixty monks including that of I-tsing have been preserved in Chinese texts. Several Indians also went to China at royal invitations. For instance, Prabhākaramitra, a famous scholar from Nālandā, visited China from the country of the western Turks at the request of the Chinese emperor. Bodhiruci, who translated fifty-three volumes, reached China in 693 A.D. at the request of a Chinese envoy. Vajrabodhi, son of King Īśānavarman, and a teacher of the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman II, sailed to Ceylon from the Pallava Country, and from there to China in 720 A.D. He introduced and popularized Tantrayāna in China. After the death of Vajrabodhi in 732 A.D. his disciple Amoghavarṣa continued his work in China.

The Sung dynasty (960–1279 A.D.), the successors of the T'angs, continued the same old policy which was temporarily eclipsed owing to the troubles facing the latter years of the T'ang rulers. Further, the Arab occupation of Central Asia in the ninth century interrupted the free intercourse between the two countries. With the coming of the Sung dynasty, the situation improved; in fact according to Chinese chroniclers, never before did so many Indians throng the Imperial court. Similarly, the Chinese monks came to India in large numbers. The reason for this sudden rise in the number of travelling monks is not known, nor can we account for the sudden break in our relation with Buddhist China in the middle of the eleventh century. On the other hand, maritime contact with south India continued throughout the rule of the Sung dynasty, but it was reduced more and more into a one-sided affair. Thus, despite the fact that the Cholas of south India established intimate contact with the Imperial court, the Sung annals do not include India among the countries whose merchants traded in 971 A.D. Without doubt, Chinese ships had been touching the coastal ports regularly till about the thirteenth century, although the emergence of new sea-powers like the Arabs and the Europeans threatened to disrupt the age-old commercial ties. It is, therefore, certain that the commercial contact between the two countries was on the decline and also there are reasons to believe that Muslim conquest of India and disturbances in Central Asia affected likewise the trade-relations along the overland routes. Perhaps the declining trade-contacts affected in some way or other the cultural relations between India and China.

Unlike the gradual decline in trade-activities, the break with Buddhist China took place rather suddenly. The last group of Chinese came in 1033 A.D.; one of them had left an inscription at Bodh-gaya recording the construction of a *stūpa* in honour of Emperor Tai-tsong of the great Sung dynasty. The last of the Indian monks, so far as recorded history is concerned, performed the journey in 1036 A.D. Then came the final break in the ties between India and China built up so assiduously by so many Buddhist missionaries for over a period of ten centuries or more.



Social Aspects of the Spread of Buddhism in China

BUDDHA PRAKASH

Introduction

THE INTRODUCTION OF Buddhism in China is shrouded in the mist of legends. One account says that Confucius knew about the Buddha and another refers to the visit of a foreign magician in 317 B.C. who created a stūpa three feet high on his finger tips. According to a different tradition Aśoka built some of his stūpas in China and his missionary Shih Li-fang acquainted the Chinese with Buddhist texts during the reign of Shih Huang-ti (221–208 B.C.). Another type of legend shows that in 120 B.C., during the reign of Emperor Wu (140–87 B.C.), while digging the K'un-ming lake, a strange black object appeared which people interpreted as the remnant of the conflagration at the end of the aeon, an idea suggested by Buddhist preaching. Some writers attributed the introduction of Buddhism in China to the famous envoy and explorer Chang K'ien who learnt about it in Central Asia and others connected it with the dream of Emperor Ming-ti (58–75 A.D.) of a golden deity whom the minister Fu Yi explained as the Buddha. The *Wei Lüeh* connects this event with the oral transmission of a Buddhist sūtra by the Yue-Chih envoy Yi Ts'un to the officer Ching-Lu in 2 B.C. under the Emperor Han Ai-ti. These traditions show that Buddhism spread in China about the dawn of the Christian era in the Han period as a result of contacts with Central Asia where it prevailed among the Sogdians, Parthians and Yue-chih. The question arises what inclined the Chinese people to adopt it in preference to their own well-established cults and creeds. To answer it we have to study the state of society in that period.

Chinese Society during Han Period

In the Han period power lay in the hands of the landlord class centring on great families. A great family was a group depending on a patriarchal nucleus. There were two categories of these families, those connected with the kings, queens and powerful eunuchs and those consisting of high officers and local magnates who rose through their own efforts. According to an estimate, under the Eastern Han, there were 61 families connected with kings, 344 families associated with disinherited princes, 89 families deriving from the households of queens and 79 families tracing their descent from eunuchs. These families owned large estates, worked them through serfs and dependants and ran the industries, connected with them, through slaves. They maintained sizable armies, lived lavishly and luxuriously and were the centres of power, prestige and culture, but they also tyrannized over the peasants, squeezed them out of their land and reduced them to misery and indigence. Faced with their competition, the landholding

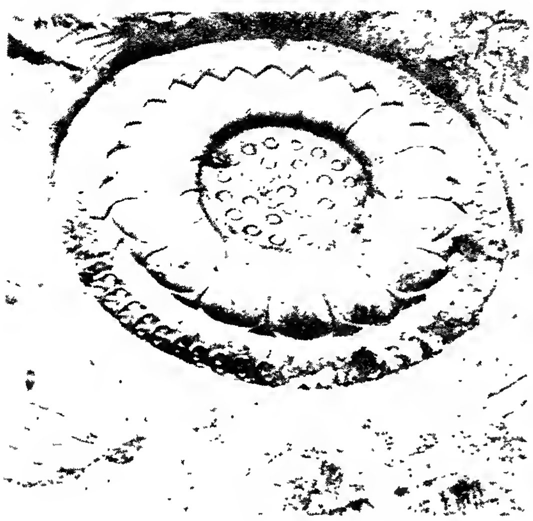


FIG. 1 *The lotus in the ceiling of the I-chueh Tung, the thirteenth cave at Lung-men. It is popularly known as the Lien-hua Tung or Lotus Flower Cave because of its graceful lotus ceiling. It is one of the most important caves belonging to Northern Wei. (Raghu Vira Collection)*

peasants found it difficult to make both ends meet. Their lot can be guessed from the budget of Li K'uei showing that a farming family of five persons, cultivating 10 mou ($16\frac{2}{3}$ acres) of land and producing 150 tan (1 tan = 100 catties) of corn, was short of 450 cash per year after paying the taxes and providing its bare necessaries. Hence, at the time of Emperor Huan (147–168 A.D.), the political theorist Ts'ui Shih wrote that "alive, they face a life-time of hard labour, dead, they worry for lack of a decent burial. When the year is poor, they drift about and starve in ditches, they marry off their wives and sell their sons." Another writer Ts'ui Yin, in his *On Gamblers*, written during the reign of Emperor Ho (89–106 A.D.), described the miserable condition of the peasants and the scornful attitude of the higher classes towards them as follows :—

"The gambler came upon a farmer clearing away weeds. He had a straw hat on his head and a hoe in his hand. His face was black, his skin was as rough as mulberry bark, and his feet resembled bear's paws. He crouched in the fields, his sweat mixing with the mud. The gambler said to him, 'you cultivate the fields in oppressive summer heat, your back is encrusted with salt, your legs look like burnt stumps, your skin is like leather that cannot be pierced by an awl, you hobble along on mis-shapen feet and painful legs. Shall I call you a plant or a tree? Yet you can move your body and limbs. Shall I call you a bird or a beast? Yet you possess a human face. What a fate to be born with such base qualities?"

Economic Insecurity of the Masses

Driven to desperation, the peasants left their fields, dabbled in crime, committed robbery, joined the armies of landlords or swelled the ranks of rebels forming the movements of the Red Eyebrows or Yellow Turbans. But the repression of the state was no less severe and to face it was frightfully difficult—one million people having been killed in the operations against the Yellow Turbans. Hence most of the masses gave way to despondency and defeatism and clamoured for doles and reliefs at the capital. At the time of Emperor An (107–126 A.D.) the number of people living on relief in Loyang was hundred times that of those earning their own bread. About the middle of the century, in 153 A.D., during the reign of Emperor Huan, there were several hundred thousands of displaced families subsisting on doles. When Emperor Ho was on the throne, people of nearly all parts of the country needed relief, but, since its administration was very defective, the suffering of the masses knew no bounds.

Confucianism and Taoism failed to satisfy Masses

These disgruntled people, distracted masses and displaced persons could not seek any solace from Confucian principles, since the literati expounding them had joined hands with the great families and justified their oppressive acts. They turned to Taoism, but it proved to be a creed of negativist escapism holding out little promise of a positive redemption. Hence they became inclined towards Buddhism, which, as we shall presently see, adapted itself to their requirements in a remarkable manner.

Reasons for the Popularity of Buddhism

That Buddhism attracted either the foreigners or the lower classes in large numbers in China is manifest from the fact that many Buddhist monks lived in extreme poverty before their ordination. Hui Yuan could not even purchase a lamp for his studies. Tao Heng made a living by painting and embroidery. Seng Chao lived by copying at the shop of a bookseller. Hui Jui was a slave freed by some merchant. T'an Yung worked in the army of Fu Chien and played truant in course of a massacre at P'ei Shui in 383. Wei Shih-tu, T'an Chieh, Seng Tu and Chu Fa-k'uang were extremely poor before joining the order. Most of the monks were orphans. On the death or disappearance of their parents they sought shelter in Buddhist monasteries. The initial names or residential data of 80% of the monks are unknown, which would not have been the case had they belonged to high families. Of the 80 monks, whose life is given in the *Kao-seng Chuan*, only 12 are said to have come from good families. In fact in the Caste-ridden society of that time, the Buddhists were the only community who knew no distinction of high and low and treated all on a footing of equality. In contemporary literature the Buddhist order is compared to a vast sea in which all the five rivers merge. Thus Buddhism inaugurated a new classless and casteless social organization in China. This explains its phenomenal progress from Ch'ang-an and Loyang in the north to Shantung, Anhui and Wuchang in the south in the third century, an index to which is the rise of the annual average of translations of Buddhist texts from 2.5 (up to 220 A.D.) to 9.4 between (265 and 317 A.D.). By 300 A.D. there were 180 monasteries in the capital cities of the North housing 3700 monks of different schools.

Taoism Adapted by Buddhism

As said above, Buddhism spread in China on the crest of a social upheaval having a Taoist orientation. Taoism stressed the ideal of *tzu-jan* or natural life which put a premium on escape from the world and disregard for its conventions and plunge into the enjoyment of sensual pleasures, on the one hand, and encouraged a negativist and nihilistic approach to all problems of life, on the other. This outlook was exemplified in men like Liu Ling, who drank hard and indulged in vice and lived naked saying that heaven and earth were his residence and the walls of house his clothes, or the premier Wang Yen who trotted out the catchphrase of emptiness and nothingness and made negative comments on each and every thing. This negative approach could not satisfy the craving of the people for a positive faith of hope and light and, thereby, proved the opportunity of Buddhism. But, to avail of it, the Buddhists had to adapt their concepts to Taoist terms, e.g., *dharma*, *bodhi*, *yoga* to *tao*, *arhat* to *Chen-jen*, *nirvāna* to *wu-wei*, *śīla* to *siao-sun*, on the one hand, and present their doctrines in positivist terms, on the other. Thus Chih Min-tu propounded the positive reality of matter (*bhūta*) and called *śūnya* (emptiness) a state of mind signifying the non-attachment of man to the objects of the world: Chih Tun added that *śūnyatā* stands for the causality of things and Yu Fa-k'ai and Tsung-ping identified it with *dharmakāya* or existence in pure form: Seng Chao dismissed the concept of *abhāva* (non-existence) and said that an object is both *yu* (is) and *wu* (is not) at the same time, from two respective viewpoints, and Tao Sheng considered *Buddha-tathatā* identical with the reality of the world. This trend of thought indicates the endeavour to synthesize Buddhist concepts with Taoist ideas and also to dissociate them from negativist trappings and escapist tendencies.

Doctrine of Karma Unified the rich and poor

A significant contribution of Buddhism was the doctrine of *karma*. It provided a corrective to the views of the Taoist teachers called 'Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove' who discredited all rites and laws, encouraged drinking and licence and escape from worldly affairs and emphasized the philosophy of void and non-action. It provided a salutary alternative to the eccentric attitude of Taoists like that of one of their master who rode about the capital in a small cart drawn by a deer with a servant carrying a large pot of wine and another a spade to dig his grave and bury him without rites in the event of death. It insisted upon righteous and meritorious action in a social context which alone could ensure prosperity here and beatitude in afterlife. Its emphasis on the control of the passions was paralleled by its stress on charity and compassion. Its ideal of the affluent Vimalakīrti, professing high moral principles and spending his wealth for the welfare of others, equated social service with the pursuit of salvation. Si Ch'ao in his *Feng-fa-yao* (Essentials of religion) highlighted the social and moral values of this faith; Yuan Hung identified it with the pursuit of good and practice of virtue and Sun Ch'o declared it to be an aid to Confucianism in the promotion of public welfare. Thus Buddhism became the manifesto of an activist programme of social service Instead of deflecting the people from the path of social duty, as Taoism did, it encouraged the cultivation of social virtue in an ample measure.

The social orientation of Buddhism was manifest in China right from the very beginning. In the earliest authentic reference to Buddhism in China in the *Hou Han Shu* we read that in 65 A.D. the ruler of Ch'u, Liu Ying, was pardoned by Emperor Ming and given back the rolls of white and yellow silk, which he had offered as ransom, for distribution among the Buddhist monks and lay followers. 128 years later another ruler of that State Chai Jung built a monastery at the capital Feng Ch'eng which acted as the centre of social activity in that area. That building was a multi-storeyed structure whose spacious covered varandahs could accommodate three thousand persons and whose tall steeple, crowned by a pinnacle of nine petals of bronze, as well as bronze Buddha image draped in silk and brocade were big draws for local people. The ruler exempted the peasants from corvée so that they could come to hear the sermons with the result that more than five thousand persons used to assemble there. On the festival of the bathing of the Buddha he got carpets spread for tens of li (1 li = $\frac{1}{3}$ mile) so that tens of thousands of persons could sit to watch the ceremony. This trend continued throughout the coming centuries making this religion the inspiration of sculptors, philanthropists and millionaires and the hope of commoners, peasants and have-nots. By combining beauty with tranquillity, affluence with philanthropy, enjoyment with detachment and indulgence with abnegation it acted as the get-together for all sections of society and tried to bridge the gulf among different classes of people. This it could do through its theory of *karma* which proved a satisfactory explanation of the differences, in the social and economic status of the various classes of people, convincing the rich that their prosperity was due to good deeds done earlier in this life or the former one and could be maintained in the next lives only by the continuance of virtuous practice and consoling the poor that their poverty was the result of bad deeds done before and could be ended in future by taking to piety and dutifulness.

Reasons for Adopting Buddhism

The beginning of the fourth century brought the cataclysm of Hsiung-nu invasions.

Loyang fell to them in 311 A.D. and Ch'ang-an was lost in 316 A.D. North China was flooded with foreigners. Already in 299 A.D. five lakhs or fifty per cent of the population of Ch'ang-an consisted of foreigners. In course of time their number immensely swelled. They were inclined towards Buddhism for many reasons: (1) It was universal in approach acknowledging no distinction between foreigner and native and thus acted as a platform on which both of them could have a dialogue without any complexes or inhibitions, (2) it being of Indian origin freed the mind of the foreign rulers from the idea of cultural subservience that the adoption of Chinese creeds like Confucianism or Taoism was likely to engender, (3) it was gaining popularity among the lower classes of people which could be utilized by the new rulers to strengthen the bases of their authority, and (4) it had adapted itself to the needs of the foreign rulers by assuming a magical complexion which satisfied their taste and helped them in political counsel and military planning. Hence Buddhism had a phenomenal rise in North China.

Buddhist Metaphysics Interested Elite

As a result of foreign domination over North China there was an exodus of people from there towards the South. A number of gentry families settled there and contributed to the political instability as a result of which only six rulers out of fifteen ruled over six years. In that atmosphere the people craved for values of tranquillity and repose and discussed metaphysical problems in clubs and concerts where talk about *pen-wu* (basic emptiness), *mo-yu* (ultimate reality), *t'i* (matter), *yung (karma)*, etc. was very popular. To these people, the Buddhist doctrine that *karma* is the key to the process of the world and also the determination of the social status of man provided a valid explanation of nature and life. In particular, the view that *karma* has a mental aspect and a moral orientation and centres on the practice of virtue offered a tranquil and dynamic creed to that generation tortured with doubt and tossed by indecision. On the philosophical and literary plane, no less than on the popular level, Buddhism played a supremely creative and cohesive role among the various classes of people. Hence rulers like Ming, Yuan and Siao-Wu, scholars like Hui Yuan, Chih Tun and Chu Tao-Sheng, officers, landlords and rich men, poets, artists and painters and the common people also were attracted towards it.

To satisfy the Chinese intelligentsia and also to meet popular cravings Buddhism underwent a reinterpretation. Even in Han times the Buddhists had developed the concept of an indestructible soul *(shen-ling)* which passes through successive rebirths to enjoy the fruits of *karma*—a far cry from the Indian doctrine of *anattā* or *nairātmya*. In the period of Eastern Chin dynasty Hsi Ch'ao (336–377 A.D.) in his *Feng-fa-yao (Essentials of the Dharma)* made no reference to such fundamental concepts as the Four Noble Truths, the Eightfold Path and the Chain of Causation, and concentrated on the doctrine of *karma* emphasizing its mental aspect. According to him "the mind makes one a deity, the mind makes one a human being, or an inhabitant of hell or a domestic animal, even the state of one who has gained the way is the result of the mind." Hence the illumination of the mind brings about a transformation of existence. Following this trend of thought Tao-an (312–385 A.D.) and Hui-yuan (344–415 A.D.) emphasized the practice of meditation *(dhyāna)* as the sure way of realising the truth and attaining nirvāṇa, which, according to the *Nirvāṇasūtra*, as interpreted by Tao Sheng (died 434 A.D.), signified an eternal, joyous and pure state rather than an unsubstantial condition. Just as Hui Yuan held that deeds produce *karma* only when there is a definite mental intention behind them, so his pupil Tao Sheng identified *śūnyatā* of the *Prajñā* sūtras with the Buddha nature of the *Nirvāṇasūtra* and said that it is the true self within each living being and that there is no pure land outside or beyond it. This true self could be realized by a sudden and complete enlightenment brought about by a mental transfiguration. The doctrine that there is one true self or Buddha nature in all living beings led the followers of the *San-Chieh-Chiao* sect, founded by Hsin-Hsing (540–594 A.D.), to ignore books and images and mix and mingle with the crowds in the streets and prostrate themselves before foreigners and even animals and undertake a variety of altruistic activities. Likewise, the adherents of the T'ien T'ai sect, a syncretic school founded by Chih-I (538–597 A.D.), thought that all men possessed the Buddha-nature and could become the Buddha and that 'one thought is the three thousand worlds' *(i-nien-san-ch'ien)* with the result that through concentration *(chih)* and insight *(kuan)* we can attain the supreme realization. The emphasis on mind and its discipline found its best expression in Ch'an *(dhyāna)* school associated with the name of Bodhidharma who reached China in 520 or 526 A.D. It held that the fundamental reality or Buddha-nature, present in all beings, is equivalent to mind characterized by spontaneity and freedom. Hence introspection and meditation leads to the realization of this Buddha-nature which means the awareness of the undifferentiated unity of all existence. No rites or rituals are required for this mental training and no authority or scripture is relevant to it. One can practise it while leading a worldly life and doing one's normal duties, as it is not necessary to renounce the home and join the order of monks. According to one branch of it enlightenment comes suddenly in a moment and in the view of another it comes through a regular training and constant practice. These brief indications of Chinese Buddhism show how it emphasized the reality and unity of existence and its realisation through mental endeavour which is not bound by any cut and dry ritual and admits of a variety of approaches. Its insistence on cultivating and disciplining the mind or developing and following a correct perspective of things endeared it to all intellectual classes just as its assurance that a simple expression of faith, like the single recital of the name of Amitābha in the Ching-t'u (Pure Land) sect, is the recipe for salvation, popularized it among the masses. In this way it acted as a platform on which all sections of the people could conveniently come without losing their basic tenets of realism, positivism and rationalism.

Not only on the philosophical plane but also on the level of daily life Buddhism adapted itself to Chinese environment. Following the Chinese precepts that "the great recluse never leaves town" and "life is the world's greatest treasure" it laid greater emphasis on charity and compassion than on renunciation and monkhood. Even those who joined the cloisters prayed for the well-being of their departed ancestors and the longevity and prosperity of the reigning king which shows the strength of their family ties and their subservience to the state. Likewise the shaving of the head was not liked at least in the initial stages.

Philanthropic Activities of Buddhist Monasteries

While the Buddhist doctrine ministered to the intellectual and spiritual needs of the Chinese people in that age of turmoil and upheaval, its organization met their social and administrative requirements by filling in the blanks caused by the lapse of political stability. Buddhist monasteries were mostly autonomous institutions. The administration of a monastery vested in three officials *(San-kang)*, the abbot or *sthavira (shang-tso)*, the rector or *vihārasvāmin (ssu-chu)* and the superintendent of *karmadāna (tu-wei-na)*, elected by the monks belonging to it. Besides them, there were some lesser officials like *tien-tso* (controller), *chih-sui* (accountant) and *k'u-ssu* (storekeeper). Ennin mentions another official *Chien-ssu* (supervisor) who exercised jurisdiction over the monastery. The monastery possessed land which was granted to it by the emperors or the great families and wealthy persons or was pooled together by the monks out of their assignments. In course of time they came to own a vast area of land as is clear from the complaints of their opponents that they controlled about 70 to 80 per cent of the wealth of the empire. But it appears that the land of these bodies mostly consisted of undeveloped areas in mountains, forests and pastures. These lands were either let out to cultivators on a crop-sharing basis or were worked by servants consisting of criminals, orphans and unemployed people who joined the monasteries – their status being higher and better than that of ordinary slaves. Besides agriculture, the monasteries took to industry and commerce also and ran water-powered rolling mills (*nien-wei*) for husking or pulverising grain and operated oil-presses for the manufacture of oil and leased them to servants or others for fees. They also maintained pawnshops and accumulated fixed capital (*wu-chin-tsang*) and ran hostels for monks, pilgrims and lay travellers. In some parts of the country the routes were punctuated with such hostels every three to ten miles. In them lodging and boarding were provided not only to monks and pilgrims but also to government functionaries, military officials and travelling merchants. There the candidates for public service examinations stayed and studied and other students and scholars also availed of the provision of brushes, ink, lamp and oil in quiet atmosphere. With their income the monasteries established and maintained hospitals and dispensaries for the sick, boarding houses for the hungry and shelters for the aged and the orphans and also sometimes engaged in community projects like road building, bridge construction, well digging and tree planting. They had their respective *pei-t'ien* or 'fields of compassion' over which they spread their welfare activities and philanthropic programmes. Thus they had a tremendous impact on the life of the people and ministered to most of their needs, giving them spiritual comfort, providing them economic aid, offering them entertainment or recreation on festive occasions like the lamp festival, the honouring of relics, the vegetarian feast etc., arranging for their education and instruction and taking care of them in times of illness, infirmity, destitution and old age, in a period when the administrative system had reached a breaking point. But this trend of assuming the social and administrative functions during the political interregnum also promoted an autonomous tendency in the Buddhist organization which eventually brought it into conflict with the government and resulted in several bouts of proscriptions and persecutions which it witnessed.

Whereas Buddhism tried to fill the vacuum of Chinese social life and acted as a cement for the various social classes, it also gave a stimulus to a revolutionary tendency. Its doctrine of three ages proved the creed of revolution. According to it, in the third age, virtue (*dharma*) declines and no state deserves to be respected and revolts and rebellions are justified. Adopting it the society called *San-Chieh Chiao* unfurled the flag of a widespread revolt. Besides this, the Maitreya cult also bears the seeds of a social cataclysm. Its followers thought that the end of the world was near and Maitreya would descend from heaven to begin a new creation. In the Sui and T'ang periods it inspired many revolts in North China. In the revolts of An Lu-shan of 755–63 A.D. the hidden hand of these Buddhists was strongly suspected. This revolutionary strain in the schools was one of the causes that brought the upper propertied classes, who dominated the government, into conflict with the Buddhist organization. The result was the great persecution of 842 and 845 A.D.

Chinese Buddhism Evaluated

It is clear from what has been said above that in the period of the breakdown of the Han empire, particularly from the second century A.D., Buddhism acted as an agency of integration both vertically and horizontally. It lessened the acerbity of upper and lower classes infusing geniality and philanthropy among the former and inspiring hope and perseverence in the latter. Side by side it brought the foreigners and the natives together, joined the northern and southern people in one belief and satisfied the ideas of the intellectuals as well as pandered to the taste of the masses. In this manner, it became a great cohesive force in national life and the great Sui monarch Wen-ti appealed to it to further his design of unification. In his edicts and ordinances he cited the instance of the great Aśoka and claimed that "with the armed might of a Cakravartin we spread the ideals of the ultimately benevolent one, the Buddha." Later the great T'ang emperor T'ai Tsung remarked that "Confucianism, Taoism and our other schools, when compared with Buddhism, are like mere puddles measured against a mighty ocean." In fact, the edifice of unity of the Sui and T'ang periods was based on the foundation which Buddhism had prepared.

Conclusions

The above discussion of the spread of Buddhism in China has led to some interesting historical conclusions. The Chinese have been a cultured people very much conscious of their individuality and averse to adopting anything foreign in the ordinary course. Hence their leaning towards Buddhism bespeaks a great spiritual crisis which shook their cultural tradition. In the period of the decline of the Han empire the gulf between the high and the low classes widened so much as to create a vacuum. While the high classes were wedded to Confucianism and gave it the semblance of an agency of exploitation, the lower classes swept towards Taoism and thereby lapsed into an anarchy of values exemplified by the confused notions of escapism, naturalness and morbidity. This gave the opportunity to Buddhism to fill the vacuum by meeting the needs of all classes through giving philosophical food to the intellectuals, providing motifs to the artists and themes to the literateurs, supplying goals to the wealthy people in the form of building temples, donating images, establishing charities and setting up philanthropic works for the service of mankind, and promising redemption and salvation to the suffering masses through faith and hope. By and large, it displayed all those tendencies which Arnold J. Toynbee associates with a 'higher religion', that is, (1) it was universal in approach and shorn of all regional or communal affiliations, (2) it did not recognize the distinction of foreigner or native or patrician or plebian, (3) it shunned the differences of class, caste or category and acted as a common platform for all people, (4) it canonized charity, sacrifice and service on the one hand and sanctified suffering, perseverence and abnegation on the other, (5) it did not insist very much on rites and rituals and laid great emphasis on faith, (6) it held out the promise of redemption and salvation through the profession of faith and performance of good *karma,* (7) it presented the ideal of a radiant heaven, peopled by luminous figures embodying beauty, pleasure and affluence, to which every one is entitled to go, (8) it assured everybody that he is a potential candidate for the divine status being possessed of the fundamental reality of *Buddha-tathatā,* (9) it promoted the growth of institutions which took over the social and administrative functions when political authority was at a low ebb, and (10) it allied itself with the machinery of the state giving it a moral orientation and making it an instrument of furthering its programmes. This transformation of Buddhism made it play the same role in the Far-East that Christianity played in the West during the breakdown of the Roman Empire, though, of course, there are significant differences between the two in approach, orientation and destiny.

Cultural Relations of India and Korea

RAGHUVIRA

Indian Ācāryas in Korea

THE HISTORY OF Korea goes back to ancient times but her contacts with India commence in the 4th century A.D. It was during the era of Three Kingdoms. Of these, the Kingdom of Kogooryuh was the nearest to China and, therefore, it was the first to receive the Indian religion from the Chinese mainland. In the second year of King Sosoorimwang, in 372 A.D. a bhikṣu, Soondo by name, came to Korea carrying with him the statues and message of the Buddha. The year 374 A.D. is specially memorable. In this year, the first Indian Ācārya came to Korea and in 375 A.D. two temples were erected. These temples of Ibullansa and Sungmoonsa were set up in the city of Pyongyang. It is not possible to ascertain the Sanskrit name of the Indian Ācārya. In Korea he is popularly known as Ahdo. Ten years after the advent of Ācārya Ahdo, in the first year of King Chimryoowang, the second Indian Ācārya came to Korea. His name was Mallānanda. He came to the other Korean kingdom of Paikje. After his arrival, the Dharma echoed in the kingdom of Paikje. A new religion, new ideas, a new art and a new cheer spread all round.

In 417 A.D. during the reign of King Noolchiwang, a third Indian Ācārya visited the third kingdom of Korea, called Silla, via Kogooryuh. His precise Indian name is also not known. In Korea he is famous by the name of Mookhoja.

Buddhism Inspired Art and Literature

Different sects were established in the Three Kingdoms of Korea. In Kogooryuh the Samnonjong sect, in Paikje the Yooljong or Vinaya sect, and in Silla the Yoosikjong sect flourished. The doctrine of prajñā was developed in Silla only. Everywhere temples and vihāras were constructed. Both the king and the people erected them with faith and devotion. Images and paintings of the Buddha and other deities were done. The manufacture of sacred utensils used in worship and other works of art greatly contributed to the development of various fine arts.

Before this, art had not achieved a status in Korea. With the spread of Indian Dharma, architecture, sculpture, painting, woodcraft, metalcraft, reading, writing, philosophical thought and literature enriched the country.

Korean Scholars Introduced Buddhism in Japan

Korea not only developed itself, but it also disseminated the benefits of Dharma in its manifestations of religion, arts, crafts and literature, to Japan. Prior to this, the people of Japan did not know even reading or writing. Damjeung, the eminent priest of Korea, went to Japan, and introduced Buddhism as well as the art of making paper, ink, tiles and so forth.

Some Distinguished Scholars

The priest known as Kyumik has a special place in the history of Korea. A faithful devotee, his inquisitiveness attracted him to India, the source of supreme knowledge. From India he carried back scriptures relating to Vinaya and translated them into Classical Chinese. He was a resident of the Kingdom of Paikje.

Another eminent scholar of Paikje, Kwanreuk, was a master of the Scriptures and also an adept in astronomy, geography and meteorology. He went to Japan and established the world-famous temples of Horyūji in Japan which illumined Japanese culture in the Asuka period.

Painter Artist Solguh

Among the painters of Korea, the name of Solguh is specially memorable. His paintings of Avalokiteśvara and Vimalakīrti were done in the Indian style. It is said that crows and magpies often flew over the pine tree painted at the Hwangyongsa Temple. This tree appeared real to them being drawn in vivid volumes of paints. The paintings of Solguh share a community of art technique with those at Ajanta.

Bhikṣus of the Three Kingdoms (57 B.C.–668 A.D.) wielded great influence in the country. They also imparted instructions in economics and politics, because they were well-informed about their country and about affairs in foreign lands. Their experience made their advice in affairs of the State an asset. At times, they were also sent abroad as envoys.

The Great Sanskritist Wuncheuk

Of the Three Kingdoms, the kingdom of Silla grew the most powerful and in 659 A.D. Silla unified them all. The culture of Silla was Buddhist. Among the scholars of Silla, Wuncheuk (613–696 A.D.) was the foremost. He had a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit. He contributed a great deal to the development of the tenets of the Vijñaptimātratā school. His fame also spread to China. Buddhāvataṃsaka Mahāvaipulya became the main school of Korean Buddhism. Upto 955 A.D. till Silla held sway over Korea, the Buddhāvataṃsaka Mahāvaipulya school remained pre-eminent. Wunhyo (617–686 A.D.) was another great master of the Buddhāvataṃsaka Mahāvaipulya school. His fame spread to China and his commentaries were read there as epoch-making works.

Dhyāna Cult in Korea and neighbouring Countries

In 8th-9th century A.D. the Dhyāna sect was introduced in Korea. The King and the Queen, the Prince and the Minister, the general and soldiers, all started practising Dhyāna, not only for self-upliftment but also for cultivating intrepidity, bravery and fortitude.

In China, Dhyāna had become a national cult. Just as in China, Dhyāna was resorted to for the acquisition of mental and physical discipline, even so in Korea, Dhyāna had become the substratum of life. In palaces, huts and vihāras, the young and old learnt the art of concentrating the mind. Its basic principle was "active in quietness". and "quiet in activeness". The practice of Dhyāna reached the ruling circles of Japan from Korea.

In Korea, Dhyāna developed into a number of denominations. The masters and disciples of Korea travelled far and wide, introducing their new culture evolved on the foundations of India's dharma. So much so, that Korean culture was introduced into China and special temples and quarters were built for them.

Six Korean Pilgrims

Once again let us revert to the relations between Korea and India. We have the names of six pilgrims from Korea who came and studied in India. On their return, they preached the Dharma in China and Korea. The names of these pilgrim teachers should be enshrined in Indian history : Hecho, Heyup, Heryoon, Hyungak, Euijung, Hyunjo. It is not possible to say how many other travellers came. It is our duty to investigate their names. Hecho has written a description of his journey to the five regions of India, entitled *Wang-oh-chunchook gook-jun*. This travelogue is like an invaluable jewel of ancient history. It should be translated in Indian languages and made better known in India.

Indian Influence on Korean Art and Architecture

In Korea, caves and stūpas were built like those of India, Afghanistan and China. Stūpas of Prabhūtaratna and Śākya are worth mentioning. The Sukgoolam Caves at Kyungjoo was built not by excavating into a rock hill, but it was constructed by setting big cut pieces of granite. It has been given the appearance of a hill from above by depositing soil over it. Indian mathematics and astrology were applied in the construction of this Cave. The Sukgoolam Cave is a daughter of India's caves. Indian travellers will find peace and pleasure in visiting it. The Gandhāra and Gupta styles of art were sublimated into a national style of Korea. Hard, solid stone statues became the carriers of the sublime feelings of living men. In painting, the lotus symbolises the Dharma. Lion is the figurative name of the Lord of Dharma or Buddha and his words are allegorically regarded as the roarings of a lion. Like the lotus-pattern in painting, the lion-mask dance were a direct expression of Dharma. Instrumental and vocal music of Korea, too, evolved from the invocations, rite-songs and music of India. The introduction of a number of musical instruments like the flute, ghaṇṭā *(moktahk)*, temple bells, contributed to the rise of Korean music.

After the Era of Unified Silla, begins the era of Koryuh from 936 A.D. It lasted upto 1391 A.D. During this period, Buddhism was the principle of administering the affairs of state. King Taijo erected seven- and nine-storeyed stūpas. By the establishment of these stūpas, the kingdom was strengthened and grew in stature. People became conscious of discipline and duty (Dharma). Towards the close of the Koryuh Dynasty, there were five Kyo (śāstra) sects and two Dhyāna sects. Later they further developed into twelve sects.

The kings of the Koryuh Dynasty built and restored temples and monasteries. The number of monks from the royal family or of noble origin went on increasing. After receiving education in the monasteries, the princely monks acted as teachers to the royalty and as advisors to the administration. They had a good say in politics. In 1135 A.D. monks were the leaders of popular uprisings. From 1350 to 1360 A.D., the monk Shindon was an influential courtier and he made great efforts to emancipate the slaves. But Confucianists got him killed on the charge of being an evil monk.

In the 11th century, the monk Euichun collected a large number of sūtras from China. He spent 20 long years and collected more than 4740 volumes. To preserve this Mahādharmakoṣa he founded a special institution in the temple Heungwangsa. He was from the royal family.

Ācārya Jigong, the Last among the Indian Missionaries

The last Indian, whose name is recorded in the history of Korea, came to Korea in the reign of King Choongsookwang (1314–1330 A.D.). In Korea, he is famous by the name of Jigong. It is not known if any other Indian Ācārya came to Korea after him. Jigong introduced Moosainggye in Korea which gave a vitality to the development of Buddhism.

The Publication of Mahādharmakoṣa

The world-famous achievement of the Koryuh Dynasty is the publication of the Mahādharmakoṣa. It was the finest expression of the creative cultural talent of the Koryuh people. Six thousand fasciules were published over 60 years, commencing in the reign of King Hyunjong (1010–1031 A.D.). Fifty years after his death, during the reign of King Kojong, the next 4700 fascicules were published. Thus was completed the publication of the Mahādharmakoṣa. This Mahādharmakoṣa was prepared on the basis of the Sung edition of China. It was the best of its kind in the world. But it was burnt up by the invading Mongols. During the 23rd year of King Kojong (1236 A.D.) the third edition was published. It took 16 years to complete it; 81,258 wooden blocks were carved out for xylographing. It is the oldest edition among the extant Mahādharmakoṣas.

Along with the development of Buddhism, the art of Korean blue porcelain flourished. This art was intimately connected with Dhyāna. In the beautiful and deep colour of the blue porcelain was reflected the ideal of Dhyāna.

In 1392 A.D. the Li Dynasty was established. The founder of this dynasty Li Sung-gye was a Buddhist who devoted himself to Dhyāna. Due to the influence of the followers of Confucius, he gradually turned into an anti-Buddhist. In 1406, he classified the twelve sects into two : Śāstra and Dhyāna sects. He destroyed the temples and only 242 of them were left.

The Continuing Glory of Buddhism in Korea

During the Li dynasty Buddhism was forced to go out of the towns and withdraw into the mountains. The nobility ceased to enter the Order, only peasants came. Buddhism was reduced to a religion of the peasantry. Only during the reign of King Sejo (1456–1468 A.D.) Buddhism once again flourished in the palaces, and scriptures were published. These books were propagated in the Hangeul script, the first writing of Korea. Here a description of the Hangeul script is necessary. Before the creation of the Hanguel script, the language of reading and writing in Korea was Chinese. This script was developed on the orders of King Sejong in 1443 A.D. It is based on the phonetic system. The Sanskrit system was followed in the making of this script. It has 28 letters, including vowels and consonants. The signs of *a, i, o* come after the consonant and the sign of *u* is added below the consonant. There is no distinction between short and long vowels. During the reign of King Sejo, the famous temple of Wungaksa was constructed, and huge sums were expended on the publication of the Mahādharmakośa, and their fame reached far-flung countries.

Buddhist Monks took to Arms to Protect Motherland

After King Sejo, once again anti-Buddhist policy started. The Japanese attacked Korea in 1592 A.D. The Buddhist monks rose up to defend the montherland. A 73 year old bhikṣu Suhsandaisa organised a bhikṣu army. The bhikṣus abandoned monastic robes to take up their kṣatriya uniforms. The Japanese invaders were condemned as troops of Asuras. The bhikṣus considered it their duty to defend thousands of people by killing an enemy, ever keeping before them the doctrine of the Dhyāna sect which advocated that the bhikṣus fight courageously in a composed and calm manner, not fearing death. Mahāmaitrī and Mahākaruṇā are to victimise a few for the happiness of many. Confucianists and army officers got scared of the enemy and ran back from the battlefield. The war lasted for seven years. On one occasion the enemies surrounded a temple and arrested all the bhikṣus. The bhikṣus retorted the Japanese Army Commander: "Is there no Buddhism in Japan?". The Army Commander replied, "I am a Buddhist". The bhikṣus again enquired, "If you are a Buddhist, how have you forgotten Pañcaśīla? The first article of pañcaśīla is non-killing. Then how dare you kill the people?" On hearing this, the Commander released them all and ordered the army not to plunder the temple.

Priest Samyungdang was on the way to Pyongan province with his 700 monk army, when he wrote the following lines:

"The snow's falling, the weather's so cold.
The red-capped enemy in blue uniforms
Are rampant everywhere doing as they please;
But the people they killed in our country
Are heaped here and there by the roadside.
I feel such bitterness, bitterness that knows no bound.
The day's already declining, the mountain's out of sight.
Where should I turn my eyes over the sea?
My thought is roaming far far under the sky."

Ultimately, the Koreans were defeated and priest Samyungdang went to Japan to negotiate peace. He stayed there for nine months and got thousand of Korean prisoners released and established peace and goodwill.

There came several occasions in Korea when the bhikṣus took up arms for the defence of their country.

During the last days of the Li Dynasty, the bhikṣu Hamyung wrote a great work called *Sunwunworyoo*, where he gave a description of the religious teachers of India, China and Korea. This work is very important for the history of Indo-Korean relations.

Indian Culture influenced every walk of Korean Life

Despite the anti-Buddhist policy of the Li Dynasty, Buddhism made notable contributions to the development of higher culture, art, architecture and literature. The court music of the Li Dynasty, Ryungsan Hoisang was influenced by Indian tunes. Even the folk-songs have had the impact of Indian tunes. Buddhist songs of Korea were admired for their original, beautiful and majestic tones and inexhaustible variety. Similarly, Korean dance owes much to India in content and grace of movement.

During the Li dynasty Indian fables spread among the people. Famous stories such as "The Tale of Shimchung", "Shassinamjung-gi" and other tales circulating among the masses are based on the theories of *karma* and *saṃsāra*.

In 1910 A.D. the Japanese invaded Korea. The anti-Buddhist policy came to an end but Japan tried to use the bhikṣus to consolidate their power. The Japanese did not succeed in this During this period, many institutions came into being. Buddhist colleges, schools and seminaries were founded. Monasteries were established for the practice of Dhyāna. Magazines and journals started coming out.

In August 1913, a high priest from Ceylon came to Korea. His name was Dharmapara.

He said, "You Korean and we Indian people are in the same situation today. I have come here to present this *Buddha-śarīra* to you, for the glorious future of your people and dharma." The people accepted this *Buddha-śarīra* with great joy and enthusiasm. It was enshrined in the Gakhwangsa temple. People dedicated silver utensils, steel coffers and the Korean people rejoiced.

Some temples were renovated, especially the Yoojeumsa Temple at the Diamond Mountain (Vajragiri). Some bhikṣus lived here. Their language consisted of a fair sprinkling of Sanskrit words. Their representative came to India on the occasion of the Buddha-Jayanti in 1956. The name of their leaders was Kim-Hai-Jin. They felt proud of making a pilgrimage to the Land of Lord Buddha.

Ajantā and Horyūji

J. EDWARD KIDDER, Jr.

Introduction

FEW MONUMENTS IN the world's history of art have received more attention by writers than the temple near Nara known as Horyūji. Historically-minded monks who served it, literate pilgrims and travellers of the Middle Ages, nineteenth and twentieth century romantics and scholars have all been contributors to this surfeit of literature, and the special position the temple has assumed in the minds of westerners as Japan took the plunge into Buddhist art, has added somewhat more measurably to the countless volumes, articles and written comments which make up this ceaseless stream. It is undoubtedly rather difficult for the non-Japanese world to grasp the extent and quantity of these studies. They reach into every remote corner of the temple's complex history, dealing with a century of Buddhist art production that forms the very foundations of the historic arts of Japan. Central to this art at the Horyūji were the wall paintings of its *kondo,* i.e., Golden Hall (hereafter Main Hall).

Just when it might seem that further efforts in these studies would bear little fruit, a new research technique has become applicable or a major crisis has struck the temple—and the flow of literature has started all over again. The first of these in recent years was the refinement of archaeological methods. An opportunity was taken in 1939 to dig for the remains of the earlier temple, with fairly satisfactory results in an incipient stage of temple archaeology. The next was the tragic destruction of the Main Hall by fire in 1949, which left the painting in an almost unrecognizable state. The stream started to flow again, but more like Sanzunokawa, nostalgically, and punctuated with obituaries. If there is another stage it began about the time the hall was reconstructed in its original form, and has continued through the popularization of early Japanese art by way of highly developed photographic devices and the mass consumption of art books. Horyūji monks of the Middle Ages would be gratified. The temple is a household word; arguments on its history have moved outside the domain of scholars. This stage may be climaxed in early 1968 as the communications systems are priming the public for the coming occasion when the walls will receive copies of the original paintings.

As early as the Meiji period it was possible to write a history of the studies of the wall paintings,[1] and this could be followed for the Taisho period by further compilations progressing geometrically.[2] Several works stand out as milestones in these studies, the chief of which is Naito's *Horyūji Hekiga no Kenkyū.*[3] Westerners are greatly indebted to Acker and Rowland for translation and amplification in an English version.[4] A masterpiece of simplicity, most rare in competent writings on the wall paintings, is Mizuno's recent *Horyūji.*[5]

At this late stage of Showa it is a superhuman task to even make the effort to cope with this mass of literature on the wall paintings;[6] no more than a handful of scholars could have read all the basic literature on the subject and one might dare say that originality will not be the hallmark of future studies. It would certainly be presumptuous to claim originality as a trait of this particular article.

The extent of these studies has its geographic dimension. The murals stand at the eastern terminus of a long tradition which has its western origins in Indian wall paintings as illustrated at Ajaṇṭā. Modifications and changes during the more than one hundred years required for the practice to reach Japan through Central Asia and China left the Japanese with a rather composite style and iconography whose beginnings and characteristics have provided endless material for comparison.[7] Since these relationships have been thoroughly studied both from the standpoints of similarities and differences, this paper will take one more look at the broader iconographical problems, interspersed with references to the antecedents of the paintings where necessary.

The paintings have been one of the most intriguing riddles in the history of Japanese art, with solutions coming more through a process of attrition rather than through flashes of brilliance. The phenomenon of an obviously professional set of paintings, done on a monumental scale, seemingly existing in a vacuum of painting history, has elicited the most exacting scholarship as well as the wildest flights of imagination. Deciding where to draw the line between the two is far easier said than done.

The amount of imagination displayed has been in direct inverse ratio to the scarcity of early records on the subject. One is immediately impressed by the conspicuous scarcity of early documents and a discouraging lack of consistency in later extant records. Conflicting statements in medieval documents were sometimes the result of actual misunderstandings and copying of errors but as often as not they were intentional fabrications or the recording of accumulated legends as fact. Medieval scribes set the pattern; modern writers have not always varied it. The scanty records are read and re-read, taken literally or discounted entirely, interpreted at convenience, and suppositions occasionally appear as fact. By no means unique to the Horyūji cult, it has still reached canonical proportions here. Having embarked on this same stream, I would be impertinent to try chart a different course.

The history of the Horyūji is inseparable from the earliest attempts to make Buddhism a working religious system at the court through the efforts of Prince Shotoku, the temple's founder. A brief look at the Buddhist background, the chronology of the temple and its paintings will set the stage for their examination in a wider context.

The Buddhist Background of the Wall Paintings

All early Buddhist temples in Japan owed their existence directly or indirectly to the fortunes of the Soga family. The Soga took sides against the Mononobe and Otomo and, in a battle led by Soga no Umako, defeated a coalition headed by Mononobe no Moriya and thereby established itself as kingmakers. Umako enthroned his nephew as Emperor Sujun. He arranged for the construction of the first Buddhist temple, inviting the help of trained architects, tile makers and painters from Paikche (Jap. Kudara), along with the monks to staff it. This was the Hokoji, later called the Gangoji, and today commonly spoken of as the Asuka-dera, started in 588 A.D.[8] Umako's dictatorial actions made him the target of mounting antagonism, and it appears that Sujun himself was actively advocating Umako's removal. Before effective action could be taken, however, Sujun was assassinated and Umako put the reluctant wife of Emperor

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Bidatsu on the throne, a woman who reigned for thirty-five years, historically known as Empress Suiko. With Umako's approval, Suiko appointed her nephew Umayado, known as Prince Shotoku, as regent.

Royal Survey of Religious Establishments

Not actually a Soga—he was a Jogū—the prince worked closely with the Soga politically and culturally, improving the structure of the government and patronizing the construction of temples.

Shotoku Taishi began to build his residence in Ikaruga in 601 A.D., in a spot quite remote from Suiko's Asuka palace. He took up residence there about four years later. The inscription on the back of the large halo of the bronze Yakushi which sits on the east side of the platform in the Horyūji's Main Hall says the statue and temple were constructed in the fifteenth year of Suiko's reign (607 A.D.). The essential character of this temple, the Ikaruga-dera or the Wakakusa-dera, should show the prince's preference in plans, since it was built in virgin territory on land of his own choosing. He is historically associated with several other temples and legendarily with many more. Most temples of the time were erected in the Yamato area, yet it would be misleading to presume that no other parts of the country were as yet unreached by Buddhist influences.

A survey of religious establishments which was taken during Suiko's thirty-third year, two years after the prince's death, tallied forty-six temples, 816 monks and 569 nuns, according to the *Nihon Shoki.*[9] Since extant remains coupled with recent archaeology have pin-pointed about forty, the *Nihon Shoki's* entry can be taken as relatively accurate.

Further history makes worse villains of the Soga family. Shotoku Taishi's son was murdered at the Ikaruga palace by Soga Iruka, Umako's grandson, when the palace was burned in 642 A.D. Iruka himself and his father were killed two years later, but by the time Emperor Kotoku took the throne in 645 A.D., the despised Soga dynasty had been eliminated. The Taika era marks the end of the first one family rule—a political device through which Japanese history has kept the emperor system intact.

The Shrine Built Twice

It is now recognized that the first temple built at Ikaruga was a complex of buildings which lay to the southeast of the present Sai-in of the Horyūji. Its remains were partially excavated in 1939, at which time it was shown to have been constructed in the "Kudara plan," a format best known today through one of the prince's other temples, the Shitennoji in Osaka. Believed to have been introduced from Paikche in southwest Korea, in this plan the buildings follow each other in a south-north alignment, commencing with the Middle Gate, and succeeded by the first and last joined by an enclosing cloister. Despite numerous conflicting dates in a variety of records, this temple must have been destroyed by fire around 670 A.D., at least according to the *Nihon Shoki,*[10] and work started on a replacement not long after.

Its successor, the present Horyūji, was erected in a compound toward the northwest and took quite a different form. The Main Hall and pagoda are situated on an east-west axis, in an arrangement that at first appears to be a radical departure from the two known traditions, namely the Kudara plan already described, and the Asuka-dera plan, in which the pagoda stood near the centre of the cloistered compound, surrounded by three large buildings, perhaps all three serving as *kondo* (main halls).

Either the new construction was still going on in the first decade of the eigth century or,

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if this was not the case, additions were being carried out at that time. The eighth century was the first great stage of Buddhism's expansion, and the Horyūji prospered under imperial benefactions, one phase of which was the reconstruction of the prince's former palace as a memorial temple. Its central building today is the octagonal Yumedono.

The Great Temple of Horyūji :

Architectural Beauty

Somewhere around 710 the walls of the Main Hall must have received their paintings, but the architecture of the present temple—considered to embody typical Asuka period features—is in the style of at least one generation earlier. The cloud brackets and inverted V-shaped supports, columnar entasis, subtle reduction of scale in ascending stories, and consistently heavy proportions, were all obsolete by the first decade of the eighth century. Newly introduced architectural ideas, probably first used at the Yakushiji in 680 A.D.[11] or at least before 700 A.D., are the ones which by comparison make the Horyūji's style look so early. Closer to home, the nearby Hokkiji pagoda of 685 A.D. is more advanced.

If the temple was seeing through its first phase of building in its new location around 710 A.D., it was doing so with a dramatic burst of energy. The pagoda acquired the four groups of clay figures representing Mt. Sumeru in 711 A.D., while the Middle Gate got its two Guardian Kings (Jap-*Nio*). Fukuyama assumes that the central pole of the pagoda was replaced due to a rotten base.[12] The Sūtra repository was built. Probably the "porches" of the Main Hall and pagoda were added about the same time the wall paintings were finished.[13]

Additional donations worthy of record included maṇḍalas, paraphernalia for worshiping the Guardian Kings, sūtras, a socle for a statue, and relic bones from China.[14] Perhaps all of this was climaxed by the rebuilding of the eastern part of the whole temple complex by about 740 A.D.

As one enters the present cloisterd compound of the west part of the Horyūji, to the right will be seen the Main Hall, a replica of the five by four bay building burned on the night of January 26, 1949. Three bays of this building open into doors on the south side, one each on the east, west and north sides. Enclosed by its ambulatory is the image platform. Centrally located on the platform is a gilt bronze Śākyamuni (Jap. Shaka) triad; to its east is a smaller Bhaiṣajyaguru (Jap. Yakushi) with a pair of bodhisattvas, and to its west an Amitābha (Jap. Amida). The last figure was cast in 1231–32 according to its inscription, and falls outside the time range with which we are dealing. Over each is a canopy and at the corner of the *butsudan* are the Four Heavenly kings (Jap. Shitenno).

Sculptural Fortunes

The Four Heavenly Kings were probably made in the neighbourhood of 650 A.D., to judge by a *Nihon Shoki* entry to one of the sculptors listed on the back of a king's halo.[15] They are of polychromed wood in an early, archaic style. Each is a half turn clockwise from the station he should command, i.e., the king of the east stands on the southeast corner, the king of the the south on the southwest corner, and so on.

The main image for the temple is the Shaka triad in the centre of the *butsudan*, a group known to have been cast in 623 A.D. by Tori Busshi through information provided by its long inscription on the back of the mandorla. Made in the prince's image, it was finished within a year of Shotoku Taishi's death, with the express purpose of securing the repose of his soul in paradise. It did not figure as the main statue for the temple (the Ikarugadera first, then the

Horyūji) for at least a century, a lapse of time which is sometimes explained by the suggestion that the triad was comfortably housed in a memorial chapel resting on the spot now occupied by the Main Hall. This accounts for the fact that it survived the fire, so the explanation goes, in a thesis which leads to further elaboration by Soper to explain the parallel positions taken by the Main Hall and pagoda in the present temple.[16]

Several other figures escaped destruction by the fire, such as the lighter weight Four Heavenly Kings and the bronze Yakushi of 607 A.D., and perhaps the wooden Yumedono Avalokiteśvara (Jap. Kannon). Possibly other sculptures survived the burning of the palace in 643 A.D. That large bronze sculptures did not necessarily have to be moved to survive fires has been conclusively proved through studies of the Yakushiji's monumental triad which fought winning battles with several conflagrations, coming out stripped only of its original gilt and mandorlas. The large Yakushi had not been moved since its first installation at its present spot until repairs were needed in 1955 after the Yoshino earth-quake.[17] The better condition of the Shaka triad, however, leads one to believe that it was either carried out in time or kept in a separate building. But the hypothesis that the present Main Hall rests on an old memorial chapel site, so hallowed by its Shaka group that the usually pre-eminent pagoda could do no better than stand on a par, seems rather unlikely to me. The reasoning behind my arguments would consume too much space to enter into here except as it relates to the iconographic schemes in the pagoda and Main Hall. These will be considered later.

Painted Panels

Four large wall panels contained painted paradise scenes consisting of Buddhas and lesser figures, and eight smaller panels contained single figures. The fire damaged these murals beyond adequate repair and the public has not been able to view them since. In recent years a corps of painters has been working on facsimilies which are scheduled to be put in place soon.

The small bronze Yakushi, whose side figures are some later donor's contribution to the cause, was for a considerable time the chief image of the Ikaruga-dera and probably the later Horyūji. The *Tempyo shizai cho* (747 A.D.) mentions it first when speaking of the temple's religious furnishings,[18] leaving little doubt that it graced the centre of the *butsudan*. In the process of elevating Shotoku Taishi to a position amounting to sainthood, the old Ikaruga palace was rebuilt around 739 A.D. as a temple, under the direction of Gyoshin on orders of Empress Gensho. It later became known as the To-in of the Horyūji. The Yumedono was constructed along the lines of a memorial chapel and with it now built, the sanctification of the prince's name took a long step forward. It may have been actually at this juncture that a rejuvenation of the founder's spirit inspired the use of the Shaka triad as the main icon. In any case, it is generally believed that by the end of the Nara period or the beginning of Heian, the Shaka was respectfully ensconced as the chief image in the Main Hall.[19] The Yakushi was then moved to the east side of the *butsudan*, where it sits today.

The over-riding impression of the wall paintings is one of a series of murals with no forerunners in Japan and no comparable successors. This impression is essentially true; yet first it can be quickly shown that all the Buddhas most likely to have been selected for use at this time on the walls, i.e., Shaka, Amida, Yakushi and Miroku (Maitreya), were already well established figures in Japanese iconography, and second, that these same Buddhas continued to be used while esoteric practices in the Heian period tended to divert attention to other types.

The paradise concept itself had already been illustrated as the subject of the Tenjūkoku Maṇḍala, the large embroidery made in memory of the prince shortly after his death. It was

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moved back and forth between the Chūgūji and the Horyūji, and finally the fragments to the Chūgūji, where they are kept today. Shaka was the first Buddha to have made an official appearance in Japan. A Shaka was the image sent over from Paikche in 552 A.D.[20] This one fell victim to anti-Buddhist sentiment, but the Horyūji had its own : Tori's triad, begun to avert a worsening of the prince's illness (there was no need to make a Yakushi since the temple already had its Yakushi, if one accepts the 607 A.D. date in the inscription) which was finished in 623 A.D. as a memorial when the prince failed to recover.

Amida is the central image of the gilt bronze Tachibana Shrine group, probably made between 670 and 680 A.D., and the Horyūji itself has a bronze plaque, perhaps of the time of Emperor Mommi (672–687 A.D.), but it is uncertain as to when it entered the collection. These two examples are adequate to demonstrate the presence of Amida in the iconography.

The Yakushi was already there, the statue of 607 A.D. acting as the temple's central image.[21] Yakushi had come into his own with the starting of the Yakushiji by Emperor Temmu at Fujiwara and the temple's removal to and reconstruction at the new capital. The Yakushi triad of the Yakushiji, whether for the earlier or later Yakushiji, still antedated the paintings of the Horyūji's Main Hall, and had upgraded Yakushi to monumental ranks.

Miroku (Maitreya) poses more of a problem. Miroku was prominent enough in the Asuka period, but served rather as an accessory figure, cf. Chūgūji, Koryūji and small bronzes, and should probably be strictly regarded as a bodhisattva.[22] Before the end of the seventh century, however, he was enjoying equal status with Buddhas, as indicated by the large dry lacquer figure of the Taima-dera of about 686 A.D. The Hokkemandara, a bronze plaque in the Hase-dera of the same date[23] seems to include a Miroku with its other Buddhas.

The flourishing Hosso sect, one of the six sects of Nara, subscribed to the veneration of Four Buddhas, and these would seem to be the logical choice for any monumental undertaking. Records on other wall paintings provide little information on subject matter, but statuary for pagodas shows that Hosso sect temples and others used this iconographic scheme. Hosso's own head temple, the Kofukuji, whose five-storied pagoda was erected in 730 A.D. (burned in 1017 A.D. and rebuilt) contained a Shaka facing south, Amida on the west, Miroku on the north and Yakushi on the east.[24]

The *Shichidaiji junreiki's* section on the Gangoji (596 A.D.) claims that the Kofukuji's five-storied pagoda was modelled after it and had paradise scenes inside. The Shitennoji's pagoda is said to have had the same. When the Toyura-dera (ca. 603 A.D.) could no longer be maintained, its figures were transferred to the Tachibana-dera's pagoda, and may be presumed to have been the same set. It also appears to hold true for the three-storied Sūfukuji pagoda (668 A.D.), the seven-storied east pagoda of the Todaiji (753 A.D.), and the Toshodaiji's east and only pagoda (806 A.D.).[25] The practice was continued into the Heian period.

The Pagoda Temples

In which buildings were the walls usually painted, and were paintings commonplace, believed to be almost essential for the proper functioning of a building, or largely a luxury? The information is spotty, but extant examples and records are surprisingly revealing on these points. In the pre-Nara phase one finds listed the Main Hall and pagoda of the Shitennoji, Main Hall and pagoda of the Horyūji, perhaps the pagoda of the Yamadadera; and in the Nara period (some of which were repainted or in various ways modified), the pagoda of the Gangoji, pagoda of the Kofukuji, pagoda of the No-dera (Kyoto), pagoda of the Yakino-dera (Shiga), both pagodas of the Yakushiji at Nara, *edo* (a hall of paintings) of the Shitennoji,

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octagonal hall of the Eizanji, Maṇḍala Hall of the Taima-dera, octagonal hall of the Oka-dera, pagoda of the Tachibana-dera, a hall of the Yashidadera, one or more buildings of the Jinguji (early temple at Tado), east pagoda of the Taima-dera, Yakushi *(kondo)* Main Hall of the Saidaiji, and refectory of the Toshodaiji.[26]

Eleven buildings in this list, or roughly half, were pagodas. Two others were octagonal buildings which were some special form of memorial chapel. The others are haphazard; but, except for the Shitennoji and the Horyūji, it is immediately apparent that no other main halls are included, accepting the Yakushi *kondo* of the Saidaiji as a secondary building. Even from such fragmentary information it might be possible to say that the Horyūji's Main Hall paintings could hardly claim heritage within a tradition and certainly in no way established one. On the other hand, figuring far more strongly and lasting well into the Nara period, were the traditions for paintings in pagodas.

Up to a point the subjects of the Main Hall's paintings can be read off with relative dispatch, despite the poor condition of the walls before 1949. As several writers have pointed out, the Buddha on the east is accompanied by two bodhisattvas and five arhats on either side. The latter make up the Ten Great Disciples (Jap. Jūdaideshi) and accordingly identify the Buddha as Shaka.

The Shaka Paradise has been seen by several observers as inferior to the other goups, and technical tests showed at least parts of the wall to have been primed with *gofun*, a material not used until after the Nara period. Other walls showed no *gofun*, only the white clay, *hakudo*. This fact, prompted by the knowledge of robberies which required wall repairs during the Kamakura period, was more than necessary to inspire the suggestion that the wall is a Kamakura repainting. Naito would admit to virtually no Kamakura reworking,[27] and points out that there is no evidence that this particular wall was broken through (the Amida panel obviously was, and has patched holes at lower right and left), a Kamakura period subject would have been Hosho and not Shaka, all parts of this wall (and other walls) were not scientifically tested, and he also points to what is probably a glass dish containing flowers in the hand of the bodhisattva on the right. Glass had disappeared from the Japanese scene after Nara times. Several questions remain unanswered, especially the reason for quality differences, but there seems little conflict with the argument that the subject itself was not tampered with after the Nara period.

No writers, whether medieval or modern, have opposed the identification of the Buddha on the west as Amida (panel 6) (Pl. 27). If any facet of the iconography had been standardized by the eighth century it was Amida presiding over the Western Paradise. The bodhisattvas have the earmarks of Seishi (Mahāsthāmaprāpta) and Kannon, and the little ghostly figures on lotuses are the reborn souls. Amida is almost in dead centre of the panel; if he were slightly higher the odds would favour a lotus pond below.

Both groups flanking the north door are surprisingly similar, suggesting that the artists were aiming at a special kind of balance. Both may have two pairs of bodhisattvas, though this is far less certain for panel 9, and about the same number of accompanying figures. The Buddha of panel 9 is seated Yoga fashion on a lotus supported by a "hexagonal dias."[28] The Buddha of panel 10 (Pl. 28) sits with feet down on a rectangular lion throne. The "hexagonal dais" of the former bears four atlas-like dwarfs. It is probably not six-sided; rather it is more than likely twelve-sided, with one little figure for each corner, only four of which can be shown. Mizuno has recognized these pygmies as the twelve symbols of Yakushi (i.e., primitive forms of the later Twelve Divine Generals, Jūnishinsho, such as seen on the pedestal of the Yakushi

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image in the Yakushiji) and has thus finally made the correct identification of the group.[29] This should leave Miroku for the other large panel on the north, distinguished by the least distinctive features.

Confusion over the subjects of the wall paintings has been compounded by their interpretation during the time when Horyūji monks had little to do but aggrandize their temple's fading glory, reinforce the standing of the prince through embroidered biographies and, coloured their explanations through esoteric leanings. Doldrums show up in the inability of the temple to rebuild its Lecture Hall which burned in 925 A.D. and was not replaced for sixty-six years. The present one was re-located here in 991 A.D. Remarks in texts make little effort to conceal the plight of the temple.[30] The eleventh and twelfth centuries bordered on the disastrous; the establishment was maintained by a handful of undernourished and underworked monks. Opportunities were taken to embellish the brief authentic records. One might not seriously question the legitimacy of reinterpretation in the light of changing conditions, but perhaps not the tendency of temples to adopt devices designed to further popularization.

The *Taishiden shiki* (Private Notes on the Biography of the Crown Prince) written between about 1235 and 1246 A.D. by Kenshin, a Horyūji priest who apparently had special charge of developing the cult of Shotoku Taishi,[31] and can therefore be expected to have pursued his special interests, gives the oldest listing of the subjects of the wall paintings, followed by scraps from several other records and writings. According to this, Amida's Paradise is on the west wall, Hosho's (Ratnasambhava) on the east, Yakushi's on the northeast and Shaka's on the northwest. The diary of a traveller who made the rounds of the Seven Great Temples of the Southern Capital around 1255 A.D. *Nanto shichidaiji nikki* places the Amida Paradise on the west wall, Yakushi Paradise on the east, and the "southern and northern walls each have paintings of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas."[32]

The writer of the *Shichidaiji junreiki* (Notes on a Pilgrimage to the Seven Great Temples) places Amida on the west and Yakushi on the east. The south and north have Buddhas and bodhisattvas.[33] The 1362 A.D. *Horyūji engi shirabyoshi*, a drama enacting the founding of the temple, makes the mistake of calling the Horyūji the first temple to be built (as does the later (1464 A.D.) *Horyūji kondo butsuzoki* "Records of Buddhist Images of the Golden Hall of the Horyūji"), and presses the credibility further by saying that the Pure Lands of Yakushi were painted on all four sides.[34] The latter record, in effect admits to incomplete knowledge by saying that the walls were painted with paradises of Yakushi and so forth. All of these writings seriously undermine their own trustworthiness by attributing the work to a man better known as a sculptor, Tori Busshi. Tori had been employed by members of the court to make the Shaka triad in 623 A.D. and had earlier distinguished himself by casting a large image for the Asuka-dera and then ingeniously finding a way to move it into the building.[35] Credit is also given to Tori as the painter of the door panels of the Shitennoji pagoda.[36] While this latter may perhaps be true it is still open to grave doubt; but more transparent in the attribution is the oversight in these texts that Tori antedates the wall paintings by as much as two generations. It was a valiant effort to link them with an artist of rare distinction and bolster their importance, but the writers' ignorance of history was appalling.

In other words, the Horyūji monks, at least after the middle of the thirteenth century, were consistent in telling visitors that the painter was none other than the great Tori, but were apparently inconsistent in identifying the subjects of the paintings. Such arbitrariness encouraged the pilgrim addicted to diary keeping to draw his own conclusions. One may assume by this that deterioration of the paintings was already considerable—or the monks could have

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been proved wrong—and adequate identification of details was next to impossible.[37]

The standard theories concerning the identification of Buddhas can be shown in the following way :

Record, Sūtra or writer	*Panel* 1	*Panel* 6	*Panel* 9	*Panel* 10
Shotoku Taishiden shiki	Hosho	Amida	Shaka	Yakushi
Konkomyokyo (Suvarṇaprabhāsa-Sūtra)	Ashuku (Akṣobhya)	Amida	Himyosho (Dundubhi-svara)	Hosho
Naito, *Wall Paintings*	Shaka	Amida	Miroku	Yakushi
Mizuno, *Horyūji*	Shaka	Amida	Yakushi	Miroku

It may not be necessary to point out that the most widely used sūtra, the *Konkomyokyo* given above, does not include Shaka. Naito and others would be right, however, in identifying the Buddha of panel 1 as Shaka through the presence of the Ten Great Disciples.[38]

By the time Haruyama wrote in 1949 the problems of the lesser walls had been more or less resolved : 2 Sūryaprabha (Jap. Nikko), 3 Kannon, 4 Seishi, 5 Candraprabha (Jap. Gakko), 7 Kannon, 8 Mañjuśrī (Jap. Monju), 11 Samantabhadra (Jap. Fugen), 12 Ekādaśamukha Avalokiteśvara (Jap. Jūichimen Kannon). Close observation revealed a very striking concept of symmetry,[39] which I would suggest is good evidence of their early eighth century date—as if such were needed. The Shaka and Amida facing each other in panels 1 and 6 are surmounted by triangular canopies, the Buddhas of panels 9 and 10 by flat canopies. Nikko and Gakko of panels 2 and 3 are under flat canopies, Monju and Fugen of panels 8 and 11 under triangular ones. No canopies crown the standing Kannon (3), Seishi (4), Kannon (7) and Eleven-headed Kannon (12); rather, beads float above. Seated figures, in other words, are graced by canopies, standing figures by beads.

Approach to the Indian Colour Scheme

Along with the obvious symmetry of grouped figures within each large panel, Haruyama points out that the reds and greens, as the two chief colours, were also used symmetrically. As regards colour, the Indianness comes out in the reddish brown of most lines while black may occasionally be seen, and the Buddha of panel 10 is done with yellow drapery lines. Colouring methods and shading, inasmuch as the latter emphasized three dimensionality, is pointed out by Haruyama as close to Ajantā.[40] In the case of halos, a compass was used, and the long straight lines, such as outlines of pedestals, were done with some kind of a straight rule.

The differences between Horyūji and Ajantā are equally striking : the consistent simplicity of the Japanese groups, ideally balanced and essentially static compositions, inverse rather than parallel line perspective, are all factors which were modified over the intervening time and space separating the two, filtered through the leaven of China.

It is common knowledge that the Ajantā paintings were done over a considerable period of time and any comparative remarks should be based on paintings in sixth and seventh century caves. The Horyūji murals were probably the work of a small number of painters whose efforts may have taken only a matter of months or even weeks. Some Ajantā paintings are inscribed, whether initially or later, the Horyūji paintings are not. The emphasis at Ajantā on scenes from the life of Buddha and Jātaka stories encourages the liveliness and informality associated

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with a narrative content. Because of this fundamental difference in subject matter most of the cave paintings can hardly be compared, but as Naito says, Cave 16 does have a formal arragement which could have served as the prototype for Tun-huang and other paradises.[41] The Horyūji paintings are linked with India through Tun-huang in northwest China in both a geographic and iconographic way.

As partial evidence of the lessened conncern with pagodas in later times, the Horyūji pagoda's walls, which once bore paintings, were plastered over, in some places perhaps twice, and the paintings forgotten except for the remark in the *Kokon Mokuroku-sho* which speaks of bodhisattvas being on the walls. Careful peeling off of one and sometimes two layers of plaster revealed remains of the old paintings, largely colourless by this time, but with outlines and shadowed areas faintly visible.[42] How closely they were connected with the Main Hall's paintings in subject matter and relative position can be quickly noted by the diagram. The bodhisattvas are identical in location and in type. More than that, their measurements were similar, and if the pagoda's panels were smaller the figures were squeezed into a tighter frame and halos omitted to pull canopies lower down. These figures obviously did not serve as models for the Main Hall; nor is it likely they were even made at the same time. Rather, the Main Hall's bodhisattvas were reproduced in the pagoda, perhaps at a slightly later date, to judge by the decoration of the wooden ceiling panels of the pagoda which are stylistically a good deal later than the ceiling panels of the Main Hall.

Five pieces of holy bones were sent over from China along with a Buddhist statue. These went into the pagoda in 719 A.D. The bones should have been deposited under the pole. An investigation in 1926 showed the pole to be hanging, the base rotted away. The investigations in 1949 revealed bones in a glass bottle, a T'ang lion and grape mirror, and many other objects in a large hole below the central pole.[43] These factors lead one to argue that the pagoda was re-erected using the old wood, in the Asuka style, about 720 A.D., with its relics properly in place and the pottery groups all reassembled. The walls would have been replastered and painted about this time, taking their subjects naturally from the smaller panel paintings of the Main Hall.

The standard iconography of pagodas, as shown at the Kofukuji-Shaka, Amida. Yakushi and Miroku—with its firm traditions, should have found its way into the Horyūji pagoda. My supposition is that there is only one reason why it did not. The Main Hall now had the Buddhas in painting, and it would have been senselessly repetitious to provide the same subjects in pottery ensembles or otherwise for the pagoda.

The subjects there are hardly the normal ones. Shaka faced south in most pagodas. The Prophecies of Miroku take the position here. This loss may have been offset by the multiplication of Shaka-related subjects in the other groups of statuettes, the Worship of Relics, Monju and Vimalakīrti (Yuima), and Nirvāṇa (Nehan). All of these are in some way connected with Shaka.

As the planners wrestled with the inflexibility of the architectural pre-requisites of the Main Hall, they did so with the awareness of the temple's existing icons. The Main Hall had its southern exposure, three-fifths of which was taken up by doors and unavailable for wall paintings. Door paintings were not yet widely used, and did not really come into their own until a wider iconography made more demands on the use of internal space in Late Heian times (cf. Byodoin). The light would be the poorest just inside these south doors, but circumambulation, if followed through correctly, would first take the pilgrim past Shaka after entering the east door, then across the south face of the image platform to the west, north, and out again. This was the compromise and the compensation.

Thus a Pagoda iconography was selected for the Main Hall when the head monks were casting around for subjects. So smooth was the adaptation of a scheme so close at hand that the Horyūji's work itself obviously required no knowledge whatsoever of iconographic schemes in other parts of the Buddhist world. But it wreaked havoc on the pagoda's normal Mt. Sumeru (which the Ikaruga-dera's pagoda may have once had before the pottery groups were placed in their present position). It would be facetious to suggest that much of the effort which has gone into identifying the Buddhas of the Main Hall should have been directed toward the iconography of the pagoda.

If the iconographic scheme for the Main Hall was satisfactory why was it not continued in later temples? The simple fact of the matter is that it had been and was still pagoda iconography, despite the arrangement of the buildings at the Horyūji and the Nara period's duplication of pagodas. This latter must have been an uneasy stage of adjustment in pagoda iconography after the Japanese were confronted with the twin pagoda style. The pagoda remained the mystical centre of the temple. The frankly difficult plan of a Main Hall, in which a properly oriented arrangement was actually impossible, may have been a major deterrent in the development of a tradition.

I have said elsewhere, with inadequate argumentation, that I believe the temple was initially conceived on a scale twice its present size, with a pagoda as the centre, main halls around, in a plan reproducing the Asuka-dera except for a south orientation of the east and hypothetical west halls.[44] But the pagoda did not end up as the centrepiece after all. By around 710 A.D. it was already apparent that completion of this ambitious project would prove to be unfeasible. Despite what must have been lobbying by Horyūji monks, the site picked out for a permanent capital turned out to be well to the north and east of the temple, and expected funds were siphoned off for use elsewhere. Realization was just dawning that the temple's future was singularly sealed, and this realization was ultimately responsible for the unusual iconographic schemes. The Main Hall, not the pagoda, is the tribune to Shaka. It borrowed the iconography normally surrounding Shaka, placed Shaka in the key first panel of the wall paintings, and soon saw Tori's Shaka triad moved in as its central image.

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The author would like to express his appreciation for this opportunity to contribute to the Vivekananda Commemorative Volume, in honour of the great spokesman for Hindu religion and culture. Buddhist Japan's debt to India is best exemplified at the Horyūji. An investigation into the significance of the iconographic scheme of the wall paintings will aid in understanding this special relationship.

1 Takeshi Kuno. "Horyūji hekiga kenkyūshi" (History of the study of the wall paintings of the Horyūji). Meiji period, *Kokku*, 691, 1949, pp 261–265, 692, 1949, pp 309–312

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6 For instance, a compilation of bibliography on the subject: "Horyūji hekiga rombun mokuroku" (List of theses on the wall paintings of the Horyūji). *Bijutsu Kenkyū* 167, 1953, pp 57–61, includes 146 articles, p. 62 lists 22 books and reproductions

7 For example, Jeannine Auboyer. *Les influences et les reminiscences étrangerès au Kondo du Horyūji*, Paris, 1941; Eiichi Matsumoto. "Horyūji kondo hekiga to Saiiki no geijutsu" (Wall paintings in the kondo of the Horyūji and the art of the Central Asian area). *Yumedono*, 6, 1932, pp 112–116

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8 W G Aston, *Nihongi*, London, 1896, II, p 118

9 *Ibid* , p 154

10 *Ibid* p 293 "Summer, 4th month, 30th day After midnight a fire broke out in Horiuji Not a single building was left "

11 *Ibid* p 348, started when Emperor Temmu's wife fell ill

12 Toshio Fukuyama, *Nihon no Tera Nara* (Temples of Japan Nara) Tokyo, 1961, p 61 C-14 dates on the Horyūji and Horinji all seem a little early, but may have to do with the antiquity of the wood which was used See R S Flint and E S Deevey (eds) *Radiocarbon* 4 1962, p 94

Gak-74 Wood from Horyūji pagoda, built ca A D 740	1410±60 (A D 540)
Gak-77 Straw from earthen wall, Horyūji pagoda	1460±70 (A D 490)
Gak-78 Wood from centre pole, Horyūji pagoda	1410±90 (A D 540)
Gak-75 Wood from 3-storied pagoda, Horinji, built ca A D 620	1555±90 (A D 395)

The A D dates are my additions, arrived at through the usual calculation from 1950 It is not clear why the 740 date is given for the Horyūji pagoda, but it is sometimes assumed that as the To-in was being re-built at this time, much other work, including the moving around of statues in the Sai-in, was taking place

13 Shigehisa Tanaka, *Nihon Hekiga no Kenkyū* (Study of Japanese Wall Painting), Osaka, 1944, pp 21 23, says the "porches" *mokoshi* were built to protect the wall paintings from cracking at least after the start of the Shoho period (749 757), following the completion of the paintings 749 is known to have been the year of a large imperial donation to several private temples Tanaka seems to believe that this gift made it possible to do extensive building or other work

14 Fukuyama, *op cit* , p 61

15 Aston, *op cit* , p 240

16 Alexander Soper, "Notes on Horyūji and the Sculpture of the Suiko Period," *Art Bulletin* XXXIII 2, 1951, p 90

17 Takeshi Kuno and Takashi Inoue, "Study of the Yakushi Triad in Kondo, Yakushi-Ji," *Acta Asiatica*, I, 1960, p 101

18 Rizo Takeuchi, *Naraibun* (Original Documents of the Nara Period), Tokyo, 1965, p 345

19 *Horyūji Okagami* Tokyo, 1932, I, p 6

20 Aston, *op cit* , p 65

21 Mizuno, *op cit* pp 23–25, like Fukuyama, discounts the validity of the 607 date for the Yakushi on the basis of its softer modelling, placing it closer to the Hakuho period than the 623 Shaka Soper accepts only the halo as a later replacement . Alexander Soper, "Mizuno's *Horyūji*," *Artibus Asiae*, XXVIII 2–3, 1966, pp. 224–232

22 A satisfactory explanation of this is given by Ryūken Sawa, *Butsuzozuten* (Illustrated Dictionary of Buddhist Images), Tokyo, 1966, pp 77 78, where Miroku is logically placed in the broad class of bodhisattvas

23 T Katsuki, "Hakuho Sculpture, "*Oriental Art*, XI, 3, 1965, p 154, says 698 second year of Emperor Mommu

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25 Dates taken from *Sekai Dai-hyakka Jiten* Gangoji V, p 273, Toyura-dera XVI, p 611, Sūfukuji XII, p 403, and *Bukkyo Daijiten* Todaiji p. 3887, Toshodaiji p 3878.

26 Tanaka, *op cit* , pp 337 338

27 Acker and Rowland, *op cit* , pp 125 127

28 *Ibid* , p 88

29 Mizuno, *op cit* , p. 118

30 See Soper, "Notes on Horyuji, "p 88, for summary of this condition

31 This and the following records translated by Acker and Rowland, *op cit* , p 43

32 *Ibid* , p 44

33 *Ibid*

34 *Ibid* , p 45

35 Aston, *op cit* p 134

36 Acker and Rowland, *op cit* , pp 43 44

37 Presumably the fungal growth was already a serious detraction at its worst where ventilation was the poorest Acker and Rowland, *op cit* , pp 38 40

38 Ibid , pp 76 78

39 Takematsu Haruyama, *Nihon Jodai Kaiga-shi* (The History of Painting in Ancient Japan), Tokyo, 1949, pp 68 70

40 *Ibid* , pp 71 74

41 Acker and Rowland, *op cit* p 230

42 Kiyoshi Asano, *Horyūji Kenchiku Sokan* (A General View of Horyūji Architecture), Kyoto, 1949, pp 132 133

43 The lion and grape mirror is of a late seventh or early eighth century date and of Chinese make It is the most useful article in dating the relics Other objects were a gold container, silver container, bronze container, copper bowl, gold plaque, ivory cylindrical bead, pearl shell, 627 pearls 272 glass beads, and pieces of crystal, amber, calcite and incense wood, all in a hole in the centre of the foundation stone Takeo Kiuchi "Sharimaino to Chindan" (Burial of relics and platform protection (rites), in *Sekai Kokogaku Taikei* (World Archaeology Series), IV, Tokyo, 1961, p 83

44 J Edward Kidder, Jr , *Japanese Temples* Tokyo, 1964, pp 56–57

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Dhyāna in Japanese Art

HUGO MUNSTERBERG

Japanese Zen Borrowed from China

OF ALL THE many Buddhist teachings which reached Japan the one which was to have the greatest influence on Japanese art was the school of meditative or Dhyāna Buddhism, better known as Zen in Japan. It was introduced to Japan from China, where it was known as Ch'an, by the Japanese Buddhist monk Eisai (1141–1215) who had spent several years in China studying Buddhism and had returned in 1191 as a full-fledged master of the Rinzai sect of Zen Buddhism. Upon his return he had first established a monastery in Hakata on Kyushu and in 1202 he moved to Kyoto where he founded the temple of Kennin-ji, which was to become one of the great spiritual centres of the country.

The new teaching which combined elements of Buddhist teaching with Taoist mysticism at once proved extremely popular in Japan and had a profound and lasting influence on many aspects of Japanese life. In fact so all-pervasive was the influence of Zen that many aspects of Japanese culture which by Japanese and foreigners alike are today considered characteristically Japanese are actually Chinese importations brought to Japan by Zen monks of the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, especially the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. However since these cultural institutions usually do not survive in the country of their origin, where Ch'an Buddhism after the end of the Sung period played a very minor role, they are indeed today far more prevalent in Japan than in China itself.

Zen made Japan Contemplative

Zen ideas even if not consciously experienced as such by most modern Japanese permeate a great deal of Japanese life and affect Japanese thinking and Japanese attitudes, far more than most people are aware of. The cult of restrained elegance, the emphasis on self-discipline, the love of quietness, the entire contemplative and inner side of the Japanese character is derived from Buddhist sources, and particularly from Zen Buddhism which cultivated these very qualities. The concept of "Thundering Silence" formulated by the Zen masters is most certainly one of these Zen ideas which in a very deep sense transformed Japanese thought and life. And this influence is by no means restricted to the religious and philosophical side of life but affects even the daily life of the common people.

However, the area in which the profound influence of Zen Buddhism on Japanese culture is most clearly apparent is in the arts of the country. Especially the visual arts, but also Noh drama, Haiku poetry, the tea ceremony or *cha-no-yu* and flower arrangement are all expressive of the Zen spirit as it has affected the culture of Japan. Yet it is in the visual arts that Zen ideals and Zen approaches towards reality are most clearly seen, in fact often more easily approached than in the often elusive and esoteric Zen teachings, for, as the Zen masters said, Zen cannot be expressed in words and what can be expressed in rational, verbal terms cannot be Zen.

Perhaps the art from which most obviously is an expression of Zen teachings is monochrome ink painting as it was practised under Zen inspiration in Sung China and Muromachi Japan. In fact many of the outstanding artists working at the time such as Mu Ch'i and Liang K'ai in China and Sesshu and Shubun in Japan actually were Zen priests and created their masterpieces in the Zen monasteries. In both their style and their subject-matter the paintings created by these Zen artists were a direct expression of Zen ideals and insights. Just as Zen Buddhism emphasized that true enlightenment could only be achieved by sudden illumination, which would overcome the believer like a flash of lightening, so these artists worked rapidly and out of the depth of their subconscious, not by painstaking and careful execution of the image. The result is a type of painting which is free and spontaneous giving vivid expression to the Zen way of experiencing reality.

The greatest Chinese painters of this type lived during the late Sung period, that is, the thirteenth century. Typical for both the style in which they worked and the kind of themes they represented is Liang K'ai's famous scroll showing the Ch'an Patriarch Hui-neng tearing up the sūtras (Plate 29) indicating thereby that true insight could never be achieved by the study of sacred scriptures but could only be found by discovering one's own Buddha nature. Even more famous as a Ch'an painter is Mu Ch'i whose portrait of Bodhidharma (Plate 30) or as he is known in Japan Daruma, captures the forceful personality and spiritual power of the great Indian teacher who is said to have introduced the Dhyāna teachings to China. Both of these works are today preserved in Japan where this kind of Ch'an painting was highly esteemed and eagerly collected in contrast to China, where, under Confucian influence, this type of art was neglected, so that hardly any Ch'an painting survives in China today. And not only were they treasured as great works of art and moving religious icons but they also exerted a profound influence on the art of Japan. (See colour Plate VI).

The greatest of the Japanese Zen painters, and in the eyes of many Japanese critics, in fact, the greatest painter Japan has produced was the Zen monk Sesshu (1420–1506) who was connected with the famous Kyoto Zen temple Shokoku-ji, which was one of the important cultural centres of the Muromachi period. Several of his paintings such as his celebrated picture of Hui-k'o (or in Japanese Eka) offering his arm, which he had just cut off, to Daruma as an indication of his determination to become one of his followers and his portraits of Daruma, the founder of Zen Buddhism, are taken from Zen history and legend. However Sesshu's painting which embodies the Zen approach towards art most clearly is perhaps his mountain landscape painted in the artist's old age for his favourite pupil, who was also a Zen monk (Plate 32). Executed in the p'o-mo or splashed ink style in a very inspired and spontaneous manner it represents the very essence of what Zen is all about. As one of the inscriptions on the scroll written by the Zen priest Keijo Shurin says: "The Ancients spoke of painting in the same terms as Zen. It is not transmitted through books but directly by the heart. On a bit of paper, create darks and lights—mountains amid faint rain, (and you have) an inspired ink painting for the setting sun".[1] Here indeed as the commentator says the Zen spirit speaks directly to the heart of the viewer.

Landscape painting was in fact one of the main subjects treated by the Zen painters for it was through the contemplation of nature that the Zen devotee could best penetrate to the very essence of the ultimate reality, the eternal Tao. Man in the Zen view of the world was but a small part of the vastness of the cosmos, and only by losing oneself in this vastness could one find one's true Buddha nature. The Zen anthology of the sixteenth century puts it : "The voice of the mountain torrent is from one great tongue, the lines of the hills, are they not the Pure Body of the Buddha?"[2] In fact all of nature the rocks, the trees and grasses are experienced as part of the Buddha and a mere blade of grass may be used as a sixteen foot gold Buddha.[3]

Not all of these Chinese style ink paintings were painted by Zen monks or are in any specific sense connected with Zen Buddhism as for example the small painting of a boat in the storm painted by Sesshu's most famous pupil Sesson (Plate 31), nevertheless they reflect the Zen spirit both in their execution and point of view. The very theme of the tiny figures of the fishermen with their boat tossed by the waves and the wind blowing against the branches of the old pine and the bamboo is influenced by Zen thinking, and above all the bold and inspired style in which the picture is painted is characteristic of Zen art.

Often however the Japanese Zen painters chose subjects more immediately derived from Buddhist stories such as the numerous depictions of the humorous pair Han-shan and Shih-te (Kanzan and Jittoku in Japanese) who although seemingly foolish are really wise, for they have found the Buddha within them or to use the Zen way of putting it have discovered their true Buddha nature. In fact many of the saintly figures depicted are very simple men such as Hsien-Tzu the shrimp catcher who is represented holding a shrimp in one hand and a net in the other as may be seen in a hanging scroll attributed to the sixteenth century celebrated Zen master Takuan (Plate 35) The subject here represented is told in the following words by the famous modern Zen scholar Daisetz Suzuki : "Hsien-Tzu, after reading into the secrets of his being under Tung-shan Liang-chieh, lived by the River Min. He possessed nothing except things necessary for his mere living. He had no fixed residence and was generally found sleeping in a shrine among the paper coins offered to the god by the villagers. Since his daily occupation consisted in fishing for shrimp, he was known among them as Hsien-tzu the shrimp man. Ching of Hua-yen heard of this strange character and wishing to test his Zen understanding concealed himself one evening among the papers in the shrine before the fishing monk returned. At midnight, he seized the old fisher-resident as he came back, and abruptly asked 'What was the idea of the First Patriarch's visit to this country?' The fishermonk had no hesitation in answering this 'The wine-stand in front of the god.'"[4]

It was this kind of seemingly nonsensical statement in which the Zen masters clothed their truths, for to them only through paradox and meditation on the strange riddles called *koan*, which were posed to the Zen students, could the ultimate reality be fathomed. All of phenomenal world and all rational insights were thought to be mere illusion, an idea expressed most poignantly in the monkey scroll attributed to the great eighteenth century Zen master Hakuin (Plate 36). Depicting a monkey hanging from a branch who is reaching out of the reflection of the moon at the bottom of the well, the picture gives expression to a Zen insight. For here the artist has rendered in a few inspired strokes of the brush on a blank piece of paper, which suggests space, the Zen view of man who is for ever reaching out for what is really nothing more than a reflection of the true reality instead of penetrating beyond the world of appearances to the world of ultimate reality, the Tao or the Buddha nature of all being Although on the surface a very simple painting stated in the most economical of terms, a painting such as this embodies the most profound of Zen insights giving expression to the doctrine which exists outside of all doctrinal teaching and does not depend on letters or words but points directly to the mind.

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Zen Influenced the Japanese Architecture most

The place where Zen influence is most clearly seen in Japan even today is in the architecture of that country, especially the construction and design of *chasitsu* or tea houses. Here the ideals of purity, simplicity and serenity find their most beautiful expression even if the builders of these structures often have no idea that the forms they employ reflect the ideals and thinking of Zen Buddhism. In fact Zen has influenced Japanese thought so profoundly in this area that even the average Japanese house reflects Zen ideas although it is in no overt way connected with Zen Buddhism. However when the origin of its design is traced back to its beginning it will be seen that its model is found in buildings erected by the Zen abbots of the 14th century.

A good example of such a tea house built under Zen inspiration by the tea devotees or *cha-jin* is the Kanden tea house in Matsue (Plate 34). Designed by the performance of *cha-no-yu* or tea ceremony these structures were modelled on rustic peasant huts in order to achieve the feeling of naturalness and unpretentiousness which was considered fitting for the spirit of tea. The building is always conceived of as being part of nature with the house and garden forming one harmonious whole. The forms are severe and restrained with no ornamentation of any type and the lines are straight and the shapes employed geometrical. The building materials are plain and natural with wood, bamboo, thatch, rushes, bark and paper the most important. The whole effect aimed at is one of harmony and simplicity in keeping with Zen ideals.

Closely related to these Zen inspired structures are the Zen gardens notably those attached to the great Zen monasteries. They are of course not gardens in the sense that other civilizations have thought of gardens, for they bear no resemblance either to the great parks of England with their spacious green areas and natural forms or the formal gardens of Mughal India with their water basins and their carefully arranged flower beds and rows of trees. As Langdon Warner puts it so well : "The fandamental thing about Japanese gardens, and what sets them apart from any gardens of the civilized world, is usually lost sight of by Westerners. It is the fact that the art was definitely used in China and Japan to express the highest truths of religion and philosophy precisely as other civilizations have made use of the arts of literature and painting, of ritual dance and music."[5] Employing no flowers or grass, often not even trees and water, the Zen garden architects reduce their compositions to the simplest of forms and plainest of materials such as sand, rocks and a few shrubs. Yet with this economy of means they achieve the most telling of results. The most famous of all these Zen gardens is probably the rock garden at Ryoan-ji in Kyoto which consists simply of a few stones with some moss arranged on a carefully raked expanse of sand representing islands emerging out of the sea. Another famous garden expressing similar ideas is the Zen garden in front of the Silver Pavilion on the grounds of Jisho-ji in Kyoto the most interesting feature of which is the co-called Moon-Viewing Terrace (Plate 33) from which it is said the effect of the moonlight on the garden could be studied. Consisting of nothing but a cone-shaped, flat-topped sandy hill it is plain in the extreme but through these simple, abstract forms the Zen garden attempts to render symbolically the very essence of the cosmos.

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Indian Influence on Japanese Stories

HAJIME NAKAMURA

SOME STORIES OF ancient India were very influential in shaping Japanese stories, by providing them with materials. In the process of shaping, however, Indian materials were greatly modified and adapted in such a way as would appeal to the mentality of common people of Japan in general.

In ancient India it was believed that a hare or a rabbit lived in the moon, so that it was called *śaśin* (literally 'containing a hare'). Probably influenced by the idea, ancient Japanese believed that in the moon there lived a hare which was making rice cakes, pounding cooked rice with a pestle.

The Fascinating Story of Monkey and His Liver

The story of a monkey and his liver was also known to ancient Japanese. The *Sasekishu*, a mediaeval collection of popular stories, sets forth the story as follows :

In the ocean there was a horn-less dragon. It is said that it resembled a snake, and it had no horn. His wife had conceived and yearned for the live liver of a monkey. He went to the neighbourhood of mountains where monkeys lived. Seeing one, he asked : "Is this mountain abundant in fruits?"

The monkey replied : "Very difficult to get them."

The horn-less dragon said : "Well, in the ocean where I live there is a mountain abundant in fruits. Won't you come with me?"

The monkey said : "How shall I be able to get into the ocean?"

The dragon said : "I will put you on my back and take you there."

"Certainly". The Monkey replied.

The dragon swam with him on his back. However far they went, the mountain could not be seen.

"Well, where is the mountain?" Asked the monkey.

"Why should there be a mountain in the ocean! It is only that my wife longed for the live liver of a monkey. That is why I have done like this!" answered the dragon.

The monkey suddenly turned pale and did not know what to do. Finally, he said : "It would have been an easy thing, if you had told this to me in the mountain! I have left my liver in the mountain where we were. Being in haste, I forgot to bring it with me."

The dragon, thinking that it was only for the sake of his liver that he had brought the monkey, said to him, "Well, let us go back to bring it here!"

"All right". Replying so, the monkey returned with the dragon to the mountain.

Arriving there, the monkey said jeeringly: "As there is no mountain in the ocean, so there is no liver apart from the body." Saying so, he fled deep into the mountain. The dragon returned home disappointed.

This story is referred to in the *Konjaku-monogatari* 5.25 and in a work by St. Nichiren also.

The prototype of this story is mentioned in Jātaka Nos. 208, 342, and 57, which set forth the story as a dialogue between a monkey and a crocodile. However, it is likely that the direct source of this story was in the *Hoon Jurin*, vol. 54, Cheating 60, Cheating Animals 6.[1] and the *Batsu Hongyo Jukkyo* (a Chinese version of the Life of the Buddha).

The Story of Monoceros

The story of Monoceros, Ikkaku Sennin (Ekaśṛṅga), developed as an opera in a Japanese dramatical work of the Mediaeval Ages. I shall cite the whole story for information. ("Sennin" is the Japanese equivalent for "ṛṣi", a sort of wizard-hermit, supposed to possess magical power and immortal life, and to dwell in mountains.)

Monoceros, The Ṛṣi

Persons Represented
Monoceros, the Ṛṣi, (Ṛṣi Ekaśṛṅga)
The Archdragon (Nāga)
A Courtier
Senda, (Śāntā) a lady, (Devī)

Scene : INDIA.

The Courtier.

By your leave. I am a humble subject serving under His Majesty, the King of Vārāṇasī, in India. Not far from this kingdom, there liveth a certain ṛṣi, who being born from the womb of a deer, hath a horn on his forehead. Hence his name "Monoceros." Of late, this ṛṣi strove for power with the Archdragon, the God of Rain, and succeeded, by means of his miraculous charms, in imprisoning the latter and all his hosts in a narrow cave. As a result, all of a sudden rain ceased to fall, and none hath fallen for these several years. Our august Sovereign, wise and benevolent by nature, being troubled beyond measure at this, bethought him of sundry expediencies to alleviate the disaster, pressing so heavily upon all his subjects, and especially upon the honest farmers of his realm. Now the plan he hath decided upon after many days and nights of profoundest contemplation is no other than this: a matchless beauty, Mrs. Senda her name, shall venture forth unto the solitary spot, where the said ṛṣi dwelleth, craftily pretending to be an unlucky wanderer who hath lost her way. Very likely, enchanted by her beauty, he will go so far as to forget himself, and even lose his own magical power. Thus may the Archdragon be rescued from his captivity, and the land from famine. Such, in truth, is the wily expediency devised by His Majesty the King. And now I am about to accompany the fair enchantress on yon mountain path.

The Same.

High is the peak,
Thick clouds out off the sight of wanderers;
Dense is the pine wood,

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UDYOGAMANDAL (P. O.) (KERALA)

Chill blasts blow off the dreams of travellers.
All, all is dark and drear and melancholy,
And pearl-like dew-drops trickle from the branches.
O Maple Tree! Robed in autumnal glory,
Thou lend'st the colour even unto the wind,
That bleakly blowing sendeth shivers through
The pilgrim's costume. Yet still must we toil on,
Through mists and clouds upward we make our way,
Through trackless wilds, with no landmark to guide travellers,
Save Providence Divine.

The Same.

For these many days have we never relaxed our tedious plodding, and yet alas! the object of our search seemeth to be no nearer than before. We are lost! The same unknown mountain path lieth stretching before our bewildered eyes. But lo! the breeze that cometh from yon vale wafteth an unfamiliar and unearthly scent: and behold! is there not yonder a quaint old hermitage, built of wild creepers and rough branches of pines? Perchance it is the retreat of him, whom we seek. Let us turn our steps thither, and have a peep inside.

Monoceros.

The limpid water of the fountain in the glen beneath,
I keep in the earthen jar:
The ethereal cloud at the brow of the summit above
I boil in the silver kettle.
The music is at an end,
And there is none to break my solitude:
But lo! the branches with thick green leaves,
Once casting their dark shadows upon the brooks
Are now turned crimson,
On the splendour of the autumnal scene is charming!

The Courtier.

Pardon, good friend! Here is one who wants to speak to the inmate of the hermitage.

Monoceros

Hush! Strange! this is a spot, on every side surrounded by pathless precipices, piercing the very skies, and here no mortal's feet have ever trod before. Who and what art thou?

The Courtier.

Strangers we are, who have lost our way on the mountain path, so rugged and solitary. Darkness is fast coming on. We can neither proceed nor return. Be merciful, and give us shelter for the night, we beseech thee.

Monoceros.

Nay, this is a region beyond human commerce. Haste, begone!

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The Courtier.

What do I hear? A place beyond human commerce? Is this then an abode of an heavenly ṛṣi? Pray, come and reveal thy form.

Monoceros.

Ashamed though I am of my strange countenance, ye shall surely behold it, as ye ask to do so.

Chorus.

The wicket-gate is opened self.
Out steppeth an uncouth figure.
Green, bushy hair covereth his head
A horn projecteth from his forehead
A strange figure!
It is wonderful to see a ṛṣi now
even for a moment!

The Courtier.

Now do I recollect myself. Art thou not Monoceros, the Ṛṣi, whose name and fame are known even in the lower world?

Monoceros.

Ay, a ṛṣi am I, and Monoceros is my name. If my eyes deceive me not, ye are not common travellers. What a beautiful court lady! Her eye-brows shaped like the lovely crescent, her robe made of the choicest silk, how noble, how charming! Sure, ye are not of mean order. Pray, who and what are ye?

The Courtier.

As I told thee before, we are naught but poor benighted strangers, who have lost the way. To refresh ourselves from the fatigue of the journey, we have brought with us a bit of delicious liquor. Wilt thou taste a drop thereof?

Monoceros.

Nay, here is this sequestered vale, debarred from the vulgar tread, one liveth only on the needles of pine trees, covereth himself with moss, and drinketh naught but the dewdrops upon the evergreen ivy. Hence age hath no influences over me, nor death any dominion. I am ever young and immortal. Liquor! the very word maketh me sick. How dare I even touch it! Never, never!

The Courtier.

Sir, thou art right, perfectly right. But pray, be kind and condescend to accept our goodwill. (Senda the lady approaches the ṛṣi and offers him the precious beverage.)

Monoceros.

Verily, to be so hardhearted as not to appreciate thy goodwill, lady, were to prove one's self to be inferior even to beasts and demons.

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Chorus.

The goblet glittering like the moon,
The Ṛṣi accepteth with joy.
He plucketh a stem of the chrysanthemum,
And his sleeves catch its fragrance,
He drinketh the dew that lieth upon it—
Drops of eternal life.
'Tis the first commerce
He ever held with a mortal lady.

Senda.

Sparkling is the liquor.

Chorus.

The goblet is filled to the brim.
Swinging her long and graceful sleeves.
The beauty danceth frolicsome and free.

Chorus (again).

The music groweth merrier.
The cup is exchanged oftener
The fair one charmeth him more and more.
He is overwhelmed with joy unbounded.
He danceth round and round.
His eyes swim in his head.
He lieth prone on the floor.
And falleth into slumber profound.
Retracing her footsteps along the lonely Mountain path.
Senda, being delighted, hasteneth with her
retinue back to the royal city.

Chorus (again).

Hark! from within the cave,
Bursteth forth a terrific sound.
How Heaven shaketh.
And Earth quaketh!

Monoceros.

Strange! Whilst fast asleep, overcome with the liquor offered by a fascinating lady, dupe that I was!—suddenly I hear a tremendous noise, issuing out of the gloomy den, wherein I have confined the Archdragon, my deadly foe, and all his hosts. Alas! what and why can this be?

The Dragons.

Woe unto thee, Monoceros! Since thou hast made friends with a mortal, thou art doomed, thou accursed one! Verily, thou were infatuated with the liquor of Nescience (*avidyā*); thou

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hast been deprived of the magical power thou didst wield of yore. Receive thou now Heaven's just punishment for thy sin.

Chorus.

Loud roareth the storm.
And black is the sky:
The rocks are shivered,
The cave yawneth open.
The Dragons have appeared again.

Chorus (again).

The startled Ṛṣi standeth back aghast.
And in hot haste doth he his dagger draw.
Clad in his armour bright of wrath (*dveṣa*).
Wielding a sword with False Opinions (*mithyādṛṣṭi*)
Sternly the Dragon presseth on his foe.
The combat lasteth on for some time.
By slow degrees, the Ṛṣi's power is spent.
He shrinketh back—he gaspeth for his breath—
He droppeth in dismay prone on the turf!
The dragons are delighted.
The thunder crasheth, and the lightening flasheth,
Rain, long pent-up, as a cataract cometh down.
Into the hoary form of the boisterous billows.
The mighty victor headlong entereth.—
Marching in triumph, leading all his hosts,
He goeth back to his palace under sea (*nāgabhavana*).
And there he is molested never more.

(FINIS)

So far is a Japanese opera.[3]

TAIHEIKI, THE MAHĀBHĀRATA OF JAPANESE LANGUAGE

This story seems to have been derived from the *Taiheiki* (something like a Japanese *Mahābhārata*), vol. 37, and the story in the latter derived from the *Hoon Jarin* vol. 71, and the Chinese version of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtropadeśa* by Kumārajīva, vol. 17.

We have to compare the above-cited story with the Indian prototype, whose contents are briefly given as follows:[4]

> "Ṛṣyaśṛṅga,[5] born miraculously of an antelope, is the son of a saint, who grows up in a hermitage in a forest, without ever having seen any person besides his father. Above all, he has never seen a woman. Now there was once a great drought in the kingdom of King Lomapāda, and the sages declared: the gods are angry, and the rain will fall only if the king succeeds in bringing Ṛṣyaśṛṅga into his country. The king's daughter Śāntā undertakes the task of enticing the young saint into the land. A floating hermitage is constructed of artificial trees and shrubs, and in this Śāntā

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> sails to the dwelling place of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga. Arriving in the vicinity of the forest hermitage, the king's daughter steps ashore and takes advantage of the absence of the father of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, in order to approach the youthful ascetic. She gives him magnificent fruits and delicious wine, plays coquettishly with a ball, and clings in a tender embrace to the youth, who thinks he sees before him a hermit lad like himself. Thereupon the maiden returns to the ship, as the father of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga approaches the hermitage. The old man notices the excitement of his son, and asks him what has happened. The latter then describes his adventure with the beautiful "youth" and his rapture at meeting him, in glowing terms, and says that he would fain practise the same "ascetic discipline" as younder youth, for he yearns to see him again. But the father warns him that these are evil demons *(rākṣasa)* who go about in various shapes to disturb the asceticism of pious men.
>
> "But no sooner has the father departed again, than Ṛṣyaśṛṅga goes in search of his young "friend." Soon he has found beautiful Śāntā, is enticed by her into the floating hermitage, and is carried away into Lomapāda's kingdom. The moment the young saint enters the land, the rain begins to fall in torrents. The king makes him his son-in-law, after he has conciliated the old father by means of rich gifts."

In the *Mahābhārata* it is not Śāntā, but a courtesan, who seduces the saint.

With regard to the purport of this legend the late Winternitz explains it in a comparative light as follows :

> "Various versions of this legend may be found in other Indian works of literature, especially in the Rāmāyaṇa, in the Padma-Purāṇa and in the Buddhist Jātaka book. It is easy to recognize that though the ballad is based on[6] an old legend with a religious background, it was related in its original form with a *racy humour* whose indecencies the various revisors endeavoured to mitigate. The scene in which the ascetic's son, who has never seen a woman, catches sight of the beautiful maiden, whom he takes for an ascetic, though her charms do not leave him unmoved, was certainly the central point of the story in the original version, and was described with a coarse humour, of whose rudeness some examples are still preserved in the Buddhistic Jātaka.[7] But how popular this humorous tale was, is shown by its being familiar in different versions in Tibet, China and Japan, and in its having left traces behind even in the unicorn-legend of the West."[8]

In comparison with Indian versions of the legend the Japanese version used in Noh plays (Japanese operas) mentions the woman, not as a girl nor as a prostitute, but as a wife of high ranking, and minimizes the coquettish attitude of the lady, almost eliminating erotic elements. These features probably indicate some *penchants* on the part of Japanese knights (*samurai*) and high-ranking persons who favoured the Noh plays enthusiastically.

The above cited pieces are enough to illustrate Indian influences on Japanese stories. In Japanese classical works we find a great deal of Indian influence,[9] which awaits further investigations in future.

REFERENCES

1 *Hōon Jurin*, vol 54 (*Taisho Tripitaka*, Vol 53, pp 692 a–b)

2 The English translation of this piece is chiefly based on K Wadagaki, *Gleanings from Japanese Literature* Tokyo Nampoku-sha 1919, pp. 234-245 However, I have changed some phrases and expressions, having checked the sentences with the Japanese original.

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3 M Winternitz *A History of Indian Literature*, vol 2. University of Calcutta Press, 1927, pp 400–401. Cf *Kathāsaritsāgara* 10, 63, *Pañcatantra*, 4, 1, *Śukasaptati*, t.s. version 69 On this opera the German scholar F W K Müller, published a study Ikkaku sennin, eine mittelalterliche japanisce Open, transkribiert und übersetzt. Nebst einem Exkurs zur Einhornsage (in the *Festschrift fur Adolf Bastian zu seinem* 70 *Geburtstag*, Berlin 1896, pp 513–538)

4 The name literally means "the antelope-horned" As he has *one* horn on his head, he is also called "Ekaśṛnga", i e. "Unicorn" or "Monoceros"

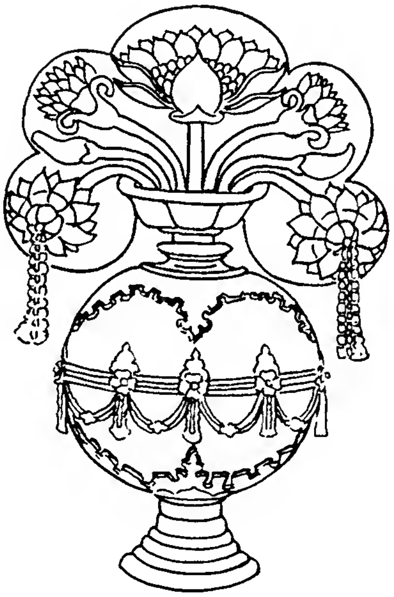
5. In the Gāthās of the Jātakas Nos 523 and 526 These Gāthās were discussed by H Luders, *Philologia Indologica*

6 Jataka 208, 342, 57, *Mahāvastu* 2, 108.

7. *Nachrichten von der Koniglichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften Gottingen*, Philologisch-historische Klass, 1897, p 38

8 "the oldest remnants of a literary setting of the Ṛṣyaśṛnga legend," "and these verses were, at any rate, partly known to the author of Mahābhārata version, and, translated into Sanskrit and more or less transformed, were included in his work " M Winternitz, *op cit*, p 401

9 Cf Otoya Tanaka, *Indo Minwa-shu* (A Collection of Indian Tales), Tokyo, Kawade-shobo, 1952



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Śaiva Icons of Nepal

BRIJENDRA NATH SHARMA

Political History of Nepal is the History of Hindu Kings

THE ANCIENT HINDU Kingdom of Nepal lies in the lap of the snow-clad Himālayas. According to a legend, god Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva had converted the once beautiful blue lake into a fertile valley, now known as Nepal. The chronicles, known as *vaṁśāvalīs*, provide information about the names of the various kings, and their dynasties, who ruled over the valley of Nepal. Gopālas, Ābhīras and Kirātas are some of the dynasties which find mention in these chronicles. Rājā Nimikha, who claimed to be a descedant of the Solar dynasty or according to some *vaṁśāvalīs* to the Lunar dynasty, subdued the Kirātas and his successors ruled over Nepal for quite a long period. The last ruler of this dynasty is said to have flourished in the year 1234 (or 1239) of the present age or Kaliyuga.[1]

The history of Nepal prior to 400 B.C. is shrouded in obscurity. It was a part of the Mauryan empire in the 3rd century B.C.[2] Aśoka, the Great (273–236 B.C.) visited this land with his daughter Cārumatī and her husband Devapāla, who chose to settle there and construct a monastery and a nunnery. To commemorate this visit, Aśoka founded the city of Deo Patan,[3] where four stūpas were built which are still existing.[4] It is learnt from the Rummindei pillar inscription of Aśoka that in the twentieth year of his reign, the emperor came in person to the place where the inscribed pillar stands and offered worship to the Buddha. As Buddha was born here, the village of Lumbini was freed from all religious cesses and was made to contribute only one-eighth of the produce as land revenue.[5]

The *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra* informs us that after the defeat of their chief Ceṭaka, by the Magadhan king Ajātaśatru (468 B.C.), the remnants of the Licchavīs of Vaiśālī fled to Nepal.[6] But it was probably in the 2nd century A.D., that the Licchavīs, who had carried with them all the elements of Indian civilization, founded their dynasty in Nepal.[7] The *vaṁśāvalīs* mention that about thirty-six kings of this dynasty had ruled over the valley in the remote past. According to some scholars Kumāradevī, the queen of the Gupta emperor Candragupta I (A.D. 319–335?), was a Licchavī princess of the ruling family of Nepal.[8]

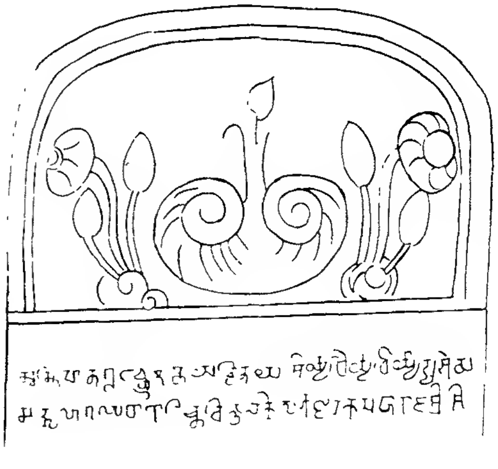

FIG. 1 *Inscription of King Śivadeva*

But others think that this Licchavī family was ruling somewhere in north Bihar, in the region between Vaiśālī and Nepal. During the reign of Samudragupta (335–380 A.D.), the son and successor of Candragupta I, Nepal was one of the frontier states of his vast empire. Jayadeva I, the king of Nepal was his contemporary. We learn from the Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudragupta that like other frontier states Nepal also paid taxes, obeyed orders and rendered obeisance in person to the emperor.[11]

Vṛṣadeva was the first important historical figure of the Licchavī dynasty of Nepal, who is credited with the construction of many vihāras in the valley. His son and successor Śaṇkaradeva made religious gifts to the temple of Paśupati and built a monastery for a Brāhmaṇa at Patan. Dharmadeva, who succeeded his father Śaṅkaradeva had a large kingdom under his sway. He caused to be made a statue of Nandī, the celestial vehicle of Śiva as also founded the great temple of Svayambhūnātha. Dharmadeva was succeeded by his illustrious son Mānadeva. Mānadeva's Chaṅgu inscription records that after the death of his father, his widowed mother Rājyavatī decided to follow her deceased husband on the funeral pyre, but due to the threat of self-immolation by Mānadeva, she changed her mind and had to perform along with her son the funeral rites for her husband.[12]

Mānadeva was an energetic ruler and to fulfil his imperial designs, he led several military campaigns. He not only inflicted a crushing defeat upon the feudal chiefs but also uprooted the powerful Mallas. Thus, the king extended his domains both in the east and the west and consolidated the kingdom. Mānadeva was a great patron of art and culture. He set up a *Garuḍa-dhvaja-stambha* in the Vaiṣṇava temple of Caṅgunārāyaṇa, built the royal palace *Māna-gṛha* and set up monasteries.

During the weak rule of Mānadeva's successors, the royal power was grabbed by the baron Aṃśuvarman who, after marrying a Licchavī princess, not only strengthened his power but also became the *de facto* ruler of Nepal. But Nepal was not a bed of roses for the new king. Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, the powerful ruler of Tibet, conquered Nepal and Assam and also married Aṃśuvarman's daughter. This brought about a direct contact between Nepal and Tibet.

In India, after the decline of the Gupta empire in the sixth century, the Vardhanas came to power. Harṣavardhana, the third in the line, extended his sway far and wide. Some scholars are of the view that Nepal formed part of Harṣa's empire and the use of Harṣa era there was due to his conquest or political dominance.[13] Bāṇa, the celebrated court poet of Harṣa corroborates this fact by saying that 'the king exacted tribute from an inaccessible land of snowy mountains',[14] which according to Dr. R. K. Mookerjee is to be identified with Nepal.[15]

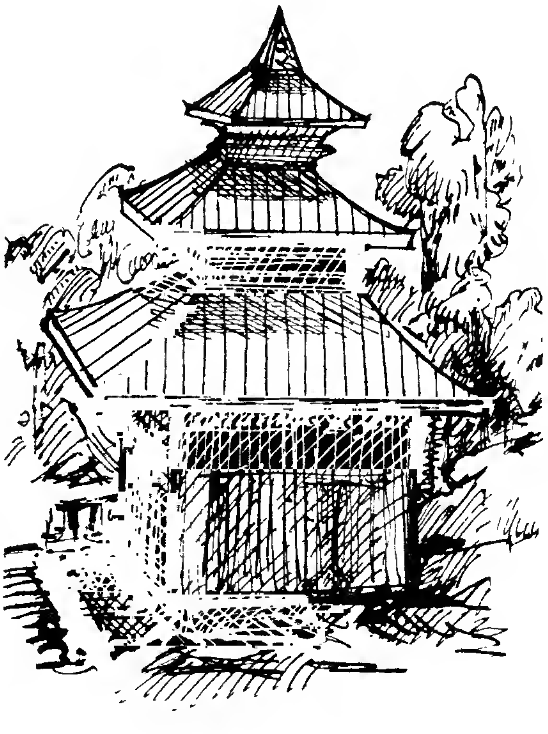

FIG. 2. *Vajrayoni Temple at Sanku (Nepal).*

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Chaos overtook Nepal after the death of Aṃśuvarman in about 623 A.D. and several kings ruled the valley in succession. During this period of turmoil, probably the most capable ruler was Narendradeva of the Licchavī family, who manoeuvred to regain his paternal kingdom with the help of the Tibetan king. But for this help he had to pay heavily as he was reduced to the position of a vassal of the Tibetan monarch. Besides a mission from China, several Chinese also visited Nepal during his period. After his death, his son Śivadeva and later on his son Jayadeva ruled the valley in the first-half of the 8th century A.D.

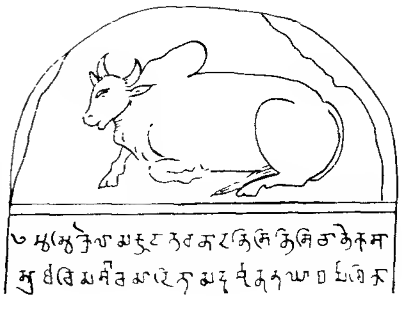
FIG. 3 *The Sacred Bull.*

The Pālas of Eastern India also came into contact with the rulers of Nepal. During his military campaigns, the Pāla King Dharmapāla (770–810 A.D.), had also conquered Gokarṇa, which, according to some scholars, is a sacred site on the bank of the Bagmati river in Nepal.[16] The mediaeval art of Nepal is almost an off-shoot of the Pāla style,[17] which is borne out by the numerous images of Hindu deities and those of the Buddhist pantheon found in Nepal.[18] Dhīman and his son Bitpalo, the two celebrated artists of the reign of Devapāla (810–850) are said to have visited Nepal in the 9th century A.D.[19] The Tibetan scholar Tārānātha, writing in 1608 A.D., has immensely praised the achievements of these two master artists in the field of art.[20] He has also spoken in high words of the well-known Pāla school of Bihar and Bengal flourishing in the reign of Devapāla.[21] Besides these, several noted Buddhist scholars visited Nepal from time to time, where they propagated the Buddhist religion and philosophy.[22] The great philosopher Atīśa Dīpaṅkara stayed for about a year in Nepal on his way to Tibet, where he was invited by the Tibetan king Ye-śes-ḥod and his successor Byaṅ-chūb in the eleventh century. Similarly, Mahāpaṇḍita Vibhūticandra, a renowned scholar of Jagaddala stayed in Nepal on his return journey from Tibet.[23]

The cultural contacts of India and Nepal continued to flourish during the mediaeval period also, as even today the two countries are closely knit in the socio-religious fields. It is the only kingdom of the world which has an unbroken tradition of Hindu kings following Hindu religion. Rather Hinduism has always been the keynote of our relations with Nepal.

Nepal the Land of Śaivism

Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism have been the two general divisions of Hinduism, which is one of the ancient-most religions of the world. Śāktism found in Nepal is only Śaiva in character. 'Śiva' meaning 'auspicious' has been worshipped in India in his multifarious manifestations from times immemorial, which is amply corroborated by the Vedic and Purāṇic references. The earliest archaeological evidence as proved by a seal from Mohenjodaro (2000 B.C.) reveals his worship as Paśupatinātha.[24] Throughout the historical period, the various forms of Lord Śiva are beautifully represented in sculpture. Simultaneously, his worship has also been in the form of a *liṅga*, the symbol of all power, energy and creation.

Royal Patronage to Śaiva Temples

Śaivism was not only popular in India, but during the early centuries of the Christian era it also shed its influence in the neighbouring countries. In Nepal, it attained the status of the state religion under the patronage of the Licchavīs. King Mānadeva of this dynasty, though a devout Vaiṣṇavite, was a tolerant king. By his orders, Naravarman had installed a Śiva-liṅga.

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Kṣemasundarī, the royal queen, also raised a temple to the glory of Lord Śiva.[25]

An Abhīrī princess, who was an ardent devotee of the Lord, also built a temple of Śiva-Anuparameśvara.

The Licchavī king Jayadeva II, who flourished in the 7th century A.D., has recorded in his inscriptions that all his ancestors were Śaivites.

Among the numerous shrines of Śiva in Nepal, the temple of Lord Paśupatinātha has always been venerated one. This temple of the Gupta period was destroyed by Shamsuddin Illyas of Bengal in 1349 A.D., but later restored by Jayasiṁharāma in 1361 A.D. The *Catur-mukha-liṅga* in this temple, fashioned in black stone, is after the Gupta art traditions. Here, the god holds a rosary and a vase in his hands. The Pagoda type form of this temple appears to have been rennovated in the 16th-17th century A.D.

In the Harigaon inscription[26] datable to the early 7th century A.D., the *Mahāsāmanta* Aṃśuvarman calls himself *bhāgavata-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Paśupati-pādānudhyāta*. His other epigraphs at Bungamati[27] and Paśupati,[28] etc., also refer to the Nandi, the celestial mount of Śiva. These prove beyond doubt, that Aṃśuvarman was a great devotee of Lord Paśupati.

A stone inscription of Jayadeva II, the Licchavī king, dated in the year 153 (=721–22 A.D.) records the gift of a silver lotus to Lord Paśupati.

The rulers of the Ṭhākuri dynasty were also zealous followers of Śiva. Guṇakāmadeva, in the latter half of the 10th century, made a gift of "eleven treasures" to Lord Paśupatinātha. He also accummulated wealth from the four quarters of the earth and used it "to cause Paśupati to be bathed with golden water, poured from golden *dhāras*, for a fortnight".[29] Śaṅkaradeva (1065–1082) installed an image of Śaṅkeśvara in the hall of Nandī (*Nandiśālā*) at Naksal and also constructed a temple in honour of the deity.[30] Śivadeva (1098–1126) offered religious endowments of Paśupatinātha, and donated a silver lotus to the deity. He issued gold coins, called *Śivakāṅka*, with the image of Śiva impressed on them.[31]

The Mallas, who became paramount in Nepal in the beginning of the thirteenth century, showered their veneration on Lord Śiva with an equal zest. They made several munificent donations at the lotus feet of the Lord, and also patronised Śaiva teachers. Abhayamalla (1216–1255) was a devout Śiva-bhakta. He performed *mahāsnāna* and *Lakṣahoma* every year to propitiate his favourite deity.

Jayasiṃhamalla (1271–74) not only donated a gold waist-band to lord Paśupati, but also caused a beautiful chariot to be built for the deity, which was inset with precious stones. His successor Anantamalla (1274–1310) donated a flag-staff in honour of Paśupati. He also gold-plated the roof of the Paśupatinātha Temple.

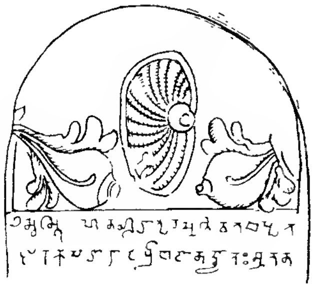

FIG 4 *Inscription of Vasantasena.*

The Khasias led by their king Jayatāri invaded Nepal in A.D. 1287–88 and terrorised the inhabitants of the valley, yet he offered prayers in person at the temple of Paśupatinātha. Once his stormy attacks subsided, Anantamalla expressed his gratitude by offering a gold chain to the image of Paśupatinātha. He erected *svarṇadhvaja-stambhas* at the four corners of the temple, and covered the image of Nandī with gold dust.

Jyotirmalla, surmounted the temple of Paśupatinātha with a gold finial in A.D. 1411.

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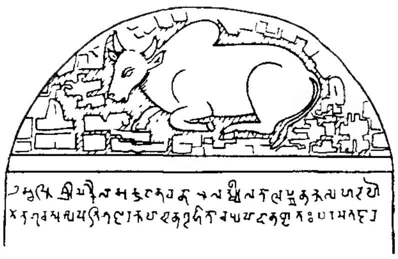

FIG 5 *Inscription of King Śivadeva.*

Yakṣamalla (A.D. 1428–82) was a worshipper of both Śiva and Viṣṇu. He went on pilgrimage to Gosaiṁthan to worship Nīlakaṇṭha-Mahādeva and later propitiated god Paśupatinātha. His feudatory, Jayasiṁha, was also a Śaivite and carried out repairs to the temple of Pāśupatinātha.

Śavisim was thus a predominant religion of Nepal in the ancient and mediaeval times. Several rulers of Nepal had the epithets like *Paramaśaiva* or *Paramamāheśvara*, which shows their leanings towards Śaivism. If king Indradeva took pride in calling himself as *Paramaśaiva*, king Arimalla used the title of *Paramamāheśvara*. Almost every ruler was a faithful devotee of Paśupatinātha which is borne out from their eulogies by the expression that "they served under the feet of Lord Paśupatinātha".[33]

Several temples of Śiva like those of Ananta-Liṅgeśvara on the hill near Lubhu, the Bhṛṅgāreśvara at Sonagothi and Nepāleśvara in Harigaon adorn the charming valley of Nepal, but the temple of Lord Paśupatinātha at Deo Patan (Kathmandu) is a glittering gem amongst them all, shedding its spiritual lustre on the devotees of Śiva.

Śaivism, which played an important role in the religious history of Nepal must have been propagated by several great Śaiva saints. Amongst these, Matsyendranātha and his disciple Gorakṣanātha, the two great spiritual teachers from India, are said to have visited Nepal in the reign of Narendradeva and propagated the Śaiva cult in the valley.[34] Both of them command great respect in Nepal as is evident from the two temples at Kathmandu and Patan dedicated to Matsyendranātha, regarded by some, as two different forms of Lokeśvara. The Kusale community of Nepal are the great devotees of Gorakṣanātha and identify him with the Śiva-liṅga enshrined in the Paśupatinātha temple at Kathmandu and Pharphing. A stone image of Gorakṣanātha belonging to the early mediaeval period is also under worship in the valley.[35] Even today, the foot-prints of Gorakṣanātha are represented on the two paisā coins of 1992 V.S. (A.D. 1935)[36].

The other great Śaiva saints were Śivadāsa Upādhayāya, who on 5th May 1380 had bestowed religious initiation on king Jayasthitimalla and his queen and the other swāmī was Dvijarāja Upādhayāya. Amongst the most important sects of Śaivism in Nepal were the Varāhasvāmīdharma and Muṇḍasṛiṅga.[36]

The Great Sculptures of Hindu Deities

The picturesque valley of Nepal abounds in sculptures of Hindu deities. The earliest sculptures, which date from the 5th century A.D., are all Hindu.[37] The rich variety of image types include Viṣṇu in his various incarnations, Śiva in his different forms, Śakti in her several manifestation, Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, Sūrya, Brahmā, Hanumān, Indra, Kāmadeva, Candra, Kubera, the constellations, etc. Among the incarnations of Viṣṇu, the fashioning of the images of Vāmana-Trivikrama was, probably, the most popular, and it had caught the fancy of Newari artists. But the tradition of carving images of Trivikrama, as noticed elsewhere, travelled from India to Nepal as early as the 5th century A.D.[38] Two beautifully executed images of this divinity were found from Paśupati and Lajampat.[39] Besides this, several other forms of Viṣṇu as Śeṣaśāyin, Śrīdhara, Viśvarūpa, Garuḍa-Nārāyaṇa, Yogāsana, Sarvatobhadra, etc., have also been discovered from different sites in Nepal. Due to the Muslim invasion of India in the

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closing years of the twelfth century, the Buddhist monks of Bihar and Bengal took refuge in Nepal, where they carried with them the Indian art traditions. The co-mingling of the Hindu and Buddhist religious concepts gave birth to a Tantric religion, which dominated Nepal during the mediaeval period. However, as we are concerned here only with the Śaivite sculptures discovered in this beautiful land of snow, the Tantric deities are not discussed.

The Icons of Śaiva Pantheon

It is no wonder that numerous icons of Śiva, whether chiselled in stone or wrought in metal or carved in wood, have been found all over Nepal, of which the guardian deity from the earliest times has been Paśupatinātha or Lord Śiva as the Protector of all beings. King after king of this valley has issued royal charters invoking the grace of this god,[50] the symbol of All-Consciousness and Eternal Bliss.

An excellently carved image of standing Śiva holding a rosary, a trident, and a vase with the lower right hand in *varada-mudrā* adorns the Kumbheśvara temple of the 10th century A.D. His head-dress is beautifully arranged and there is a halo with flames around.

A four-faced and six-armed image of Śiva standing on two couchant bulls has three faces in a row, the fourth one being shown above. His lower right hand is in *abhaya-mudrā* assuring protection and the others carry a rosary, an axe, a trident, a couchant bull and an indistinct object. He has snakes as his ornaments and a tiger's skin as his lower garment. This image datable to the 18th century A.D. can be seen in the Hanumanghat temple at Bhaktapur.

In the same temple, there is another icon of Śiva, where the *ūrdha-meḍhra* aspect is quite distinct.

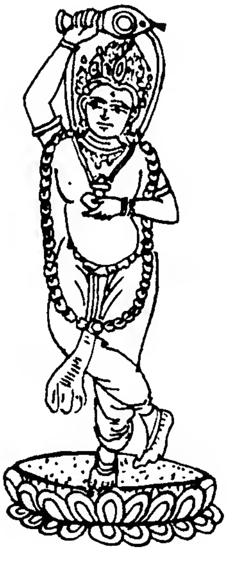

FIG. 6 *Figure of Vasudhārā.*

Umā-Maheśvara

"The theme of Umā-Maheśvara", as rightly pointed out by N.R. Banerjee, "is one of the most popular iconographical forms in Nepal, and has received the devoted skill of the artists from the days of the Licchavīs to those of the Mallas in full measure. Each age has left its indelible marks of artistry and workmanship on the form, size, physiognomy and ornamentation of the deities".[41]

The earliest inscribed image of Umā-Maheśvara is dated in the year 495 (A.D. 573), in which Śiva is shown seated in *sukhāsana* with his consort Umā. He carries an indistinct object in his right hand, while his left embracing Umā, holds a flower. The *meḍhra* is shown in *ūrdhvaretas* aspect. It is *in situ* at Siku Bahi (Lalitpur).[42]

An unfinished image from Sankhu, probably representing Somaskanda, shows Śiva and Pārvatī seated with their baby son Skanda, and also with female attendants on either side.[43] Images of this icon are quite common in south India.

A unique image of Umā-Maheśvara at Gairi Dhara, near Kumbheśvara temple (Lalitpur), shows the divine couple carrying a water-jar in their hands. The holding of a *kumbha* by Umā, 'reveals her reconciliation and

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jubilance at the release of Gaṅgā and even her active participation in the dispersal of the sacred waters.'[44]

The lovely image at Gaiti, datable to the tenth century, illustrates Śiva and his consort Umā seated in loving embrace on a cushioned seat placed on a tiger's skin. Śiva holds a rosary and a trident in his upper hands, his lower right hand is in *varada-mudrā* and the corresponding left is thrown around the neck of Umā, who is leaning on her consort. They are flanked by several figures on each side. On the base, in front, are depicted multi-headed Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa in the company of emaciated Bhṛṅgī and the gaṇas.

Another fine image of Umā-Maheśvara in the Vajrayoginī temple at Sankhu is assignable to the 12th century A.D.

This great theme also finds expression through the medium of metal, as is evident from a large number of beautiful images preserved in different collections.[45] An exquisitely fashioned image in bronze shows Śiva and Pārvatī seated on a cushioned seat. The right hand of Śiva is in the gesture of exposition and the left embraces his consort. The serene face of Śiva with down-cast eyes reminds us of some of the bronzes of the Pāla period from Nalanda. The image has been ascribed to the 8th–9th century A.D.[46]

A gilt copper image of Umā-Maheśvara shows Śiva and Pārvatī seated on a double lotus pedestal. They are flanked by their daughter Sarasvatī holding a rosary, manuscript and a *vīṇā*; and Kārttikeya riding a peacock. On the pedestal, in front, are shown four-armed seated Gaṇeśa flanked by Jayā and Vijayā, the two attendants of Umā, and another attendant figure. The emaciated Bhṛṅgī and the pot-bellied Kūṣmāṇḍa are also present. This image is dated in the 13th century A.D.[47]

Another equally charming image of Umā-Maheśvara in gilt-copper and datable to the 14th century A.D., is in the collection of Nalini and Haridas Swali of Bombay.[48]

That the Newari artists could transform their imagination with ease into beautiful artistic creations through the soft medium of wood[49] also is revealed by a lovely wooden sculpture showing Umā-Maheśvara seated on a block pedestal (pl. 37). This image, though badly damaged, is full of divine energy and can on the basis of iconographic features be assigned to the 16th–17th century A.D.

Śiva as Gaṅgādhara-Mūrti

According to the Purāṇas, the sage Kapila granted a boon that the sons of king Sagara, who had been burnt to ashes through his wrath, would be redeemed when the celestial Gaṅgā came down to earth and flowed over their charred remains. Bhāgīratha, the great-great-grandson of Sagara, through severe penance propitiated Gaṅgā, who agreed to come down to earth. But the earth would have been blown to pieces under the impact of Gaṅgā's descent. So Lord Śiva, the All Merciful, took his position in the fastness of the Himālayas and broke the fall of the waters by receiving torrential Gaṅgā on his matted locks.

Some interesting sculptures illustrating the theme of 'Śiva as Gaṅgādhara with Pārvatī on Kailāsa' have been noticed in different parts of Nepal. A wonderfully carved sculpture in the Kumbheśvara temple at Patan illustrates Śiva and Pārvatī seated at ease in their Paradise, on the Mt. Kailāsa (pl. 38). They are flanked by several figures, which include Kārttikeya on his *vāhana*, the peacock. The Nandī is shown couchant behind the Lord. At the top centre, the heavenly stream Gaṅgā, from amidst the clouds, is shown descending with her lower hands joined in *añjali-mudrā*. On the pedestal are shown a flute-player, a *gaṇa* with a face on its belly (*udare-mukha*)[50] nṛtya-Gaṇapati, another gaṇa, the dancing figure of emaciated

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Bhṛṅgī, a lion-headed gaṇa and a cymbal-player. This superb image, well-balanced in its composition, is as expressive in its benign feeling as it is graceful in its elegantly modelled contours. It is datable to the 9th century A.D.

Sculptures bearing on this subject can still be seen in the Archaeological Garden at Mulchowk, Patan, Vajrayoginī temple at Sankhu (12th century), Siddha Pokhorī temple and Harigaon (13th century), Pharphing (15th century), Kvalukhu at Patan (17th century), etc.

Andhakāri Śiva

A vivid description of Śiva as the destroyer of the powerful demon Andhaka is given in Chapter 68 of the *Vāmana-Purāṇa*.[50] A plastic representation of this mythological episode is found at Śikhanārāyaṇa. The sculpture here though badly damaged is yet infused with the vigour and movement of a battle which Lord Śiva fought to vanquish the mighty demon. It belongs to the 10th century A.D.

Naṭarāja

The cosmic rhythm of the universe is represented by the Tāṇḍava dance of Śiva, the Mahākāla, the Eternal. The concept of dance implies order and measured sequence. Tāṇḍava of Śiva symbolizes a measureless measure beyond human comprehension to express the transcendental frenzy and abode of God-head through creation :

नित्यमात्तकरणक्रमोन्मिषच्चित्रभावशतसन्निवेशिनी ।
निष्क्रियो निजमरीचिर्तनको नर्तयामि परनृत्तदेशिक. ।।

A five-faced (the fifth head is not visible) and four-armed image showing Naṭarāja or Śiva engaged in the cosmic dance of creation, preservation and destruction surrounded by a flaming border is datable to the 10th century A.D.[51]

Sundari Chowk at Patan has two magnificent sculptures of the 17th century A.D. In the first one, the sixteen-armed Śiva is dancing with his left foot on the couchant Nandī. He carries an axe, a trident, a kettle-drum, a bow, a lotus, etc. His right hand is held in *abhaya-mudrā*, the left touching the right leg, raised in a dancing gesture. Naṭarāja is surrounded by animal-faced musicians playing on various musical instruments. He is adorned with ornaments and a garland of skulls (*muṇḍa-mālā*).

In the other sculpture also Śiva is dancing on Nandī, with a lion depicted nearby. The two couchant animals are shown on a full blown lotus placed on a nude male figure lying on its back. The animal-faced musicians flank the emaciated Bhṛṇgī.

Ekapāda-Trimūrti

Ekapāda-Trimūrti is the form of Śiva in which he is generally shown standing on one leg with the figures of Brahmā and Viṣṇu projecting from his right and left sides respectively. Such images have been discovered from various sites in India.[52] In a four-armed image of this icon in Sundari Chowk at Patan, Śiva is shown holding a trident, an axe, and a cup. His front left hand is in the gift bestowing attitude.

Another image of Ekapāda-Trimūrti is displayed in the Kathmandu Museum, which shows Śiva as Ardhanārīśvara standing on a goat (pl. 39). Brahmā and Viṣṇu are shown projecting from his right and left sides. They carry their usual attributes in the upper hands, while their lower hands are joined in adoration of Śiva. The image belongs to the 17th century A.D.

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Bhairava

Śiva as Bhairava manifests himself in a terrific form as the destroyer of all evil. Early images of this icon are extremely rare in Nepal. An inscribed image of Bhairava, dated 827 S. (A.D. 1707), is housed in the Darbar Square at Bhaktapur. It shows Śiva standing on two nude male figures facing each other. The awe-inspiring expression on the face, the round bulging eyes, the deadly cobras as ornament of the ear, arms and the feet, a garland of skulls around the neck, all reveal the terrific form of the deity. He carries a cup, a kettledrum, a bell, a sword, a *khaṭvāṅga,* a *muṇḍa,* a shield, etc. Two diminutive figures, almost identical in appearance to the deity, are shown on his either side.

The eighteenth century Hanumanghat temple at Bhaktapur has a few interesting images of Bhairava in which he is shown three-faced and ten-armed.

Lakulīśa

Lakulīśa, regarded as an incarnation of Śiva, was commonly worshipped in India during the mediaeval period. A stone image of Lakulīśa, discovered in the course of earth-work excavation for a road near Varāhakṣetra, is now kept in the Police Station at Dharan. He is seated in *sukhāsana* and wears a *jaṭā-mukuṭa,* ear-rings, *ekāvalī* and the *dhoti.* His attribute, the damaged staff, is resting on his left leg. The *ūrdhvaretas* aspect is clearly distinct in the image.[53]

An image of Lakulīśa belonging to the 15th century A.D., has been found at Deo Patan. The deity is shown seated cross-legged with a *yogapaṭṭa* tied around, reminding us of Yoga-Narasimha and Aiyanār images from south India. The moustached and bearded diety, framed by a decorative arch, holds a staff in his hands resting on the knees.

A similar sculpture of the 16th century is in the Mulchowk Garden at Patan, and another datable to the 17th century A.D. at Godavari.

Śiva-Liṅga

The worship of Śiva-liṅga, the supporting pillar of the universe, has been quite popular in ancient Nepal. The *Ekamukhi-liṅga* in the Paśupatinātha temple reflects the art tradition of the classical Gupta period. The calm and serene face with *jaṭā-mukuṭa* though datable to the 7th century A.D. is a prototype of the famous Gupta *Ekamukhī-liṅga* from Nachna.[54]

The Bhuvaneśvarī temple at Deo Patan has a fine *Chaturmukhī-liṅga,* datable to the 10th century A.D. An elaborately carved *Chaturmukhī-liṅga* of the 11th century A.D. is under worship in Tāmreśvara Mahādeva temple in the same town. Yet another *liṅga* of this variety is at Nala, which is fixed into the *Yonipīṭha* and belongs to the 12th century A.D.

The *Svayambhū Purāṇa,* which belongs to the mid-fifteenth century, has mentioned eight places in Nepal as sacred to Śiva-liṅga. These are—(1) Maṇiliṅgeśvara, (2) Gokarṇa, (3) Kiteśvara, (4) Kumbheśvara, (5) Phaṇigarteśvara, (6) Gandheśvara, (7) Phaṇiliṅgeśvara, and (8) Vikrameśvara.[55]

Śakti

From very early times, Śakti—the Divine Power and Energy, has been the favourite of the devout who seek her grace in granting them prosperity and plenty. In Nepal, She was worshipped both in her benign and terrific aspects. A copper-plate inscription records the grant of land for the worship of the image of Gaurī in the temple of Paśupati. An exceedingly charming sculpture of Pārvatī performing penance was discovered among the ruins at Naghal-

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tola. It illustrates Pārvatī as Aparṇā seated in a hilly grove. Her simple attire consists of a bark and an *ekāvalī*. A kneeling female attendant is placing a flower at her feet, and again offering food in a basket, which the goddess refuses to take. The lovely piece has been regarded to be of the 5th–6th century A.D.[56] Kālidāsa has given a graphic picture of Pārvatī's penance in the *Kumārasambhava*.[57]

Various images of Pārvatī have been found all over Nepal. A standing image of *Devī* in the Kumbheśvara temple at Patan has her right hand in *varadāna-mudrā*, while in the left, she holds the stalk of a lotus. The nimbate figure is adorned with a crown and usual ornaments. The *sari* is secured with an elaborate girdle having a floral clasp in front. On stylistic grounds, it can be dated to the 10th century A.D.

An image of Pārvatī is carved on the Sarasvatī temple at Sankhu. Her right hand in the gift-bestowing attitude is placed on a lotus, and the left holds a mirror. A female *chowri*-bearer attends upon her either side. The image belongs to the 12th century A.D.

A favourite theme of Śakti as Durgā is Mahiṣāsuramardinī, in which she is represented vanquishing the buffalo-demon Mahiṣāsura.[58] An elegantly carved sculpture within the precincts of the Paśupatinātha temple shows the ten-armed goddess killing the Titan demon in full human form. She has pierced a trident into the body of Mahiṣāsura. The severed head of the buffalo lies in front. It belongs to the 14th century A.D.

A 17th century image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī in the Umā-Maheśvara temple at Kīrtipur also illustrates the above episode. Armed with various weapons, she has plunged a trident into the body of Mahiṣa, whom she holds by the tail. Her *vāhana*, the lion, is shown near her right foot.

The Darbar Square at Bhaktapur has a rare eighteen-armed image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī as Ugracaṇḍī. She has dealt a deadly blow on the mighty demon, in which her mount, the lion, is also partaking. A female attendant armed with a sword and a shield stands on her either side. The image bears an inscription dated 827 N.S. (1707 A.D.).

Gaṇeśa

Gaṇeśa, the god of good fortune, and the elder son of Śiva and Pārvatī, was held in great esteem in Nepal.[59] A finely executed image of Gaṇeśa bearing an inscription of 1390 A.D. on the pedestal was found from Banepa in Eastern Nepal.[60] The god is seated under the canopy of serpent hoods. He wears a *sarpa-yajñopavīta* and the *sarpa-keyuras* and carries a broken tusk, a bowl of sweets and an axe.

A four-faced and ten-armed sculpture of Gaṇapati is shown standing on two rats.[61] He wears a *sarpa-hāra* and holds a tooth, a hammer, an axe, a goad, a noose, a trident, a skull and a bowl of sweet-balls, on which the tip of his probosis is placed. His two hands are in *varada* and *abhaya* poses. The image found at Hanumanghat, Bhaktapur, belongs to the 18th century A.D.

Another sixteen-armed image of Gajānana with his consort Siddhi can be seen in the temple opposite to the north-west corner of Ratna Park at Kathmandu.

Gaṇeśa was equally venerated by the Buddhists as the guardian deity and his image placed at the entrance of almost every Buddhist monastic area. An inscription of Jyotirmalla begins with an invocation to Gaṇeśa and records the installation of an image of Gaṇeśa at the gate of the Vihāra.[62]

Kārttikeya

Images of Kārttikeya,[63] the god of war, and the younger son of Śiva and Pārvatī, are

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also found in Nepal, though lesser in number. The Kumbheśvara temple at Patan preserves a multi-headed and four-armed sculpture of Kārttikeya, standing against his *vāhana*, the peacock. He holds in his upper hands a rosary and a spear, while the lower ones are in *abhaya* and *varada* poses. It belongs to the 17th century A.D.

Another image of six-armed Kārttikeya is shown standing on two peacocks. He holds a spear, a rosary and a vase, while his two hands are in *abhaya* and *varada-mudrā*. The image datable to the 18th century A.D., is in the Hanumanghat temple at Bhaktapur.

Nandīśvara

Nandīśvara, Nandin or Adhikāranandin is conceived as one of the attendants of Śiva rather than his mount. It is referred to in the epics and the *Purāṇas*.[64] A therianthropic image of Nandīśvara stands on a figure lying on a lotus pedestal. He wears large circular ear-rings, necklaces, and a *dhoti*. The crescent-moon decorates his head, which has flames shooting behind. The six-armed figure carries a disc, a sword, a shield, and a trident with a skull base. His front hands are in the *abhaya* and the *varada* pose. The image is preserved in the Hanumanghat temple at Bhaktapur and belongs to the 18th century A.D.

Syncretistic Icons

In Nepal, the religious atmosphere was that of peaceful harmony and tolerance. Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism flourished side by side. The rulers and the ruled realised the importance of the great principle that the worship of the Supreme Lord in any form leads to the same goal. Therefore, they cut under their narrow parochialism and brought about an amity of various faiths, which resulted in the fashioning of a large number of syncretistic images, found scattered all over the valley of Nepal.

Hari-Hara Images

Hari-Hara images represent the harmonisation of two important sects of Hinduism, namely, Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism.[65] A finely executed sculpture of Hari-Hara from Balaju datable to the 11th century A.D. holds a rosary and a trident in his right hands and a disc and a conch in the left. Both the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and *kirīta-mukuṭa* decorate his head. The deity is flanked by Pārvatī in the *Agni Purāṇa*.[66]

Another sculpture of Hari-Hara of the 12th century A.D. can be seen at Naksal. The one at Paśupatinātha (13th century A.D.) is interesting as the conch and disc are decorated with flames, which are generally found in the south Indian sculptures of the Chola and later periods.

The *Vāmana Purāṇa*[67] gives interesting details about the image of a ten-armed Hari-Saṇkara or Hari-Hara. The Kumbheśvara temple at Patan has a very fine eight-armed image of Hari-Śaṇkara (16th century A.D.) shown standing with his right foot placed on Nandī and the left on Garuḍa. The composite deity holds the usual attributes.

Another image of the deity appears in Hari-Śaṅkara temple at Patan (16th century A.D.). In this sculpture, the sacred-thread is composed of a snake and pearl ornaments. Besides Nandī and Garuḍa, Pārvatī and Śrīdevī on a lion and a tortoise respectively flank the main figure.

Harihara-Pitāmaha

To these two principal gods of the Hindu Trinity, viz., Viṣṇu and Śiva, the third, i.e., Brahmā is also sometimes added and such images are called Harihara-Pitāmaha. In the Kumbheśvara temple of the 17th century at Patan is preserved an interesting sculpture showing the

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three deities standing in a row. The three-faced Pitāmaha or Brahmā has his lower right hand in *abhaya-mudrā* and carries a rosary, a manuscript and a *kamaṇḍalu*. His *vāhana*, the *haṁsa*, is shown near his feet. The four-faced Śiva has his lower right hand in *abhaya-mudrā*, and the other hands carry a rosary, a *ḍamaru*, a trident and a damaged object. He wears ornaments, *sarpa-yajñopavīta* and a tiger's skin. Two bulls seated facing opposite directions are shown at his feet. Hari or Viṣṇu decked with a bejewelled crown and ornaments, holds a lotus, a disc, a club and a conch; Garuḍa is present near his feet. This is a rare group in the field of Hindu iconography.

Other Composite Deities

The feeling of syncretic synthesis among the devotees of Viṣṇu, Sūrya and Śiva is evident by a rare image depicting Sūrya flanked by Viṣṇu and Śiva. Sūrya rides on his chariot drawn by seven spirited horses.[68] The image datable to the 13th century A.D. can be viewed in the compound of Krishna temple at Panauti.

Another equally interesting sculpture depicting the harmonious feeling between the devotees of different sects illustrates Sūrya on his chariot, surrounded by various Hindu deities (badly damaged), among which Śiva and Brahmā can be easily identified. The sculpture, datable to the 15th century A.D., is preserved in one of the niches of Kumbheśvara tank at Patan.

Ardhanārīśvara

A synthesis of the two important creeds, viz., Śaivism and Śāktism, is interestingly brought about into a syncretistic divinity, which has the characteristics of both Śiva and Śakti as Puruṣa and Prakṛti. In such images, the right-half of the body is that of Śiva and the left-half of Pārvatī. The dress and the jewellery of the two halves of the deity correspond to the male and female aspects. Sarasvatī temple at Sankhu has a finely executed image of Ardhanārīśvara-Śiva bearing an inscription of 732 N.S. (1612 A.D.).

A lovely terracotta figure depicts Ardhanārīśvara Śiva standing on Nandī and the lion. *Muṇḍas* with flames decorate the right-half of the head. The left-half is decorated with beautiful flowers. The garland is composed of human heads and skulls. He wears a cobra in the right ear and a lotus in the left. The right half of the body is decorated with *sarpa*-ornaments and the left-half with the usual jewellery. He wears a tiger's skin as *antarīya* in the lower right-half, while the corresponding left-half is clad in a diaphanous *sari*. The image found at Runi Pokhari, Kathmandu, is datable to the 18th century A.D.

A unique eight-armed image of Hari-Śaṅkarī seated in *padmāsana* is preserved in the Art Gallery at Bhaktapur. The deity has three faces in front and one at the top. It wears a *vanamālā*, a *ratna-kuṇḍala* in the right ear and a *patra-kuṇḍala* in the left. The left breast is prominent. There is an oblong mark on the right-half of the forehead and a circular mark on the left-half. The three surviving hands hold a skull, a long object and a lotus. It is assignable to the 18th century A.D. An image of this type is unknown in Indian art.

An interesting image of Anantaśayana Viṣṇu,[69] with all the Vaiṣṇavite attributes,[70] about 5 miles north-west of Kathmandu, is worshipped as Nīlakaṇṭha-Lokeśvara by the Buddhists. The name Nīlakaṇṭha is also one of the epithets of Śiva, as he had swallowed the *hālāhala* poison, which came out as a result of the churning of the milky ocean. Thus, the god has the three aspects: of Viṣṇu, Lokeśvara and Śiva, for the devotees of the respective faiths.[71] It has been assigned to the 7th-8th century A.D.

A peep into the history of religion, literature, language and art clearly reveals that Nepal has been an integral part of Indian culture and shared abundantly its social ideas and political thought. Śaivism, which is a predominant religion in India, specially in the hilly areas, is also pulsating with life in the mountainous kingdom of Nepal, where millions of people from all over the Hindu world throng every year to pay their homage at the lotus feet of Lord Paśupatinātha in the following words :

ॐ नमो देवदेवाय शिवाय परमात्मने ।
अप्रमेयस्वरूपाय व्यक्ताव्यक्तस्वरूपिणे ॥
न्व पतिर्योगिनामीश त्वयि सर्व प्रतिष्ठितम् ।
त्वं यज्ञस्त्वं वषट्कारस्त्वमोंकार. प्रजापति ॥

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Tale of the
Vivekananda Rock Memorial
Kanyakumari

The Swami Vivekananda Centenary Celebration and Vivekananda Rock Memorial Committee feel great pleasure to present to readers, in the following few pages, a pictorial narrative of the Vivekananda Rock Memorial that has been recently completed and inaugurated on 2nd September, 1970 by Shri V. V. Giri, the President of India. It is the completion of this Memorial that has provided an occasion and an opportunity to bring out this comprehensive 'Vivekananda Commemoration Volume', titled 'India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture' through the ages. It is, therefore, but meet that this pictorial story is included in this Volume in the form of a small separate section, as has been already mentioned by the editors in the Preface.

The Tale is profusely illustrated and it is hoped that it will make an interesting reading.

The names of members of the Managing Body of the Memorial Committee as also of Presidents of the Regional Collection Committees affiliated to it, are given at the end of this section, for the information of readers

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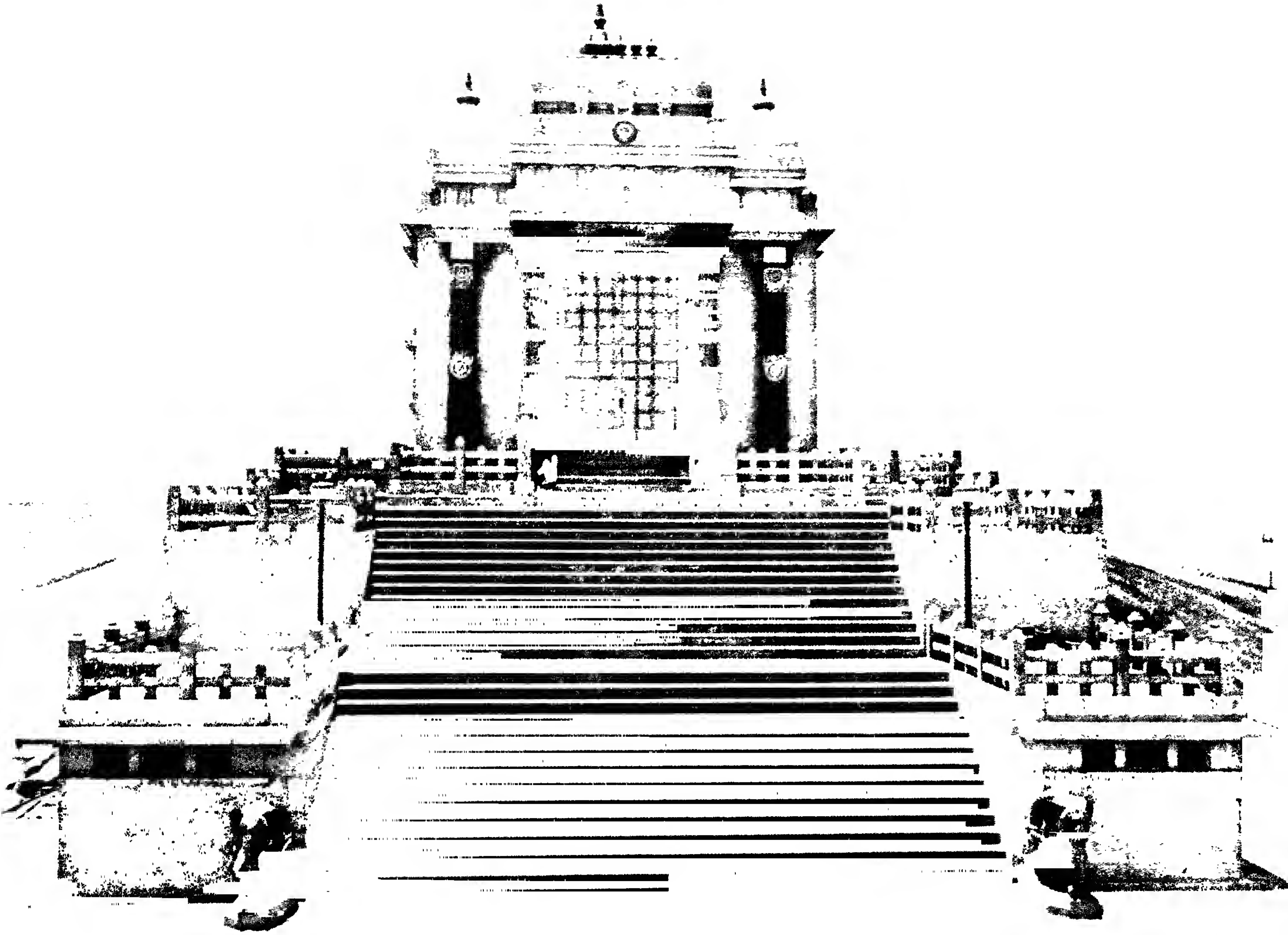
Eknath Ranade
Organising Secretary

A front view of the Vivekananda Mandapam on the Vivekananda Rock



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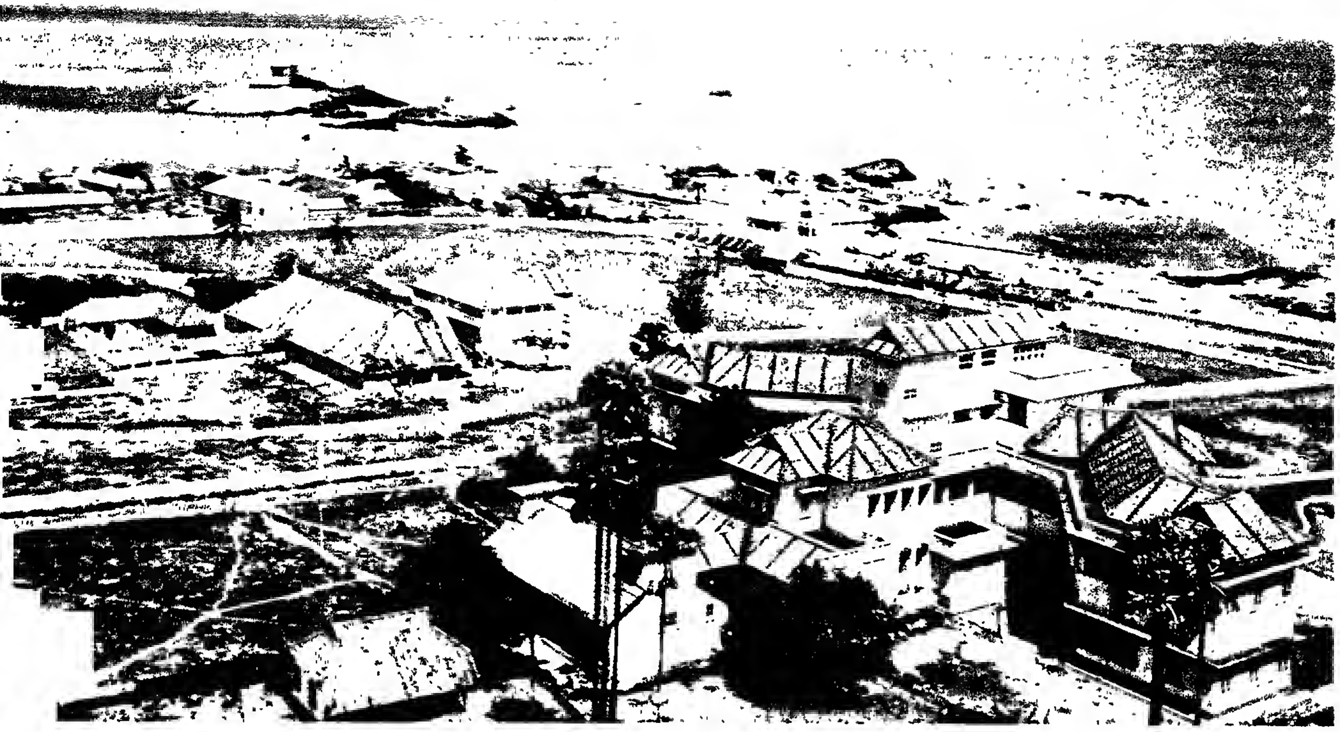


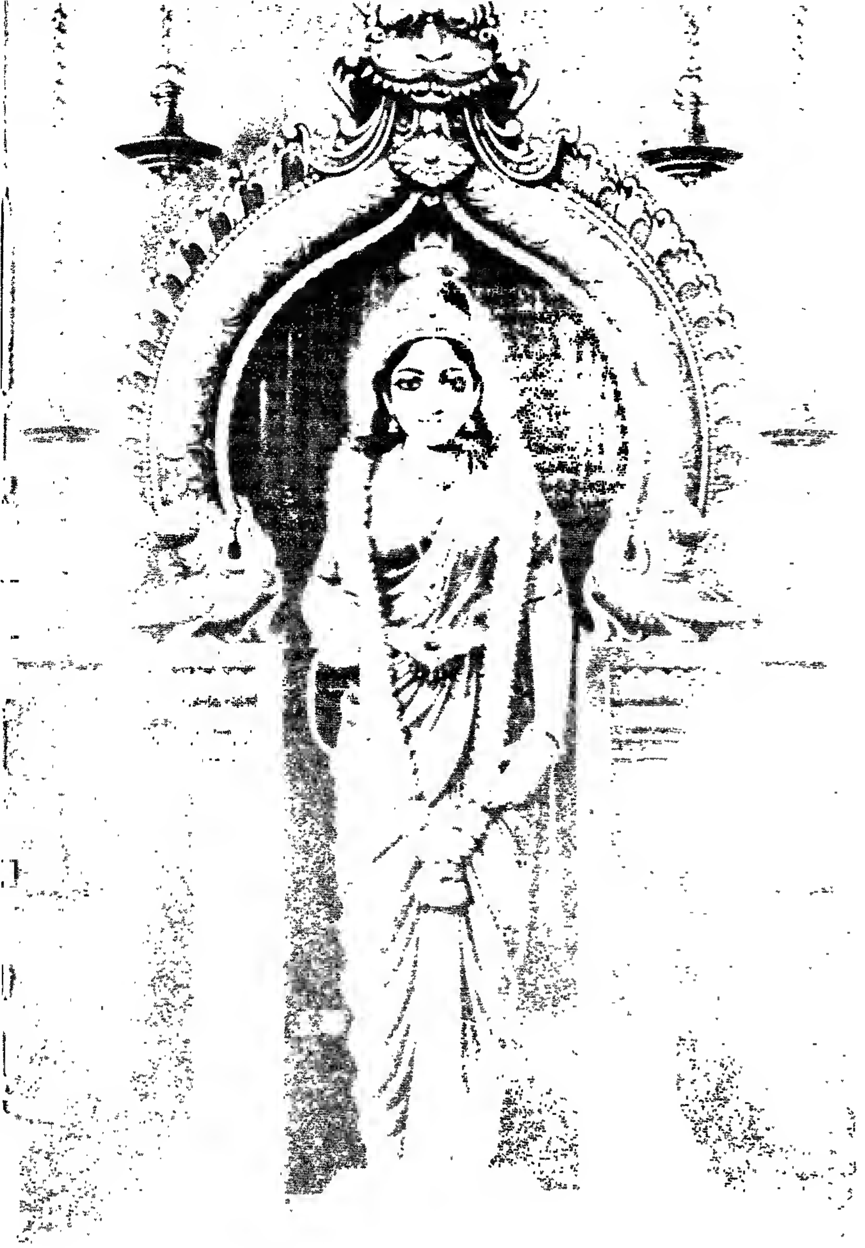
A birds's-eye view of a part of the Kanyakumari village situated at the southern extremity of the Mainland of Bharat. To the south-east of the tapering end where the Kanyakumari Temple stands within its walled enclosure, is seen the Vivekananda Rock and the Memorial adorning its crest.

The Kanyakumari Temple as viewed from the Bengal sea. The temple wall and the eastern Gopuram is prominently seen.

KANYAKUMARI

At the southernmost tip of India's Mainland, where her eastern and the western coasts meet, there stands, from olden times, a small village by name Kanyakumari.

A meeting point of three waters, the Bengal sea, the Indian ocean and the Arabian sea, the place suggests itself as a symbol of unity, besides presenting a rare view of scenic beauty.



KANYAKUMARI TEMPLE

Kanyakumari is a veritable symbol of sanctity as well. As the legend goes, it was here that Goddess Parvati in one of her incarnations as Devi Kanya, did Tapasya to obtain the hand of God Shiva, the Lord of Kailash, in the Himalayas in the distant north. As a reminder of that event, there at the land's tapering end stands, from ancient times, a magnificent temple enshrining the Image of Goddess Kanyakumari. In fact, the Kanyakumari village has been known by that name only because of its association with this temple.

TWIN ROCKS AND THE KUMARI TEMPLE

South-east of the Kumari Temple, there lie, in mid-sea, the twin rocks, popularly known, for the last several decades, as the 'Vivekananda rocks'. The Rocks are separated from each other by a distance of 220 feet with a cluster of stones protruding from the sea in between them.

The image of Goddess Kanya enshrined in the temple.

The Kanyakumari Temple and the twin Vivekananda Rocks situated to its south-east, at the confluence of three seas.

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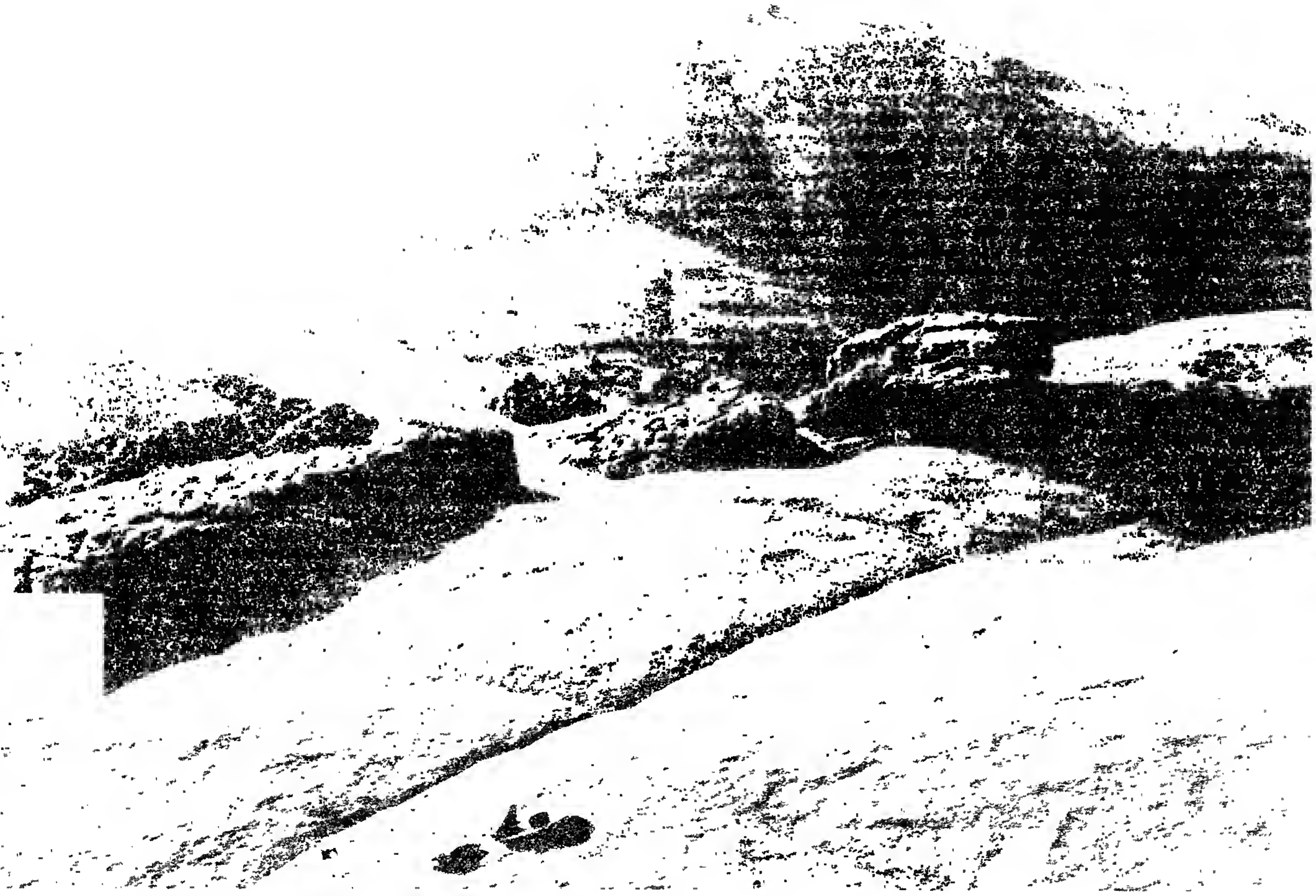

The Shripada Parai or the Vivekananda Rock.

VIVEKANANDA ROCK

Of the twin rocks, the minor or the smaller one is nearer the shore, but has no good flat surface upon it. The major and the farther rock, however, measures about 534′ x 426′ at the water level and has a spacious level top at an altitude of 55 feet.

That spacious rock was chosen by Swami Vivekananda for meditation. That rock, in particular, therefore, is known as the Vivekananda Rock.

Being of considerable size and elevation and situated at a distance of about 450 yards from the tapering end of the Mainland, the Rock provides an ideal and unique vantage-point to visitors desiring to have a 'Darshan' of our sacred land spread up to the Himalayas.

'Shripadam'

SHRIPADA PARAI

From very ancient times, the Rock has been regarded as a sacred place. In Puranic tradition, it has been known as 'Shripada Parai', meaning the Parai (which is the Tamil word for rock) that has been blessed by the touch of Shripada (which stands for the feet of the Goddess, in Sanskrit).

SHRIPADAM

There is on the Rock a projection, similar in form to a human foot and a little brownish in complexion, which has traditionally been revered as a symbol of the Shripadam. According to the legend, stated earlier, it was on this Rock that Goddess Kanya did Tapasya.

TEMPLE AND THE ROCK

It is also widely believed that the original Kumari Temple was on the Rock or somewhere near it and that the Rock itself was a part of the Mainland: but, sometime in the distant past, the sea encroached upon the Mainland and turned the Rock into an island, with the result that the old temple had to be rebuilt on its present site.

Whatever truth there may be in the above tradition, one thing is certain that the Rock has been venerated by Shakti-worshippers, through the ages, as a place of great spiritual efficacy for taking up Sadhana.

The twin Vivekananda Rocks and the surging waves of the sea.

SWAMIJI AND THE ROCK

It was precisely because of its special significance and sanctity that Swami Vivekananda, an ardent devotee of Kali and Durga, was prompted to sojourn there for meditation and Sadhana.

So intense was his urge that, in the absence of any alternative means of approach open to him, a penniless Sanyasi as he was, he plunged into the high seas and, riding over the surging waves, swam that distance of about two and a half furlongs.

With great joy and expectations he landed on that secluded holy spot surrounded by the seas. The spiritual yearning which urged him to go on pilgrimage as far as the snow-clad regions of the Himalayas in the distant north, now brought him to the southernmost stone of the holy land in quest of the highest Jnana. His restlessness knew no bounds. The ocean tossed and stormed about him; but there was even a greater tempest raging in his mind. Here was the culmination of his days and days of searching for light.

DIVINE TRANSFORMATION

Like a child he surrendered to the Mother, with his heart going out to Her in great prayer. And then sitting on that 'last bit of Indian Rock', he passed into a long and deep meditation, absorbed in Her contemplation.

In his long communion with the Divine Mother, he attained the cherished fruit of his years of prayer and meditation. He received illumination, the highest experience of spiritual realisation.

The Jnana he received here lit up his path. He discovered the mission ordained for him by the Divine. Since that moment he dedicated his life to that divine task of re-enunciating to the world, India's great message as embodied in the Sanatana Dharma (Eternal Religion).

He also found the remedy for the miserable condition of India, the land of spirituality from where the great message emanated. He understood why India had been thrown from the pinnacle of glory to the depths of degradation. He saw her greatness and the weaknesses as well, the central evil of which was that the nation had lost its individuality.

Most vividly did he realise in the silence of his heart: "India shall rise only through a renewal and restoration of that highest spiritual consciousness which has made of India, at all times, the cradle of the nations and the cradle of the Faith".

Truly, at Kanyakumari, the simple monk was thus transformed into a great master builder of the nation as well as a great world-teacher.

No wonder, therefore, that this hallowed place where the great Swami got Light and underwent divine metamorphosis began to be known as the Vivekananda Rock in later days.

SWAMIJI'S MEMORIAL

It was also in the fitness of things that in memory of that great event in Swamiji's life, his countrymen should have aspired to raise at that spot a grand memorial which would be an abiding source of inspiration to posterity.

The occasion of Swamiji's birth centenary, provided an opportunity for this long-felt public longing to find an effective expression and it, in turn, brought into existence the all India "SWAMI VIVEKANANDA CENTENARY CELEBRATION AND VIVEKANANDA ROCK MEMORIAL COMMITTEE" as an instrument to implement the popular will.

MEMORIAL PLAN: GOVERNMENT'S APPROVAL

Towards the end of 1962, on the eve of the birth-centenary year of Swami Vivekananda, the Committee approached the State Government of Tamil Nadu to seek their permission for the erection of the Vivekananda Memorial on the Vivekananda Rock. Negotiations with the State Government materialised towards the end of September, 1964. The plan of the memorial-structure was prepared soon in consultation with the Tamil Nadu Government and was taken up for execution in November the same year.

THE MANIFOLD MEMORIAL SCHEME

The final shape of the plan that ultimately emerged, as a result of review and stock-takings from time to time, was as follows:

FIRST PHASE

I. **Vivekananda Mandapam**
(Dimensions 180'-11½" x 56')

(a) Sabha Mandapam:

A spacious Mandapam on the top tableland of the Rock, with an imposing life-size statue of Swamiji in his wandering monk posture.

(b) Dhyana Mandapam:

A meditation hall, adjoining the Sabha Mandapam, with important incidents in the Swamiji's life depicted in relief, on its inside walls.

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II. Shripada Mandapam

(Dimensions 71′-10″ x 71′-10″)

An elegant shrine-like Mandapam in South Indian style, round the Shripadam, situated on the lower elevation of the Rock.

The State Government's permission to put up a Mandapam round the 'Shripadam' with a view to protect it from weathering and to befittingly honour it, was obtained on 18th September, 1968.

Both the Mandapams were so designed that the vision of Swamiji in the statue would be seen directed towards the Shripadam.

III. Ferry Service

A regular motor-launch service with pucca jetty-platforms at the foot of the Rock and on the shore to facilitate ferrying of visitors to and from the Rock.

IV. Construction Works on the Shore

Permanent arrangements on the Kanyakumari shore to provide lodging facilities and other amenities to Kanyakumari visitors.

THE ESTIMATED BUDGET

The finally revised budget for all the four items of the 1st phase of the memorial plan, was 1 crore and 20 lakhs rupees.

SECOND PHASE

Further plan of activities

Besides, the Committee has planned to found a Service Organisation on the lines of the great Ramakrishna Mission, but to be manned and run by non-sanyasi missionaries pledged to life-long service. And, as a corollary to this, to establish at Kanyakumari, alongside the memorial in granite, a Centre for training an all India cadre of dedicated workers, both men and women, to be deployed specially in backward areas of the country for the social and spiritual well-being of the people.

As per preliminary calculation the Committee estimates that it will require Rs. 2 crores, to begin with, to put the contemplated Service Mission on a firm foundation.

PROMINENT STRUCTURES ON THE ROCK AND THEIR DIMENSIONS AT A GLANCE

The Vivekananda Rock Memorial consists of two main structures, namely, (I) the Vivekananda Mandapam and (II) the Shripada Mandapam, besides other ancillary structures like water reservoirs, power distribution centre, waiting hall, wireless communication centre, caretaker's office, stores, Pradakshina Patha (circular pathway) etc.

I VIVEKANANDA MANDAPAM

This Mandapam consists of:

1) Dhyana Mandapam i.e. a Meditation Hall with adjacent six rooms.
2) Sabha Mandapam i.e. an Assembly Hall including Pratima Mandapam (statue section), two rooms, a corridor and an open Prakaram round the Sabha Mandapam.
3) Mukha-Mandapam (Portico) and
4) the Front Entrance-steps with two rooms and a corridor below the steps.

II SHRIPADA MANDAPAM

This Mandapam consists of:

1) Garbha Griham (sanctum sanctorum),
2) the inner Prakaram,
3) the outer Prakaram and
4) the outer Platform all around.

VIVEKANANDA MANDAPAM

Dimensions		180′-11½″ x 56′
Height of Central Shikharam from the base of the Mandapam		65′-6″
Sabha Mandapam	Dimensions	130′-1½″ x 56′
	Height of ceiling from the floor	20′-1″
	Height of ceiling in the Statue section	25′
Dhyana Mandapam	Dimensions	39′-10″ x 57′-10″
	Height of ceiling	14′
Mukha Mandapam	Dimensions	17′ x 11′
	Height of ceiling	20′-10″

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SHRIPADA MANDAPAM

Dimensions	71′—10″ x 71′—10″
Height of Ceiling	9′—3″
Height of the Kalasham from the base of the Mandapam	20′—0″

PRADAKSHINA PATHA

Total Length of the Pradakshina Patha (Circular Pathway)	1266′
The width of the pathway	10′

A partial view of the quarry near Ambasamudram (Tirunelveli District.)

HELIPADS

There are two helipads provided on the Rock, one on the north-west and the other on the south-west.

Dimensions of the north-western helipad	95′ x 45′
Dimensions of the south-western helipad	114′ x 53′

THE CHIEF ARCHITECT AND ENGINEER

The Committee was exceptionally fortunate in obtaining the services of the Sthapati, Shri S. K. Achari of Devakottai (Tamil Nadu), a renowned Architect and Engineer of the traditional school, at the very inception of the memorial-scheme. It was only under his able guidance that the Committee formulated its plan of the Vivekananda Rock Memorial which was decided to be built in granite stone and in accordance with the traditional Shilpa Shastra.

PRELIMINARY LABORATORY TESTS

The memorial-site being situated in mid-sea, the memorial had to be in granite, and that too of requisite quality, to ensure its long durability.

To select proper varieties of stones, specimen-pieces of granite from quarries in the vicinity of Kanyakumari, were sent to laboratory for ascertaining their quality.

Earlier an examination of the inner core of the Vivekananda Rock was also undertaken by drilling a bore of about 60 feet depth on the top tableland of the Rock, and sending pieces of the inner core to laboratories. The tests gave quite satisfactory results.

QUARRIES

After obtaining results of scientific tests made on specimen-pieces of stones sent to laboratory, two main quarries were selected by the Committee for procuring stones required for the memorial structures.

While the bulk of the stone used in the memorial is blue granite procured from a quarry near Ambasamudram (about 72 miles away from Kanyakumari) in the Tirunelveli district, the red granite used for the Shikharams of the Vivekananda Mandapam has been procured from a quarry near Tuticorin about 96 miles away from Kanyakumari

The Committee's spacious stone-dressing yard with several work-sheds on the Kanyakumari shore

SKILLED ARTISANS

Another immediate work was to procure necessary skilled labour. The number of skilled artisans capable of working on granite stone is very limited in our country and all such artisans are from the south. Sthapati, Shri S. K. Achari, was of great help to the Committee in overcoming this difficulty. Though the number of such artisans was only six when the stone-dressing work was inaugurated on 6th November 1964, the number soon rose to two hundred and, subsequently, to four hundred by the time the construction work caught momentum, through the efforts of Shri S. K. Achari.

PRELIMINARY WORK OF STONE DRESSING

As the memorial structure was to be in stone, the stone-dressing work formed the most essential preliminary part of the construction work.

The stone-dressing work was inaugurated on 6th November 1964, with only six artisans. Several work-sheds were put-up

Another view of the stone-dressing yard

A close view of two of the several work-sheds put up for stone-dressing work.

for that purpose on a spacious plot of land on the Kanyakumari shore.

Similarly, temporary quarters were also constructed at a suitable place in the Kanyakumari township to provide accommodation for skilled stone-artisans who came to Kanyakumari from various parts of Tamil Nadu to work on the project.

TRADITIONAL METHOD OF HAND-POLISHING

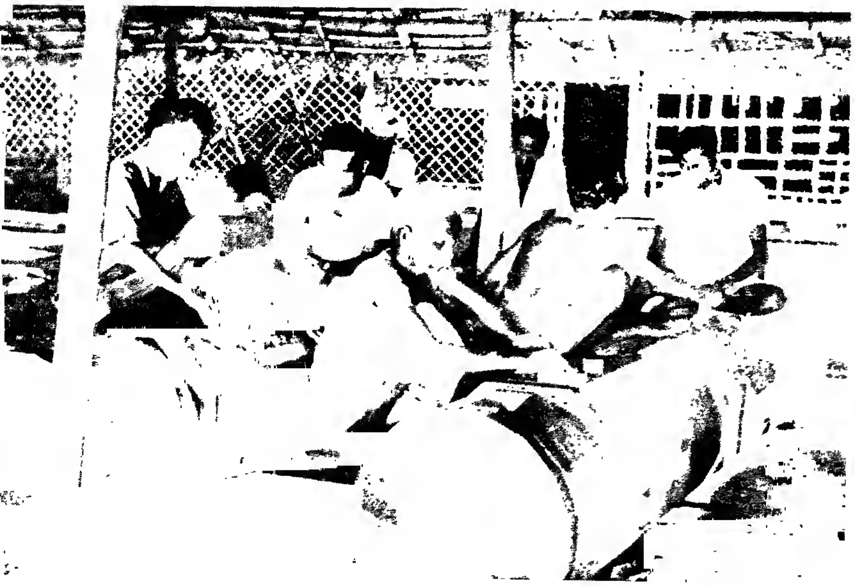
The polishing of a stone-column or a beam or any other member of the contemplated stone-structure is taken up only after the completion of its dressing.

The polishing is effected only by hard and continuous rubbing of steel-powder against the surfaces or portions to be polished, and not by applying any colouring material at any stage. A tempered steel is crushed into sand-like particles and the portions to be polished are rubbed with that powder mixed with water.

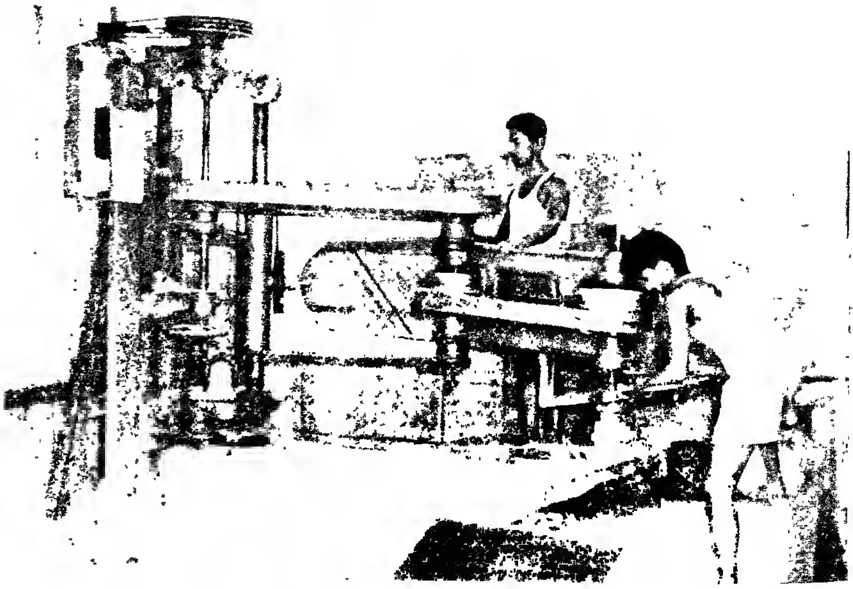
In all, five grades of increasingly finer steel-powders are used, one after another, in stages, to ensure high quality of the polish. The instrument used for rubbing is, generally, a flat and smooth steel rod.

Finally, a fine granite-dust and shell-lac is spread over the surface and the rubbing done again as previously, but by means of a highly smooth and polished steel-rod. The rubbing is continued till the desired mirror-like shine is effected.

Cylindrical surfaces of dressed pillars being polished by hand.



Flat surfaces of granite slabs for flooring, being polished by machine.



A 580' long L shaped breakwater-wall with jetty-platforms erected at the foot of its inner slopes.

A dressed stone loaded on a trailer being brought to the breakwater-wall.

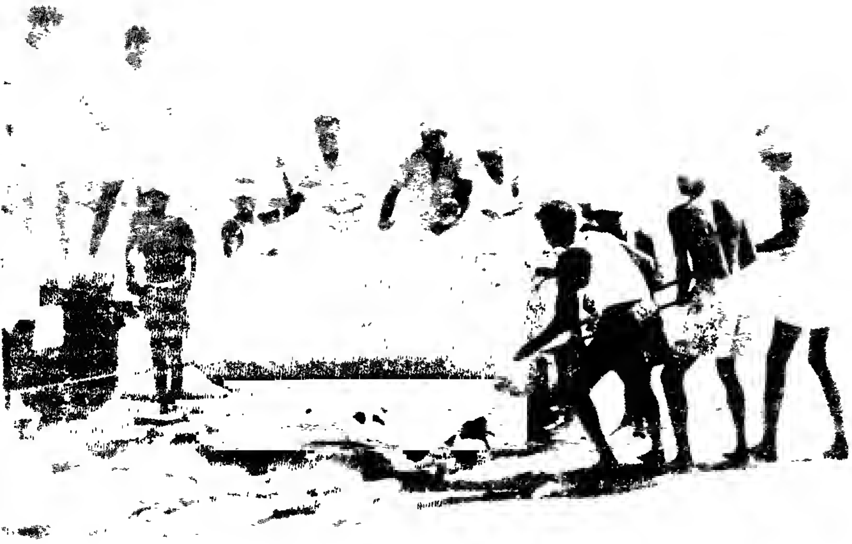
JETTY PLATFORMS

Still another essential preliminary work to be executed urgently was the erection of jetty-platforms, one on the shore and the other at the foot of the Rock to facilitate ferrying of workmen as well as transportation of building material to the Rock.

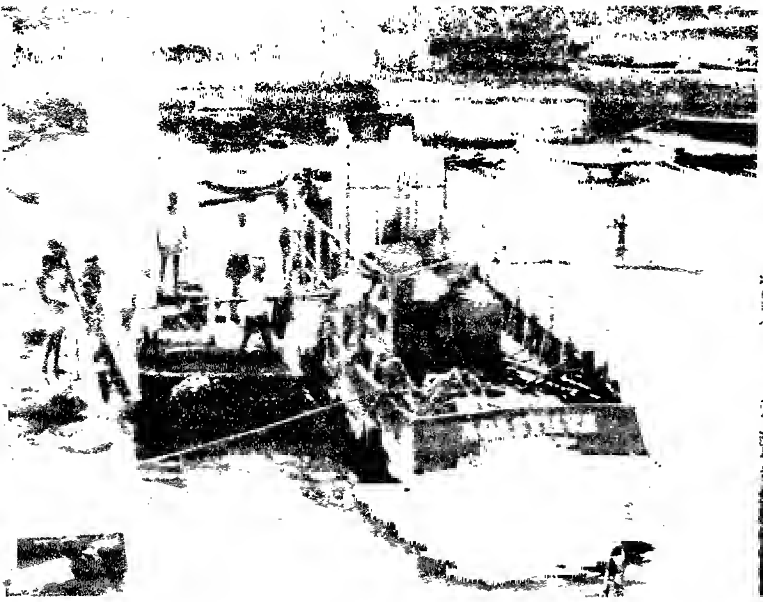
In this vital work, the Committee was greatly helped by the State Government of Tamil Nadu through the State P.W.D.

On the shore-side, an L shaped breakwater-wall of about 580' in length was put up by them to enable the Committee to erect jetty platforms at the foot of the inner slopes of the curved breakwater-wall.

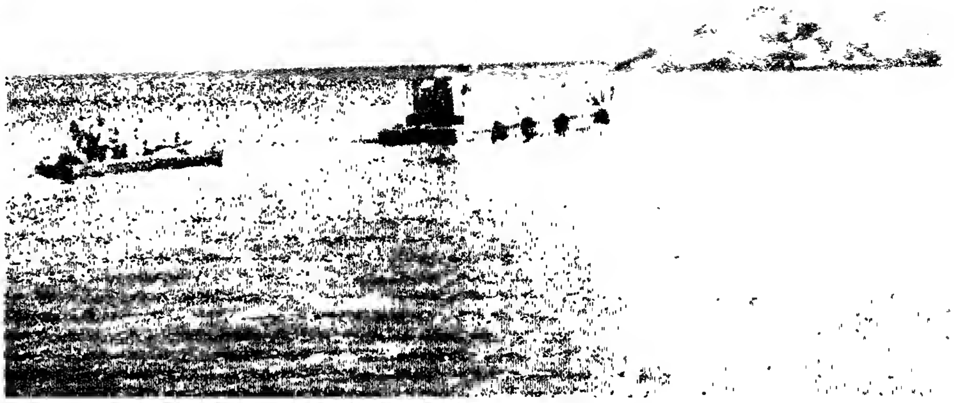
On the Rock-side, they deepened and widened an existing creek to provide sheltered water for the vessels. Both these works cost the P.W.D. over Rs. 4 lakhs.



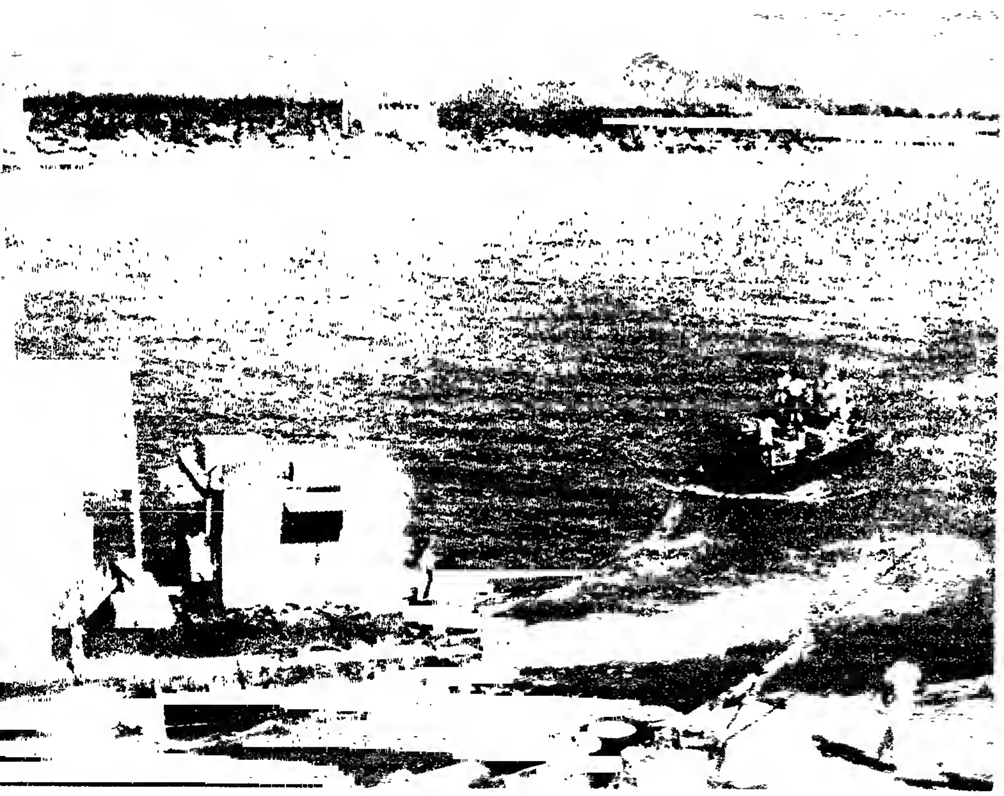
A dressed stone being taken to a jetty-platform for being loaded on a pontoon.



The Committee's tug-boat 'Agastya' getting ready to tow a loaded pontoon to the Rock.



A loaded pontoon being towed to the Rock.



VESSELS AND PONTOONS

To transport building material and to carry a large number of skilled and unskilled workmen every day to the Rock, the Committee procured a tug-boat, pontoons, motor barges and ferry boats from Cochin, Bombay and other ports.

TELE-COMMUNICATION ARRANGEMENTS

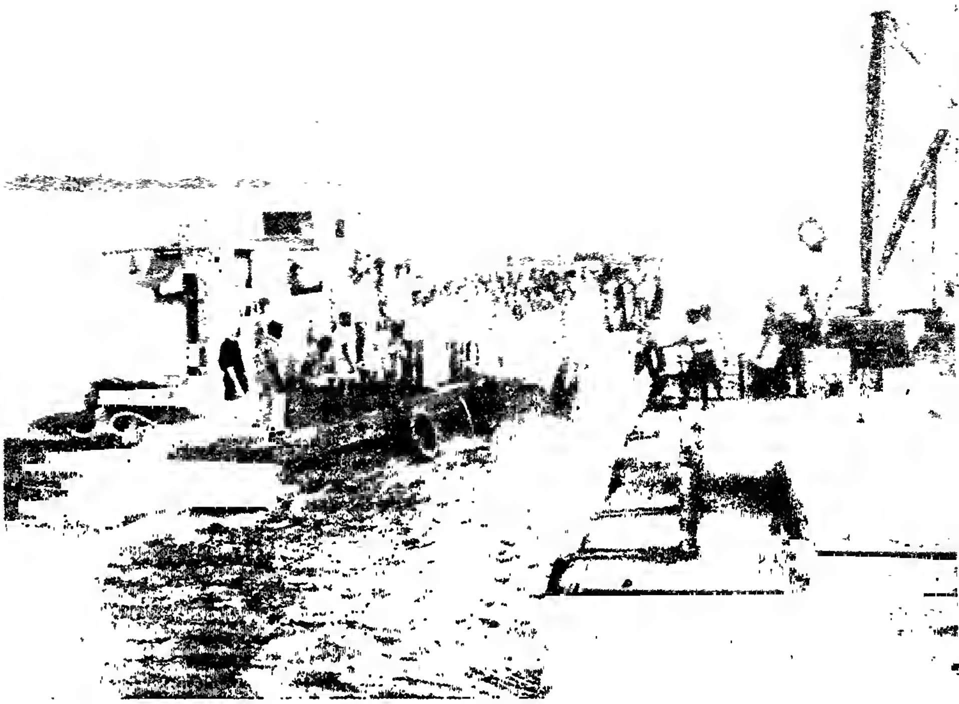
To establish effective communication between the Rock and the shore, the Committee decided to make arrangements by wireless. Accordingly the necessary licence was obtained.

These arrangements were considered most essential for supervising and regulating transport operations during construction period as also thereafter.

A towed pontoon nearing the landing platform put up at the foot of the Rock.

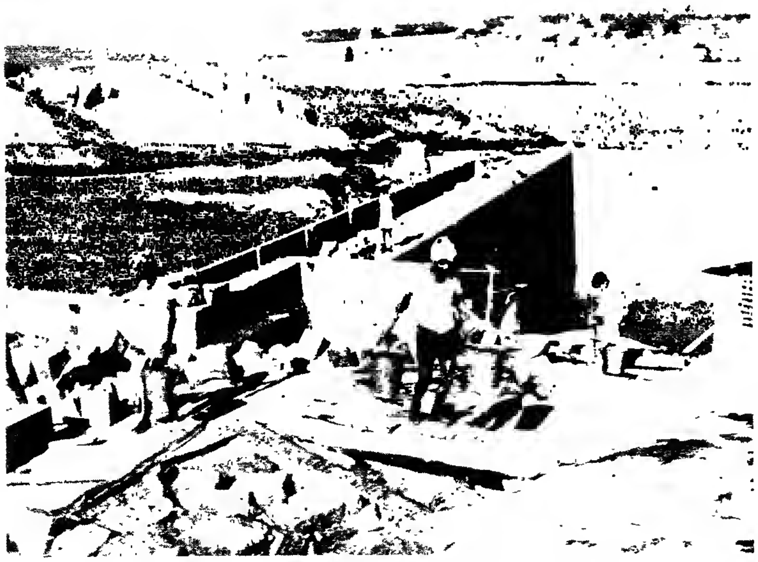
SWEET WATER-SUPPLY

For construction purposes, it was necessary to arrange for sweet water-supply on the Rock With that end in view, two pucca reservoirs of total 1,40,000-gallon capacity, one each on either flank of the memorial—site on the Rock, at its lower elevations, were constructed to catch and store rainwater that might be availed of from the two monsoon seasons of the year at Kanyakumari. These two reservoirs, replenished from time to time by periodical rains, provided a reliable source for obtaining a regular supply of sweet water necessary for construction work on the Rock.



The Committee's boat 'Vijaya' with workmen on board.

A reservoir constructed on the south-western slopes of the Rock to catch and store rainwater.



A reservoir constructed on the north-eastern slopes of the Rock to catch and store rain water.

A view of the cable-laying operations in progress.

The cable-reel seen arrived at the Rock-jetty after the laying of the cable-line in the sea-bed.

A view of one of the work-sheds in the smithy section.

SUPPLY OF POWER

A difficult but an urgent task to be executed to facilitate construction work on the Rock was some arrangement for the supply of electric power from the shore to the Rock.

The Committee preferred to lay a submarine cable in the sea-bed for that purpose. The laying of about 1600 feet cable line in the intervening sea-bed to take power from the shore to the Rock, was executed by the State Electricity Board of Tamil Nadu.

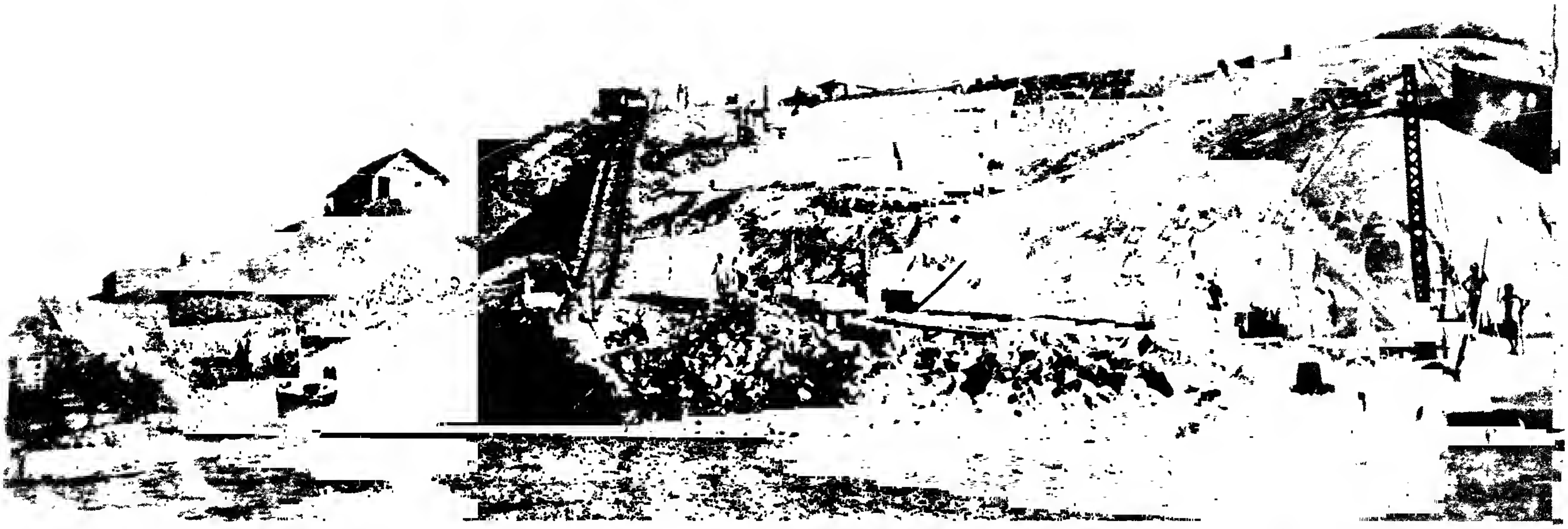
SMITHY SECTION FOR RE-SHARPENING CHISELS

The stone-dressing work implies a full-fledged smithy section to ensure a perennial supply of re-sharpened chisels of various types to stone-artisans. Accordingly, a Smithy Department was set up in the Committee's spacious stone-dressing yard.

A blacksmith, trained in traditional method of preparing chisels, helped by four boy-assistants, one working at the blower, another at the anvil, the third attending to the work of tempering and the fourth entrusted with the task of carrying re-sharpened chisels to stone-artisans, at their work-sheds, and bringing back the used ones to the Smithy Department, could supply maximum 800 re-sharpened chisels to stone-dressers within the course of a single working day.

As each stone-worker was required to exchange used chisels for the re-sharpened ones, for about 40 to 50 times a day, depending upon the quality or texture of stones he was asked to work upon, a single blacksmith with his team of four assistants could, throughout a day, maintain a regular supply of chisels to 15 to 18 stone-dressers.

Obviously, the number of smiths increased with the increase in the number of stone-workers that were engaged on the project. During the peak period of 1969-70, when the average total number of labourers working on the Project, went up to 900, the number of stone-artisans of all grades rose up to 400.



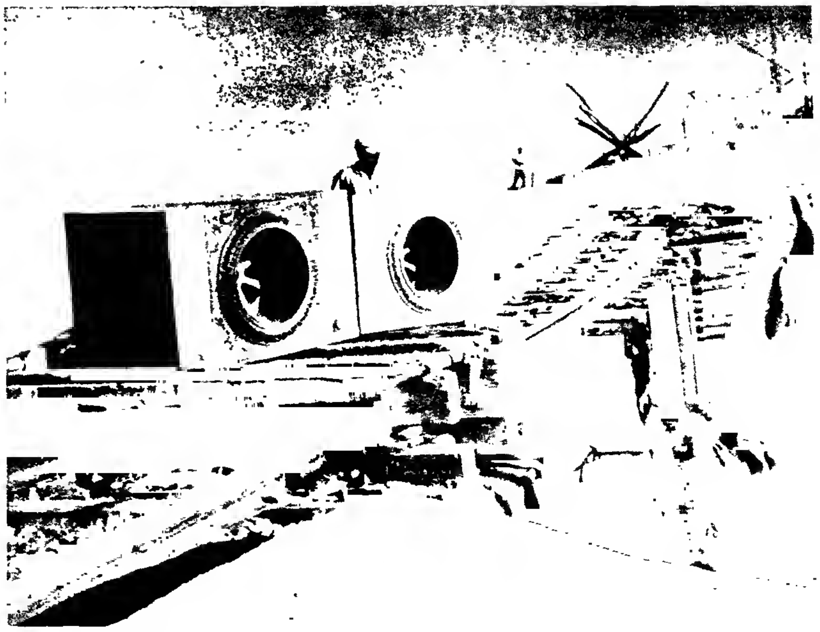
A view of the trolley-track laid on the gradual ascent of the Rock.

A dressed stone being taken to the trolley-track.

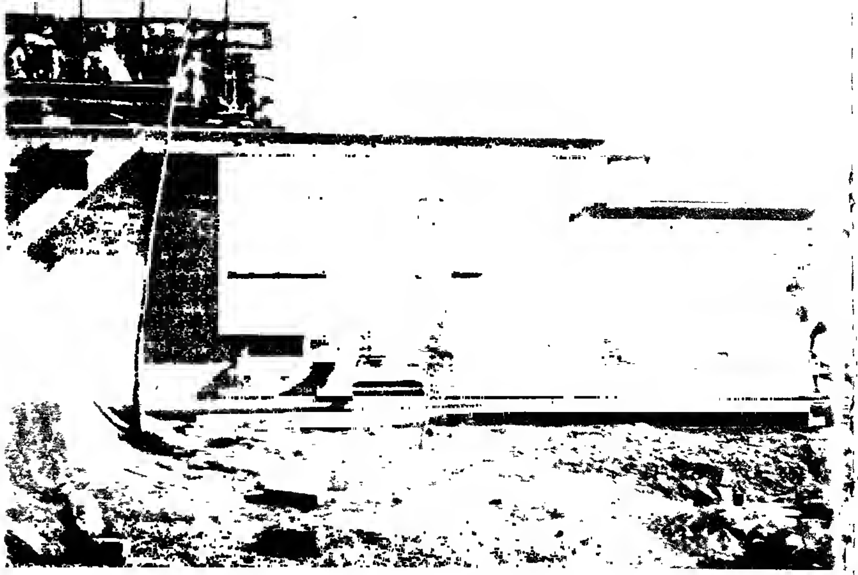
Only ordinary charcoal is used for re-sharpening chisels, as heat produced by means of any other agency does not suit that work. The cost of the charcoal alone, consumed in the said item of work, during six years of the memorial-construction, amounts to Rs. 1,87,596-00.

DETAILS ABOUT THE ROCK AND THE SURROUNDING AREA AT A GLANCE

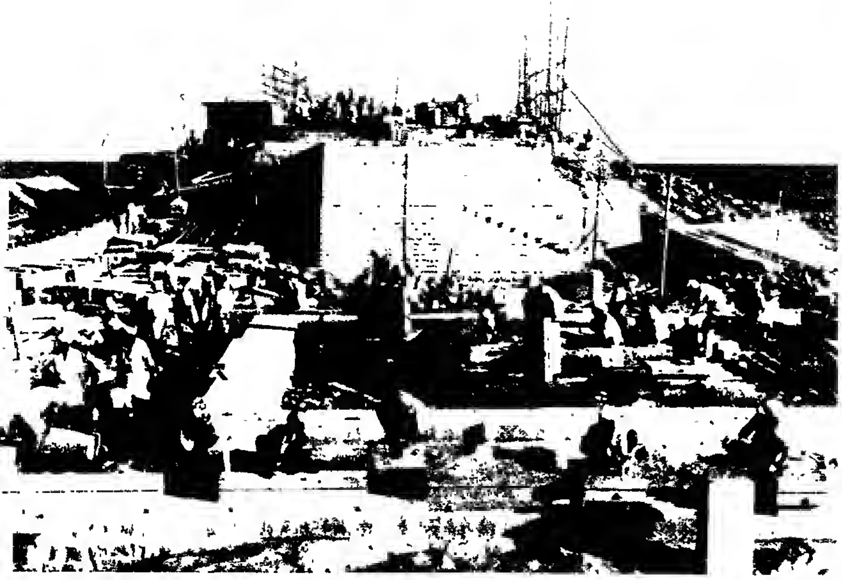
Distance between the Twin Vivekananda Rocks, the Major and the Minor.	220′—0″
Dimensions of the Vivekananda Rock, the Memorial-site	534′ x 426′
Total area	About 4 acres
Altitude	55′—0″
Location	South-east of Kanyakumari Temple situated at the southern tip of the Mainland
Distance between the Rock and the shore (Entrance gate of the breakwater-wall)	About 1600′—0″
Maximum depth of the sea in between the Rock and the shore	20′—0″
Total length of the curved breakwater wall on the shore-side	580′—0″
Width of the top of the breakwater-wall	18′—0″



Dressed stones placed on a trolley being hauled up to the memorial-site by means of wire ropes and a winch.



A view of the Dhyana Mandapam nearing completion.



A view of the Main Entrance-steps of the Vivekananda Mandapam and the plinth of the Shripada Mandapam under construction.

The Vivekananda Rock as viewed from the sea in the initial stage of the memorial-construction.

DHYANA MANDAPAM

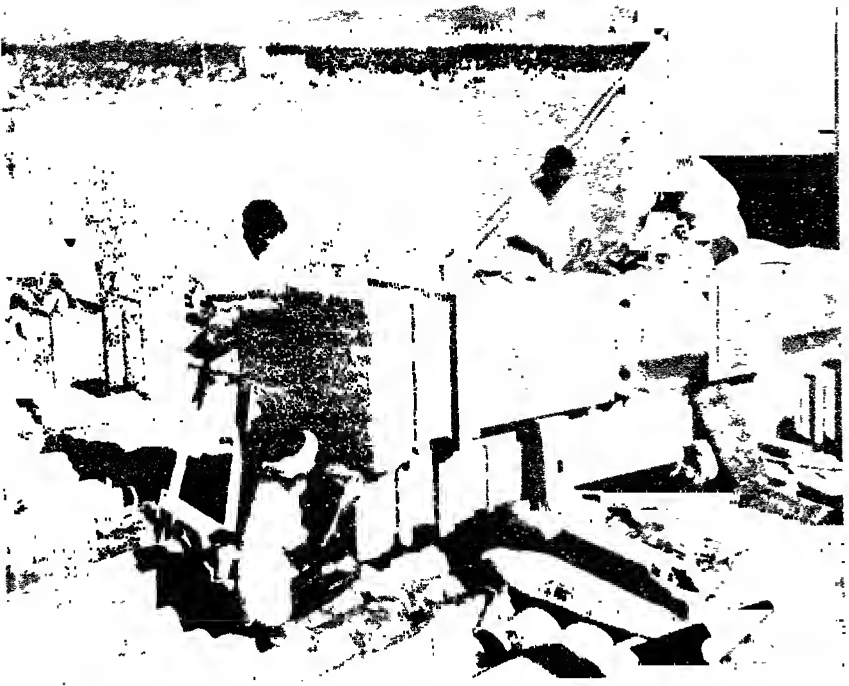
As has been mentioned already, the Vivekananda Rock Memorial is to comprise two main structures, namely, (1) the Vivekananda Mandapam housing the statue of Swami Vivekananda and (2) the Shripada Mandapam around the 'Shripadam'. These two structures will be at a distance of about 60 feet from each other and on different elevations of the Rock, though on a single central line, running south-east to north-west, approximately.

As the Mukha Mandapam and the Sabha Mandapam cover almost the entire top table-land of the Rock, the Dhyana Mandapam is constructed on a lower elevation, over fifteen feet below the top level, at the rear of the Pratima Mandapam.

To enable the visitors to get into the Dhyana Mandapam directly from the Sabha Mandapam, a staircase has been provided in the corridor at the rear of the statue-section. A separate entrance to the hall, from the outer platform below, is provided at the eastern corner of the hall.

While it is planned to display important incidents in Swamiji's life, depicted in high relief, on bronze panels to be fixed on the inside-walls on three sides of the Dhyana Mandapam, at the centre of the remaining side, is to be installed a highly decorated pedestal with a symbol 'ॐ' mounted on it (Pranava Peetham).

The total dimensions of the Dhyana Mandapam, including the 6 adjoining rooms, are 39'-10" x 57'-10".



A 13-ton monolithic pillar being dressed on the Rock, preparatory to its erection.

A 13-ton pillar being set in position.

MONOLITHIC ORNAMENTAL PILLARS WEIGHING OVER 13 TONS, EACH

Though the bulk of the granite required for the construction of the memorial was procured from a quarry near Ambasamudram, about 72 miles away from Kanyakumari, huge pieces necessary for shaping big monolithic pillars to support the central Shikharam over the Pratima Mandapam, were procured from a quarry near Pothayadi, a place about 7 miles away from Kanyakumari.

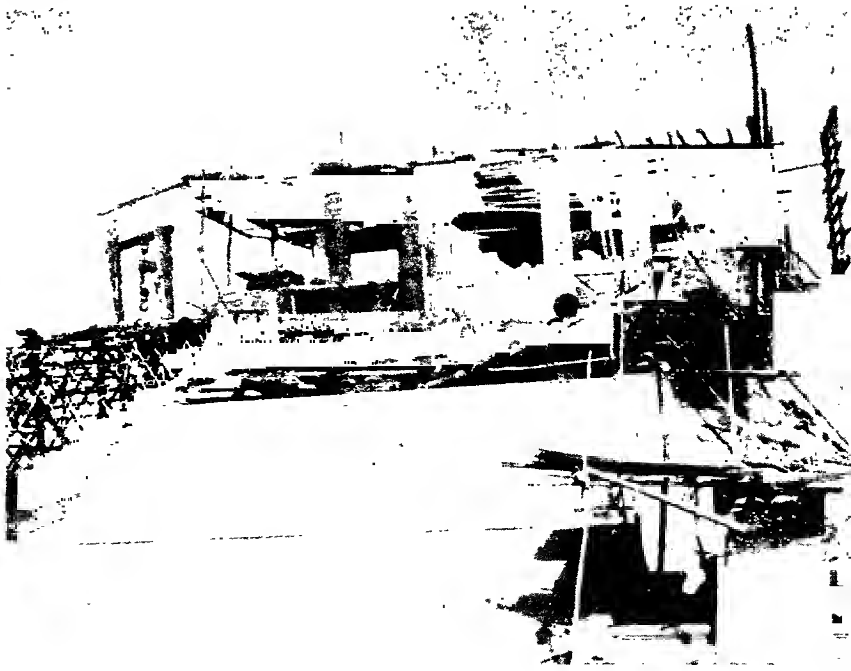
From the solid Rock at Pothayadi, were hewed four huge pieces, weighing about 20 tons each, to facilitate carving out of them, four 14-ton monolithic pieces of adequate dimensions, to be further chiselled into 13½-ton ornamental pillars with floral and other artistic designs carved on them.

For the convenience of transportation of these huge pieces from the said quarry to our stone-dressing yard at Kanyakumari, the preliminary dressing of these stones was executed at the quarry itself by 20 stone-artisans deputed for that purpose, with necessary facilities provided to them at the quarry-site. It took about three months to complete the preliminary dressing which reduced the weight of each pillar to 14 tons.

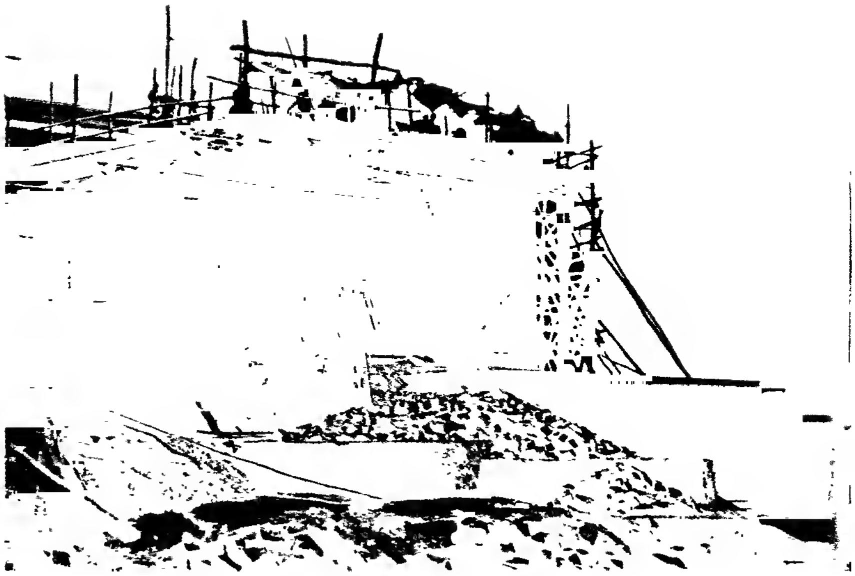
For further dressing-operations, the pillars were brought from the quarry, one after another, to our project-workspot at Kanyakumari, by means of a special type of heavy-duty truck. Similarly, a special licence had to be obtained from the Highways Authorities to transport these loads to Kanyakumari and a number of weak culverts on the way to Kanyakumari had to be strengthened, as directed by them, before the loads were actually transported.

Subsequently, after the completion of the final dressing, these granite pieces which, by then, took the form of polished ornamental pillars, each measuring 4'-6" square, with 12 feet height, were taken in barges across the sea, to the foot of the Vivekananda Rock, and from there, these were hauled up to the site-level, at an altitude of 55 feet, with the help of a winch and a trolley-track. During all these transport-operations, special care had to be taken to protect the floral designs and other intricate carvings on different faces of the columns, by covering the same from all sides by gunny bags as well as jute and coir-paddings.

A view of the front of the Vivekananda Mandapam, with some of the pillars set in position.



A view of the Mukha Mandapam and the front portion of the Sabha Mandapam under construction.



A view of the masonry work of the rear portion of the Sabha Mandapam in progress.

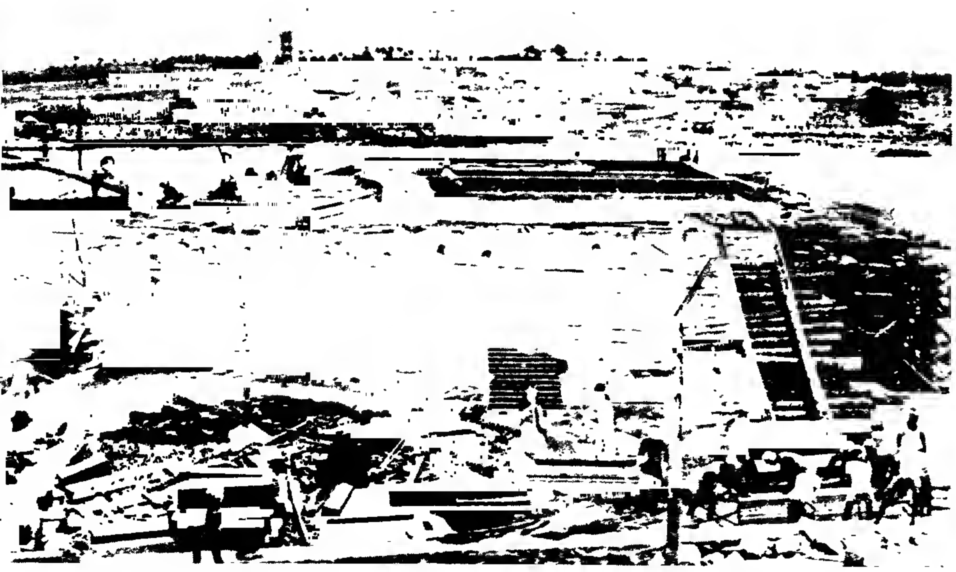
SCAFFOLDINGS

The entire masonry work of the memorial-structure which, ultimately, rose up to over 65 feet in height (the topmost of the Central Shikharam) from the base of the memorial-edifice, was executed by resorting to only traditional methods and without using a crane or any other type of sophisticated machinery.

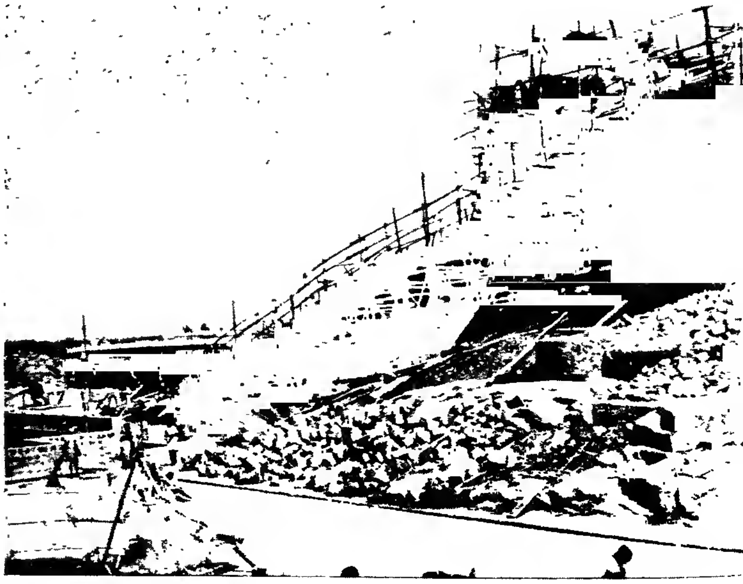
By raising solid platforms of rubble masonry, adjacent and parallel to the rising masonry of the granite walls of the memorial, and by erecting a massive framework of scaffoldings from stumps of Palmyra and poles of Casuarina trees, the masonry operations, involving very careful handling of big slabs and heavy beams with ornamental designs carved on them, were conducted quite successfully.

For erecting these scaffoldings, stumps of about 900 Palmyra trees and poles of about 2000 Casuarina trees, besides a considerable quantity of timber-planks and coir ropes were used.

A view of the masonry work of the Shripada Mandapam in progress.



A view of the masonry work of the Shripada Mandapam as well as the Vivekananda Mandapam risen up to the beam-level.



Sthapati, Shri S. K. Achari, the Chief Architect and Engineer of the Vivekananda Rock Memorial Project.

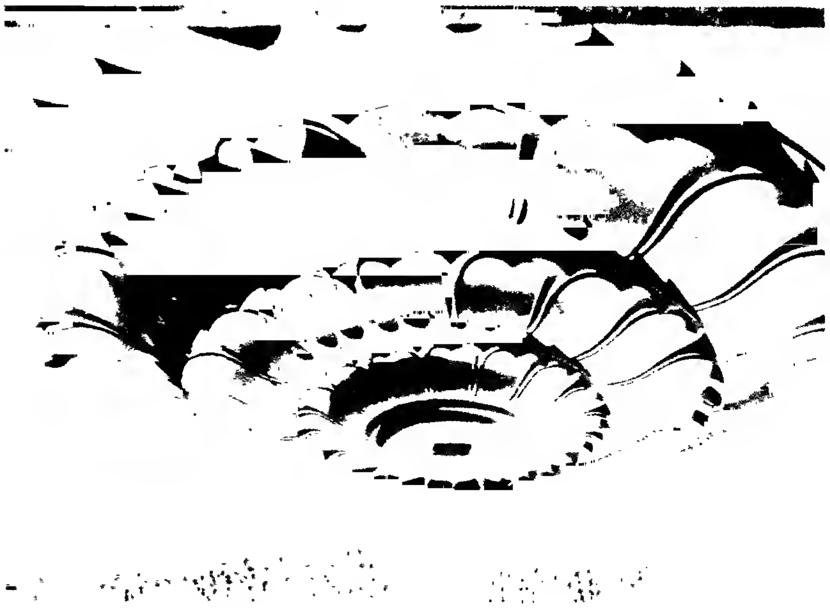
STHAPATI SHRI S. K. ACHARI

Sthapati S. K. Achari hails from a place called Devokottai in Ramnad district of Tamil Nadu. He is a disciple of the reputed Sthapati, the Late M. Vaidyanath Achari of Mahabalipuram.

Shri S. K. Achari had worked as an Assistant Sthapati in the construction work of Gandhi Mandapam, Adyar. Among many other works to his credit, Shri Ramana Maharishi's Samadhi Mandapam, Ramanashramam, Thiruvannamalai and Guru Dakshinamoorthi Swamigal Samadhi Temple, Tiruvarur, are the most well-known.

An Elephant-face. One of the two pieces carved for being placed on either side of the porch-steps.

A lotus design projected on a beam (bottom) which is to be the rear beam of the Mukha Mandapam of the Vivekananda Mandapam.



A lotus design projected on the two central covering stones to be used in the Mukha Mandapam, with a view to adorn its ceiling.

A design depicting a filled-up pitcher, flanked by elephants with uplifted trunks, a traditional symbol of auspiciousness and prosperity. This symbol is projected on a beam that is to be the front beam of the Sabha Mandapam.

A traditional design depicting Gandharva Mukha projected on stones in the upper courses of the Shikharam (rectangular dome of the Mukha Mandapam).

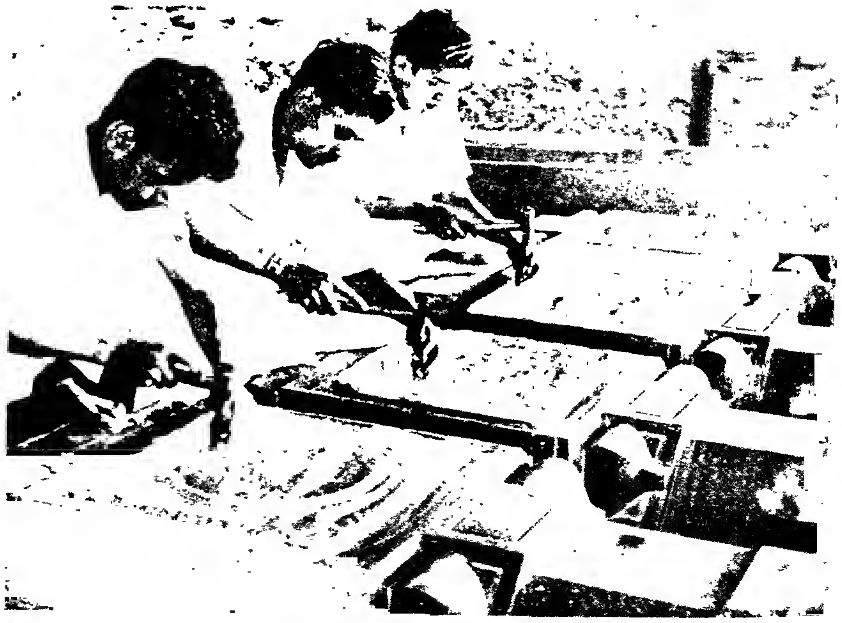
THE TRADITION OF STONE-SHILPIS

The art of stone-carving as also the building-craft, including temple-building, have a very long tradition in this country. One who is well-versed in this Shastra is called a Sthapati (architect and engineer). But, as the granite stone is found only in southern parts of the country, those conversant with work on granite, are only in the south and that too, mostly in Tamil Nadu.

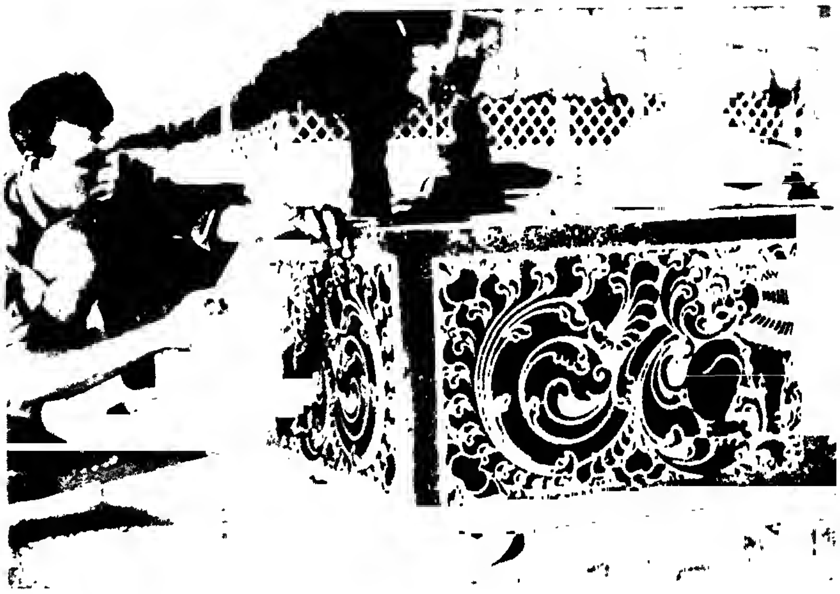
The Pallavas, Pandyas, Cholas and Vijayanagaram rulers of the south built several temples which stand, to this day, a testimony to the genius of these Sthapatis in designing and executing magnificent edifices

A row of dressed columns prior to their transportation to the Rock.

A view of the carving work in progress, on different faces of columns



One of the several lotus designs projected on different faces of columns to be used in the Sabha Mandapam

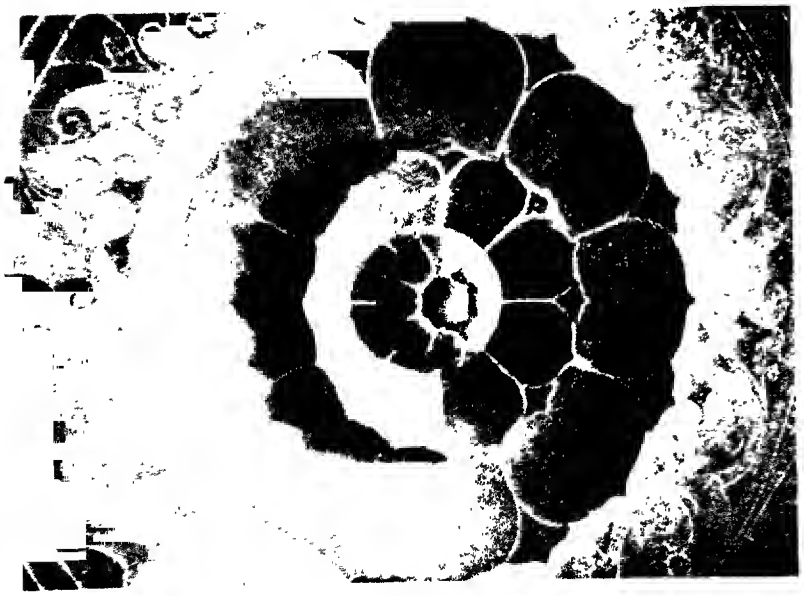


A view of carving work in progress. This particular slab is to be used as a Capital stone of one of the four ornamental columns of the Pratima Mandapam (statue section.)

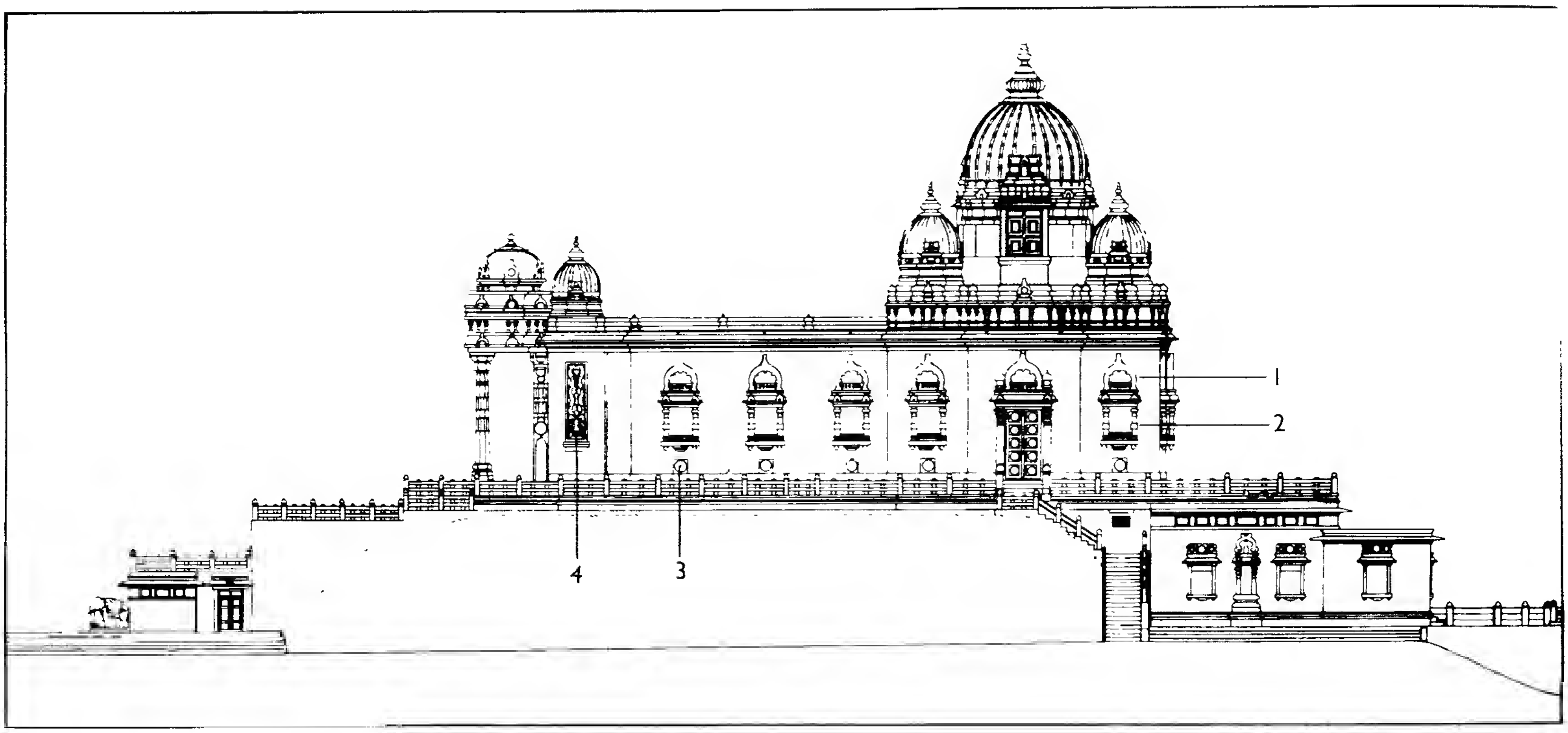
Later, during the British rule, the Nattukottai Chettiars, the famous traditional bankers of Tamil Nadu, known for their charity and religious fervour, devoted a substantial portion of the wealth they earned in their trade with far eastern countries like Burma, Malaya, Singapore etc. to temple-building till their trade dwindled down and their wealth diminished considerably after the 2nd world war.

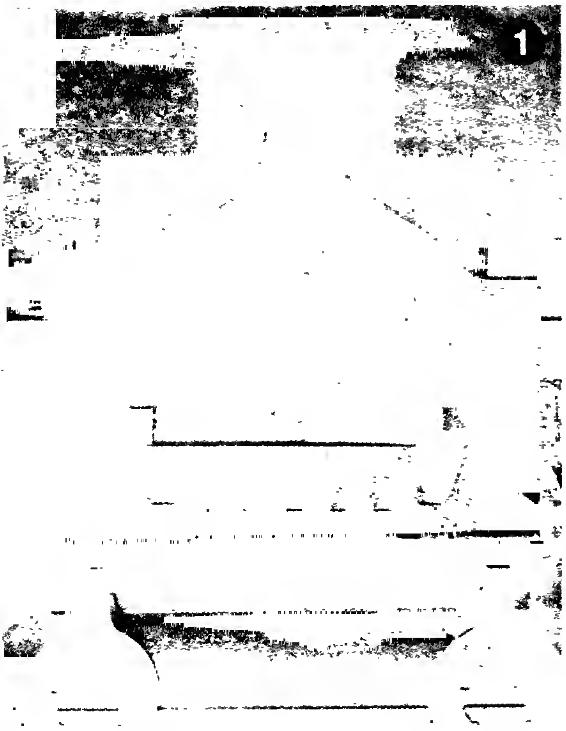
This traditional community of stone-carvers traces its origin to the sage Vishwakarma. From that sage, they believe, originated their class of Shilpis capable of building cities, temples, palaces and other temporal and religious types of edifices. Among this class, those who excelled in the art were called Sthapatis and families maintaining their excellence from generation to generation, came to be known as Acharis.

A lotus design

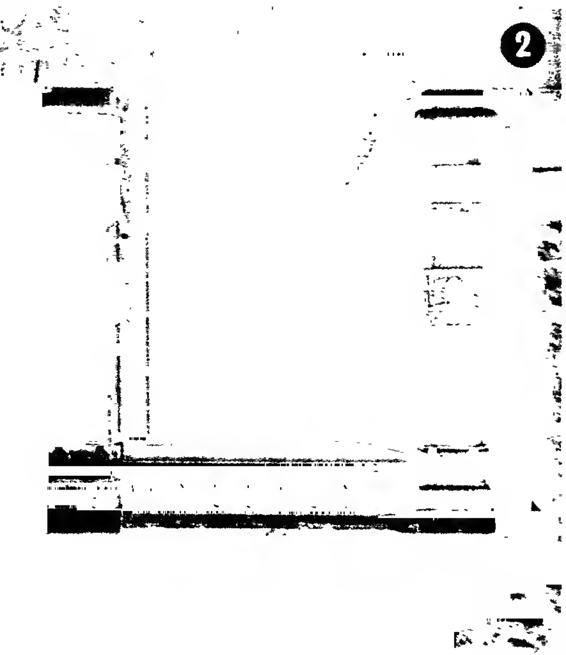


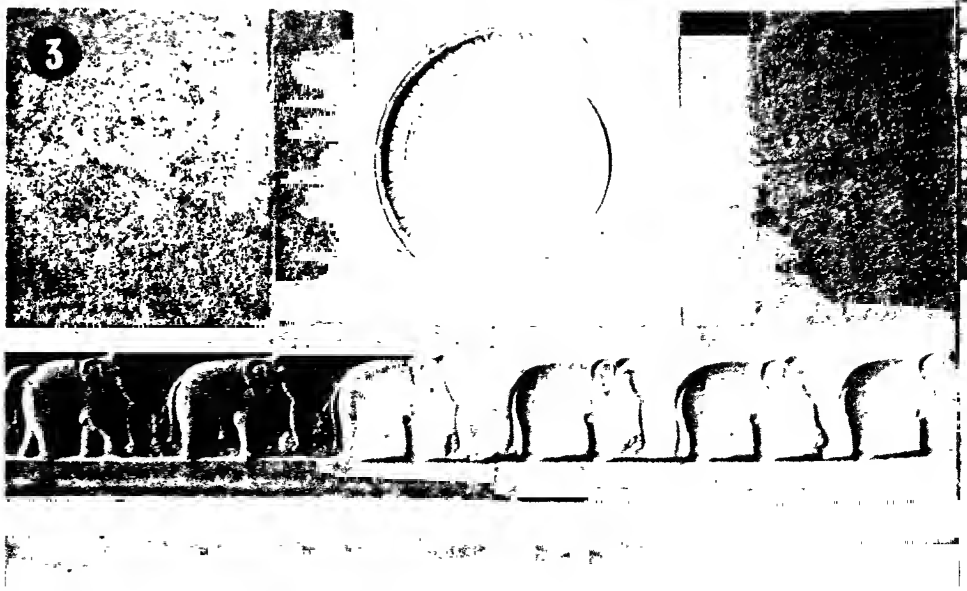
A view of the carving work in progress. This slab is to come over the capital of one of the ornamental columns of the Pratima Mandapam



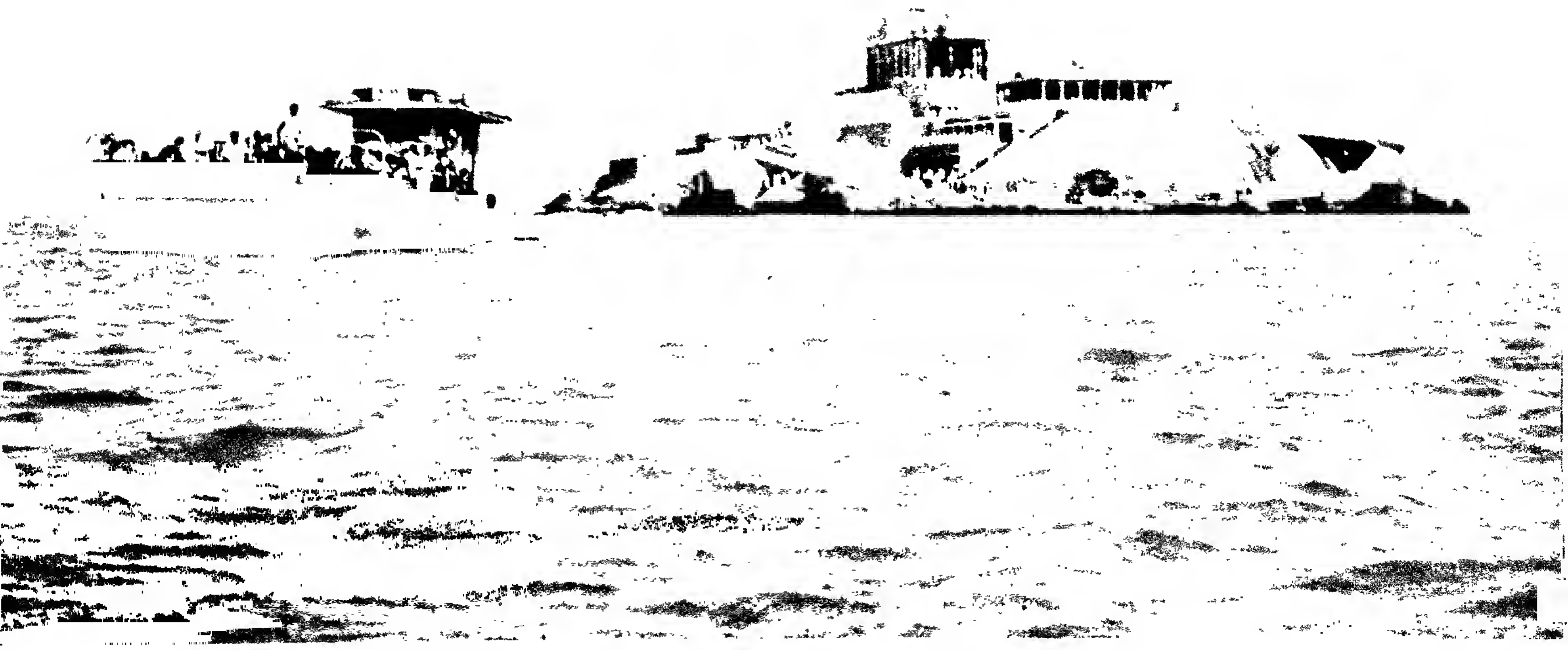


1. One of the slabs cut and chiselled for forming the upper halves of the windows in the Sabha Mandapam.
2. One of the slabs cut and chiselled for forming lower halves of the windows in the Sabha Mandapam.
3. Slabs in the first four courses carrying an elephant band, circular windows etc. being displayed one upon another, in the prescribed order, before their transportation to the Rock.
4. One of the two slabs cut, chiselled and polished for forming jali-windows with peacock designs.





A front diagonal view of the Memorial from the north with the committee's motor launch 'Vikrama' with passengers on board approaching the Rock.



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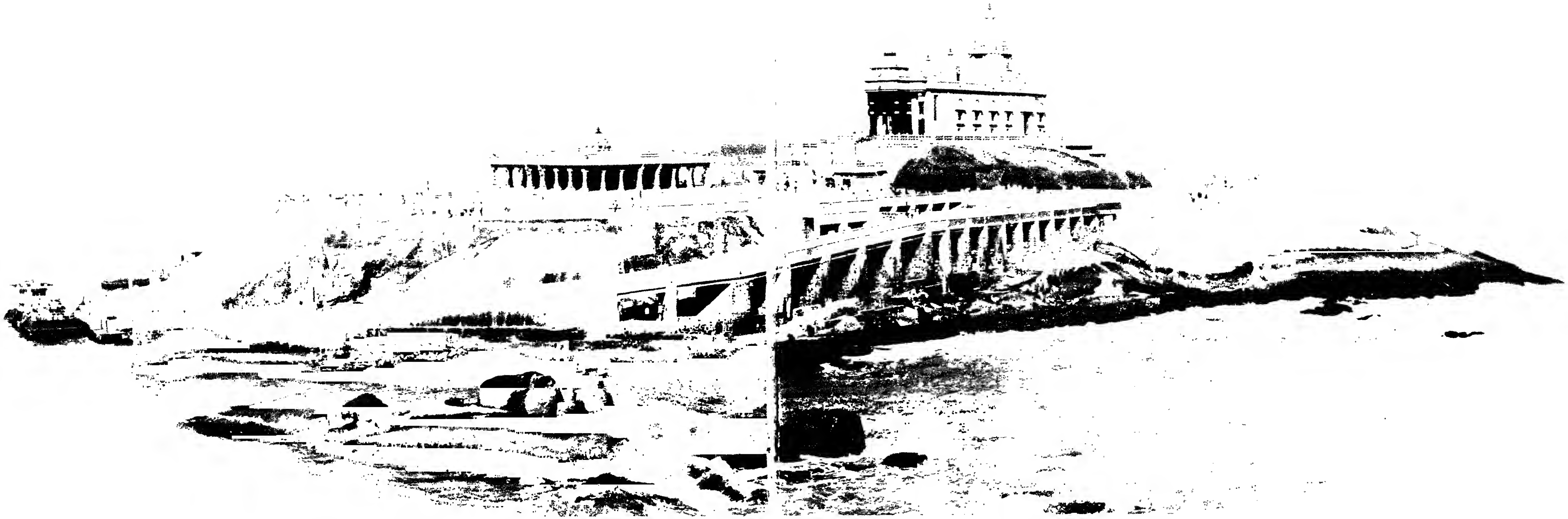
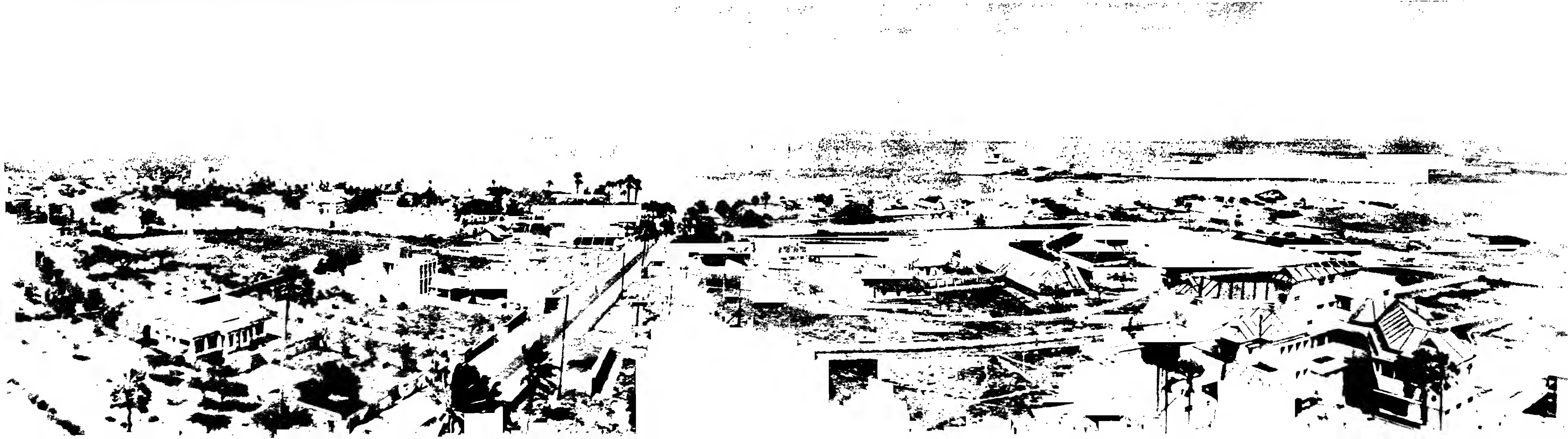
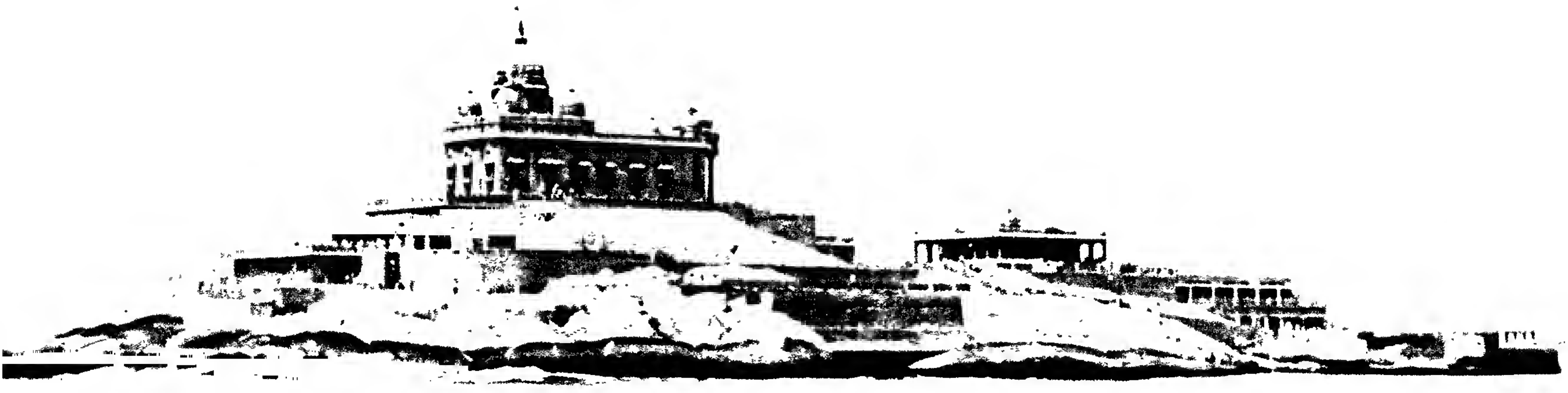


Vivekananda Rock Memorial as viewed from the adjacent minor rock on the west. The Pradakshina Patha (circular pathway round the Mandapams) is also prominently seen.

A Panoramic view of the entire Kanyakumari village situated at the tapering end of the Mainland of Bharat. To the south-east of the Kanyakumari Temple standing within its walled enclosure, is seen the Vivekananda Rock in mid-sea.



A rear diagonal view of the Memorial from the east.



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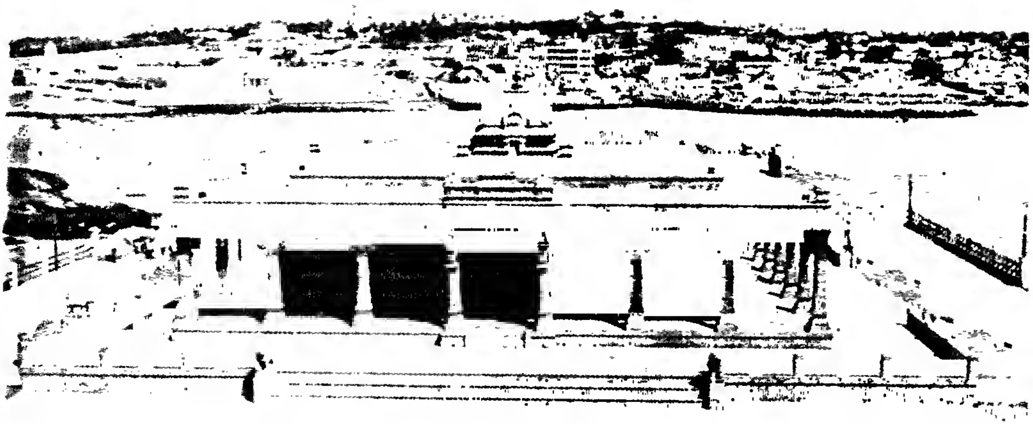
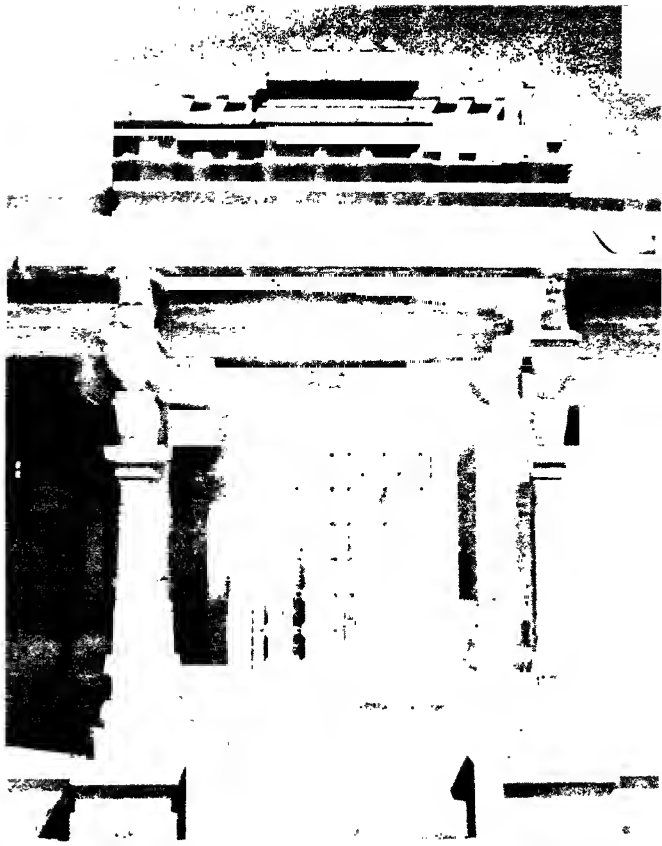


Shripada Mandapam.



Main Entrance of the Shripada Mandapam.

SHRIPADA MANDAPAM

The Garbha Griham of the Shripada Mandapam is designed strictly in accordance with the 'Ayadi Pramana Lakshanam' as detailed in the Shilpa Shastra.

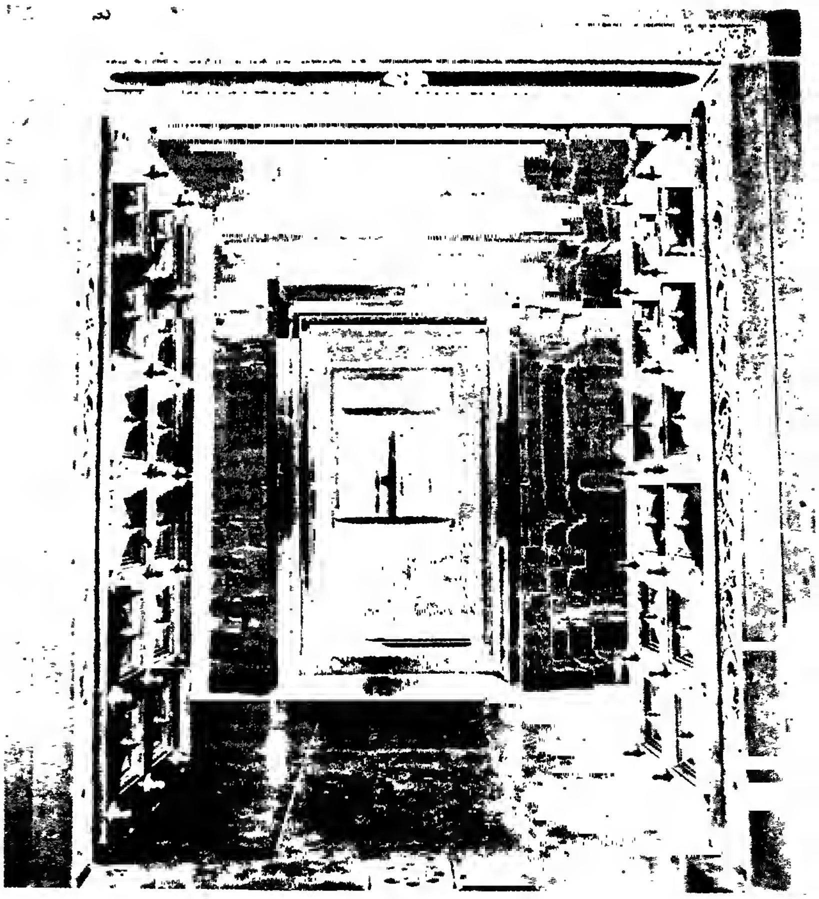
The structure is reminiscent of Tamilian Architecture during Chola period. The Mandapam has three Prakarams and an 'Eka Tala Vimanam' from terrace level.

The dimensions of the Mandapam are 71'-10" x 71'-10".

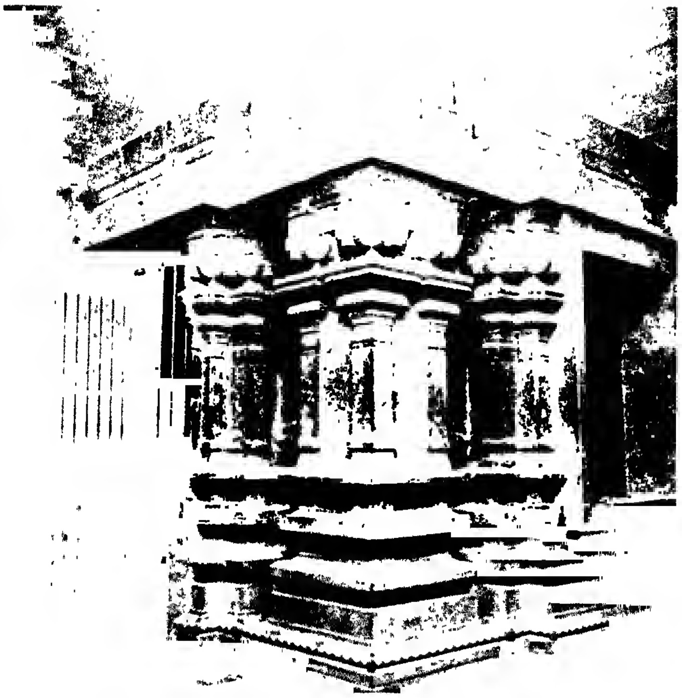
The inner Prakaram No. 1 is protected by walls all around. Prakaram No. 2 is provided with 28 pillars (Chitra Stambhas) on which ceiling-stones rest.

The Prakaram No. 3 is an open platform.

The entire structure is built with blue granite quarried partly from Ambasamudram and partly from a nearby quarry.



A partial view of the inner Prakaram and the entrance of the Garbha Griham (sanctum sanctorum) obtained from the threshold of the Main Entrance of the Shripada Mandapam.



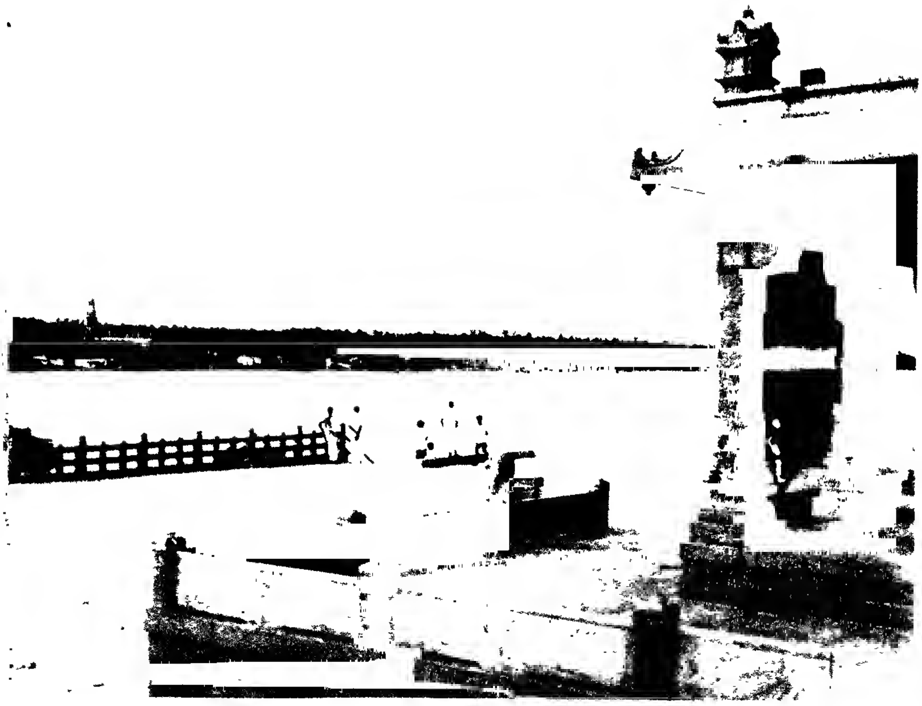
A partial view of the entrance of the Garbha-Griham and its south-eastern and the north-eastern walls.

A view of the 'Shripadam' projection through the glass-covering.

SELECTION OF STONES

The Shilpa Shastras give detailed instructions regarding the selection of proper stones for the purposes of construction as well as for artistic work. The quality of a stone is ascertained by examining its lines or fibres, colour, grains as also blemishes in the form of any innate colour spots or patches, found in it The quality is also determined by analysing the sound it emits on being tapped.

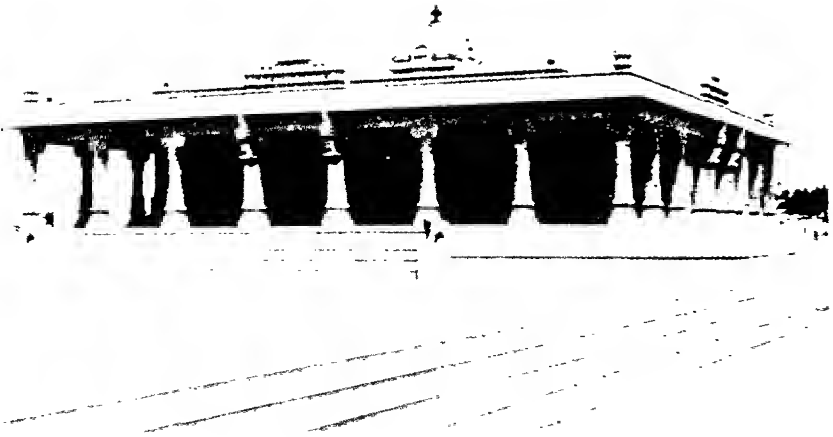
The Shastras also classify stones as belonging to 3 categories, the masculine, the feminine and the neuter. They prescribe stones of both female and male varieties for ornamental work as well as for preparing columns, beams, wall-stones and other such members that have to take direct weight on them. Stones of the neuter variety are prescribed generally for foundation work, flooring and for artistic carvings.



A view of the western corner of Shripada Mandapam, an open platform at its rear as also of the shore and the intervening sea.

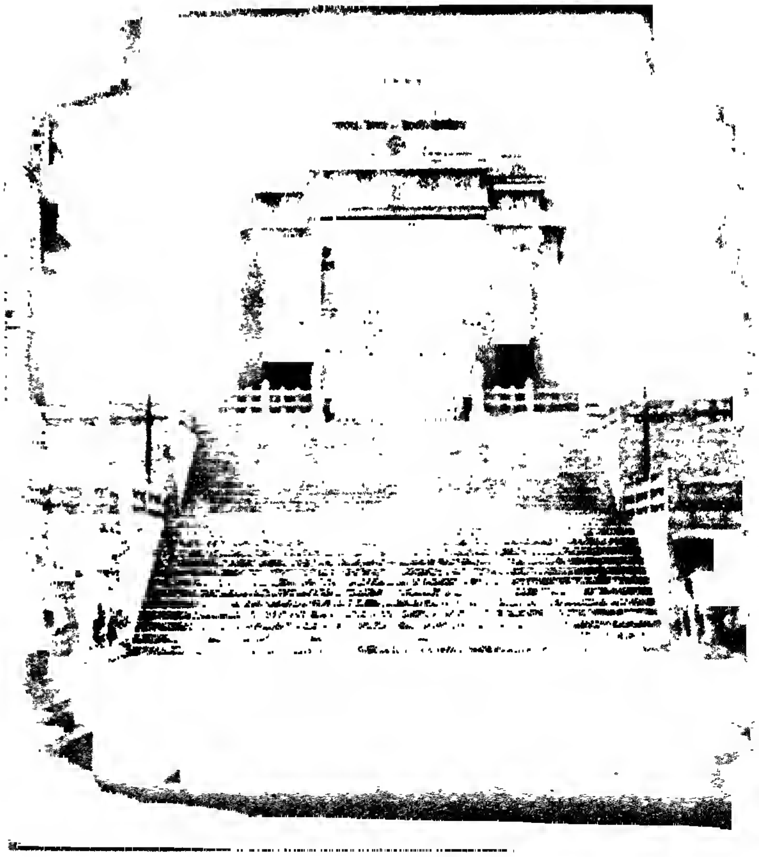
A view of the pillared outer Prakaram (corridor) of the Shripada Mandapam on its north-east.

A view of the Shripada Mandapam and of an open platform in between the two Mandapams.



In the Vivekananda Rock Memorial, all the stones used are either of the male or female category except for the stones used for flooring which are of the neuter variety.

Vivekananda Mandapam as viewed from the entrance door of the Shripada Mandapam.



Shripada Mandapam and V. Mandapam as viewed together from the northern corner.

MUKHA MANDAPAM

The Rectangular Shikharam called 'Aya Vistara Shikharam' along with corner foliage-designs are from Pallava Architecture. The Lower portion called Prastaram is in Ajanta style.

For the Shikharam and Prastaram, red granite has been used.

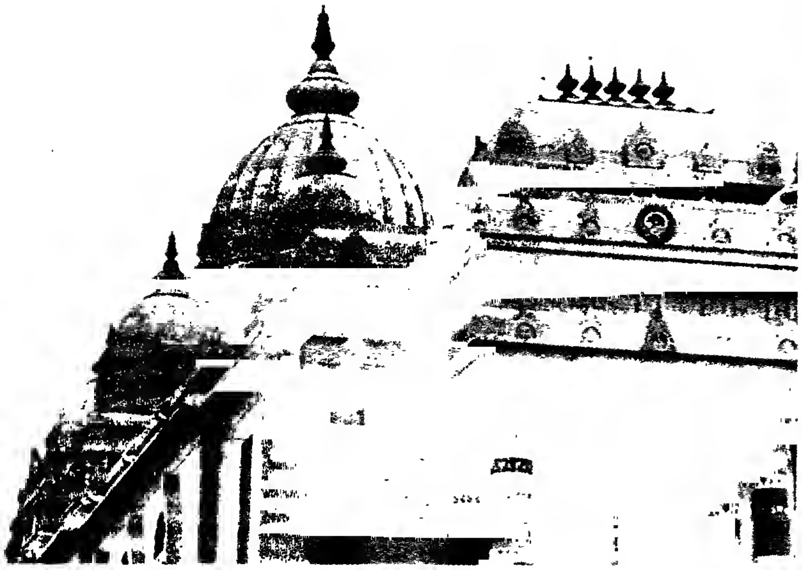
Below the Prastaram, are six pillars in Ajanta style.

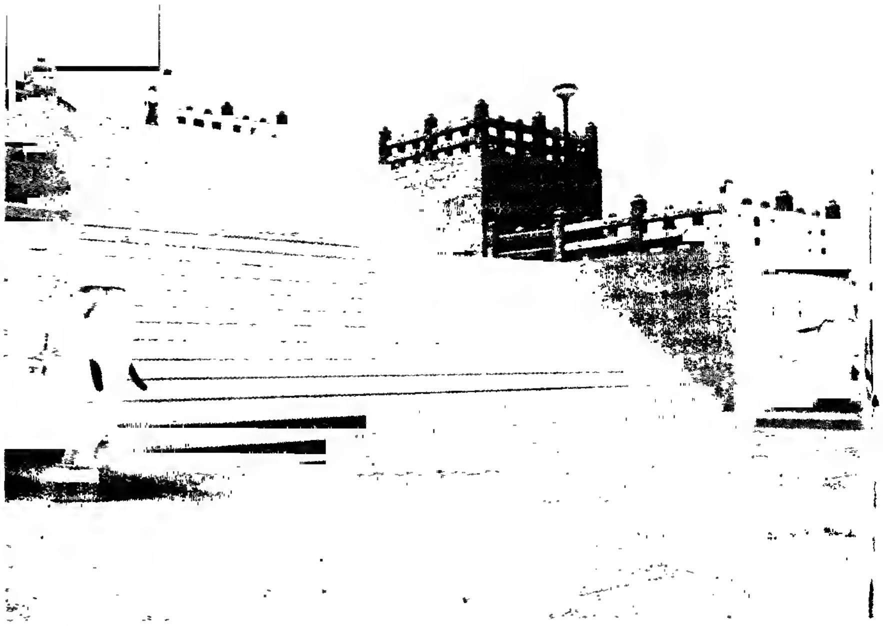
The ceiling or Vitana is in polished blue granite. A Padma motif, in bold relief, adorns the centre of the ceiling.

On the beam above the door-frame, 'Gaja Poorna Kumbha' is carved.

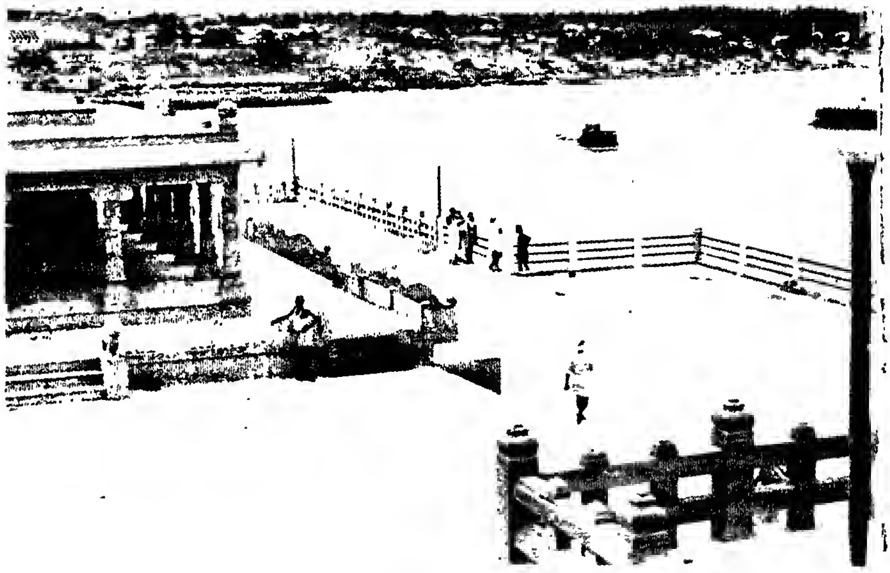
The height of the ceiling from the floor is 20'-10". The dimensions of the Mukha Mandapam are 17'-0" x 11'-0". The flooring of the Mukha Mandapam is done in polished red and blue granite.

A diagonal view of the Vivekananda Mandapam from the north.



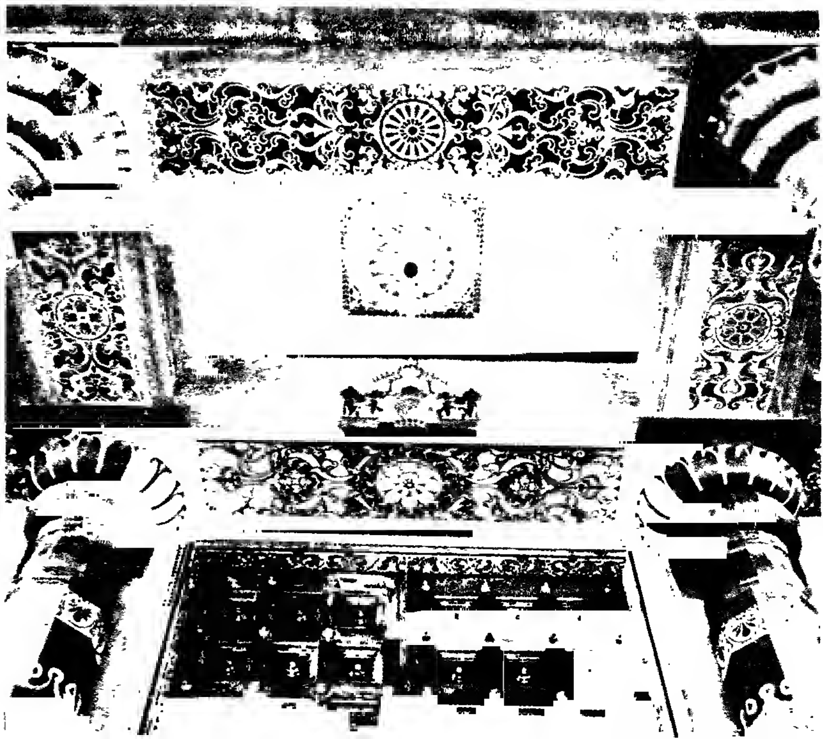


Main Entrance-steps of the V. Mandapam with two granite figures of an elephant, standing on both sides, at the foot of the flight of steps.



A portion of the Shripada Mandapam, the Kanyakumari shore and the intervening sea, as viewed from the steps of the V. Mandapam.

A view of the artistic carvings on the ceiling, beams and columns of the Mukha Mandapam (porch) of the Vivekananda Mandapam.



METHOD OF CONSTRUCTION

Stone masonry requires elaborate pre-planning and careful execution. At the first instance, general drawings such as the ground-plan, side, front and rear elevations as well as longitudinal and cross sections are to be prepared as usual. After determining the height of the whole structure, the height of each course is to be fixed and plan for each course is to be prepared, calculating the maximum dimensions upto which rough stones could be easily extracted from the quarries and also keeping in view the convenience of handling and dressing the same. Joints are also determined and drawn and respective dimensions of each stone as well as the total number of stones in each of the courses are arrived at, at this stage.

This procedure will not only facilitate, subsequently, the execution of dressing and jointing but also help, even at the very initial stage, the correct assessment of the total quantity of stones required and the placing of orders for all categories of rough stones of necessary specifications with respective approved quarries.

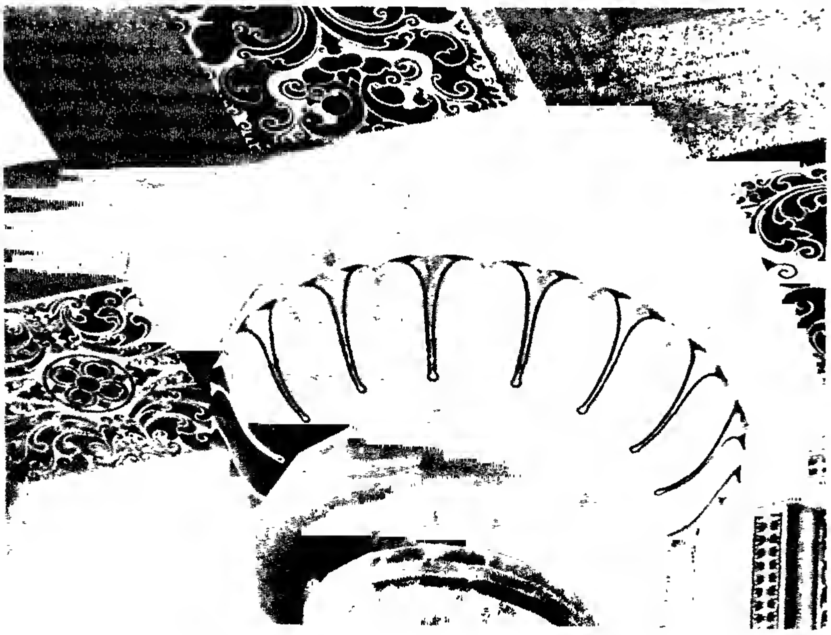
Rough stones indented from the quarries will, obviously, be of slightly greater than the requisite dimensions to make allowance for reasonable margin to achieve precise results during dressing operations. For example if a piece of 4′-6″ x 2′-0″ x 1′-9″ dressed stone is required for jointing, the rough stone to be ordered from the quarry will be of the dimensions of 4′-9″ x 2′-3″ x 2′-0″. This piece, after final dressing, will be brought to the finished dressed stone of the specified dimensions.

The Gaja-Poorna Kumbha, the traditional auspicious symbol at the entrance, depicting a pitcher filled with water and two elephants with their trunks raised, standing on both sides.

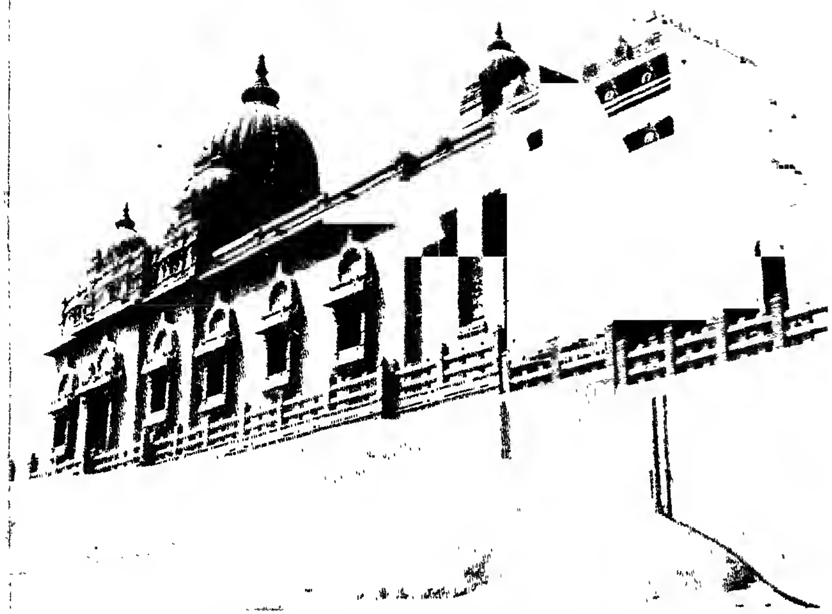
The quarries are first examined and selected for extraction of rough stones as prescribed in Shilpa Shastras. On receiving the indented rough stones of specified varieties and sizes from the quarries, they are numbered course-wise as per details of the working-drawings and stacked separately.

When the actual stone-dressing is taken up, firstly the two sides of the length are chiselled and made plain in line and level. The required details shall be marked on both faces with charcoal-sticks used as pencils. These charcoal-sticks are

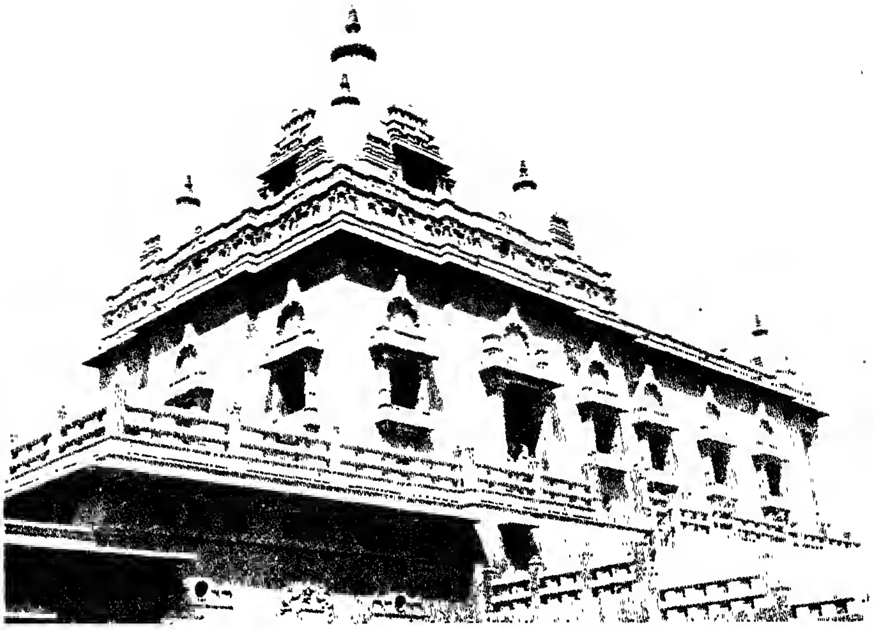
A close view of the capital of the Mukha Mandapam-Column on the east, adjacent to the door frame of the Sabha Mandapam.



A full view of the Mukha Mandapam and the massive teakwood door of the Sabha Mandapam.

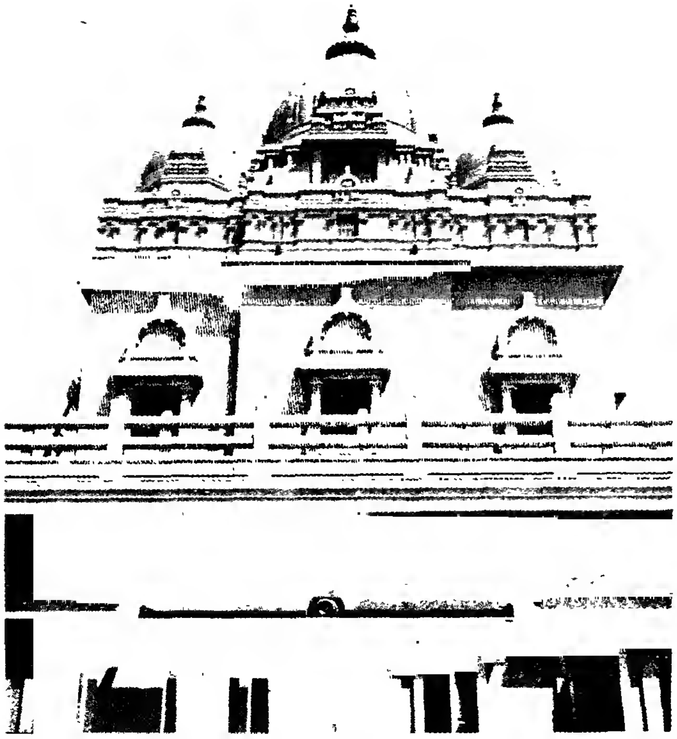


The side wall of the Vivekananda Mandapam as viewed from the north.



A rear diagonal view of the Vivekananda Mandapam from the East.

Upper portions of the Vivekananda Mandapam as viewed from the rear.



very suitable for marking lines and drawing designs and also for erasing the marks, if they are required to be altered. Finally, they are marked with ochre mixed with water, which when dried remain indelible for a long duration.

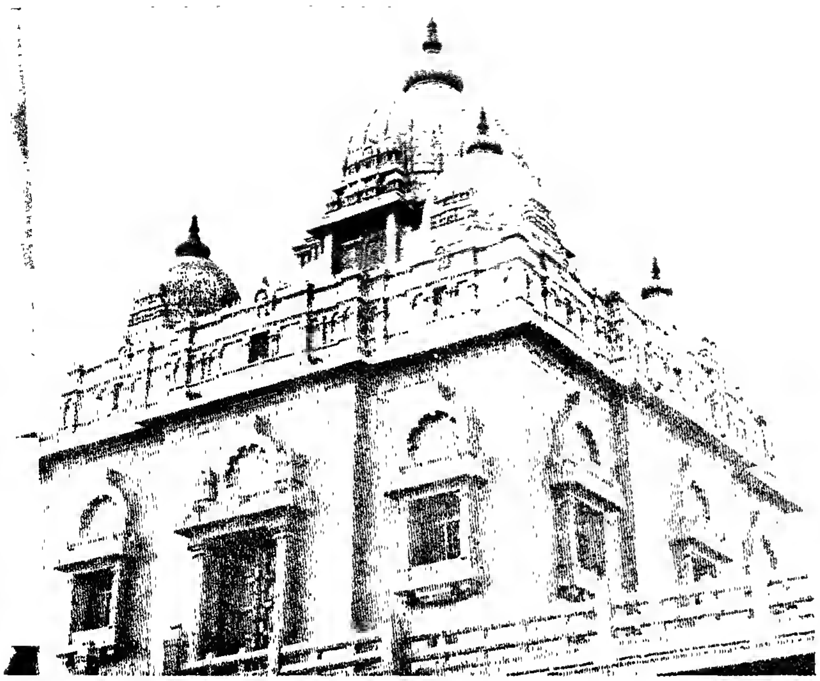
Preliminary rough-dressing is taken up to commence with. This is called one line dressing. In this way till the specified shape and smoothness is obtained, the same process is continued upto three-line dressing with different types of chisels. While dressing stones, an extra portion, measuring about half an inch, is provided for the convenience of final chiselling and adjustment at the time of jointing.

JOINTING OR ASSEMBLING

The process of jointing or assembling, according to traditional method, is quite interesting. It is not merely arranging one stone above the other, in plumb and in level, but it is something more. A special method adopted in this process is technically called 'tracing'.

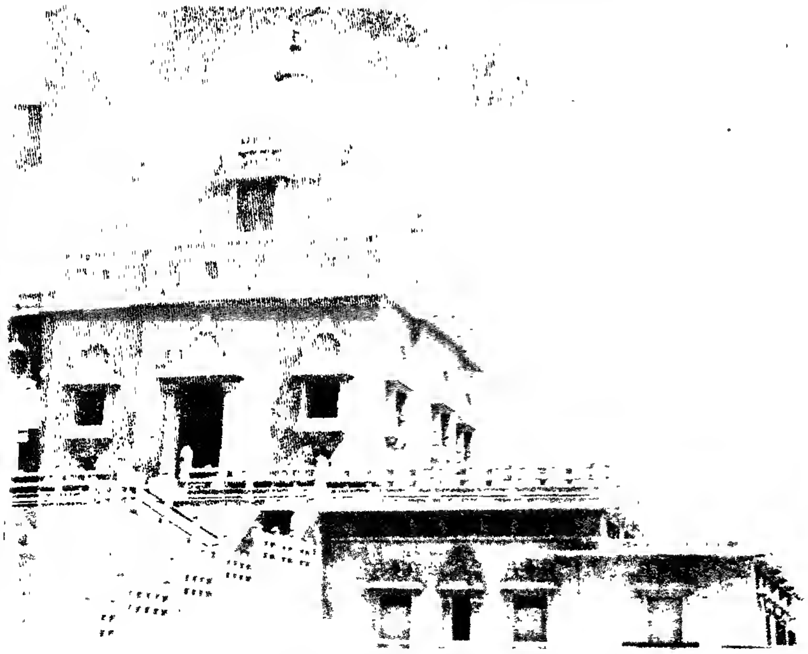
In this, the first layer is laid strictly in level and in plumb. The second layer is placed above the first, perfectly in plumb and then the contours of the top of the first layer are traced with a 'timber tracer' on the bottom of the second layer. This leaves a line on the bottom of the second layer, exactly copying the top of the first layer with all its undulations. After the tracing is done, by this way, the bottom face of the top layer is accurately dressed according to the line formed. Now the second layer is precisely adjusted on the first layer, vertically down, and thus a perfect joint is effected. In order to get perfect precision, necessary extra margin is left on the undressed stone. This is also necessary for the application of the crowbars at the bottom, while moving or lifting the heavy stones. Otherwise the edges of the stones would get damaged. This is for horizontal joints.

As regards vertical joints, the same method of 'tracing' is adopted in respect of the vertical face of the adjoining stone. This ensures a very perfect joint and it is claimed that even a thin paper cannot pass in between them.



A rear diagonal view of the V. Mandapam from the south.

A side view of the V. Mandapam from the south-west.



A front diagonal view of the V. Mandapam from the west.

Rainwater-reservoir on the north-east of the Vivekananda Mandapam.

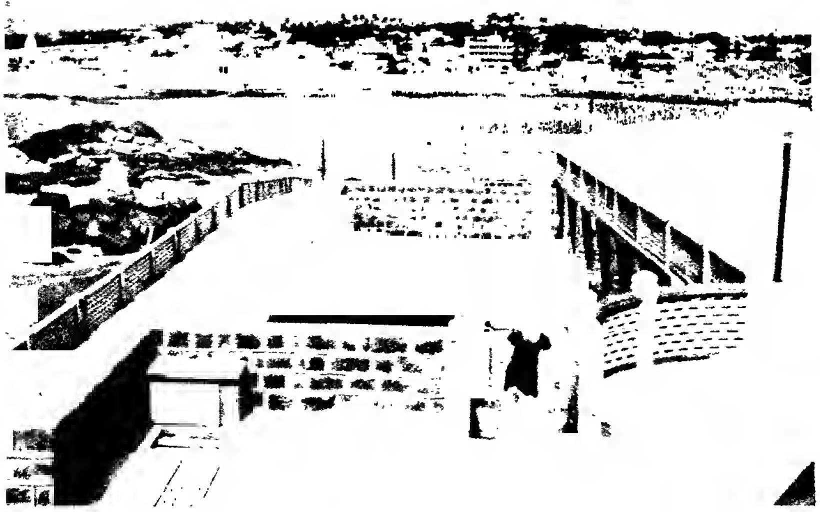
SUPPLY OF DRINKING WATER

While water from the rainwater-reservoirs is only for masonry-cleaning and similar other purposes, potable water is being daily transported from the shore in drums and pumped up directly from the Rock-jetty to the tanks specially constructed for that purpose.

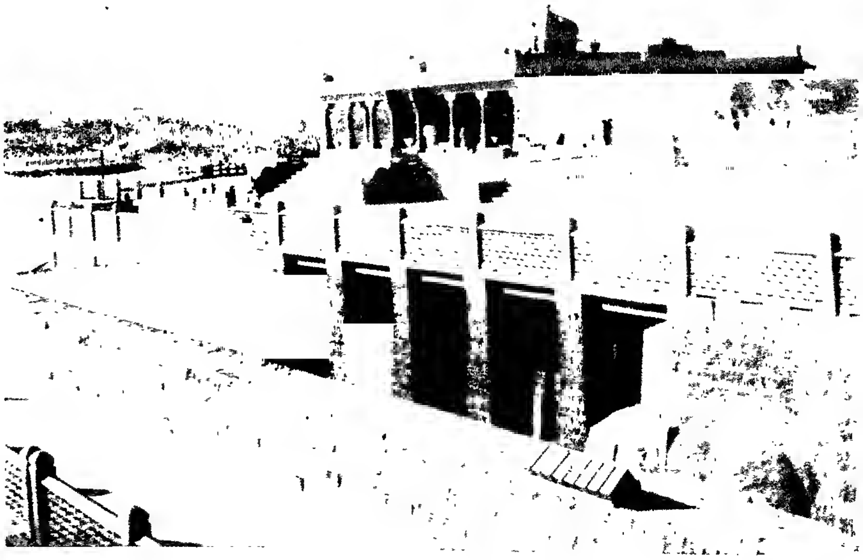
RAINWATER RESERVOIRS

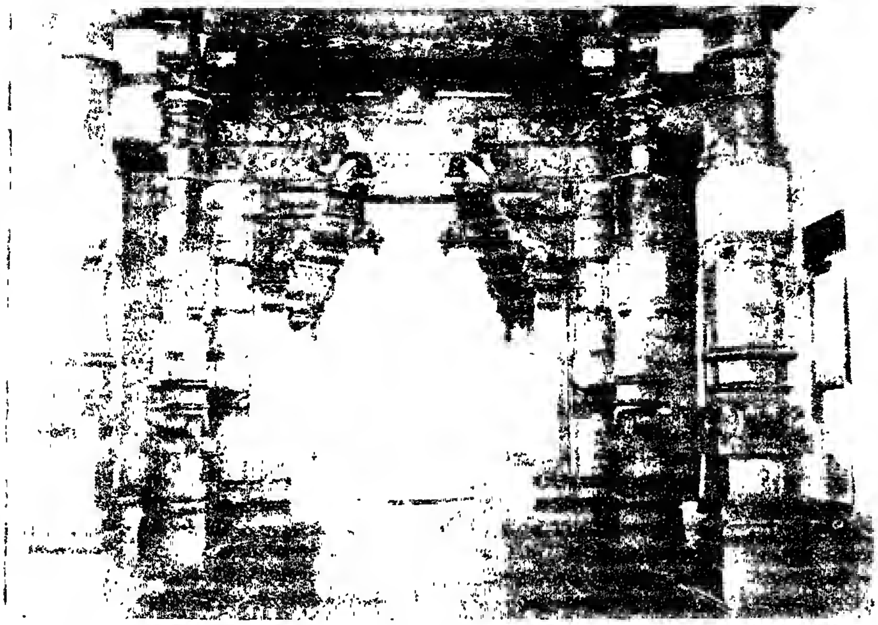
The two rainwater-reservoirs, emptied and cleaned on the completion of the memorial construction, are again becoming full with fresh inflow of rain-water as a result of the onset of winter monsoon.

Rainwater-reservoir on the south-west of the Vivekananda Mandapam.

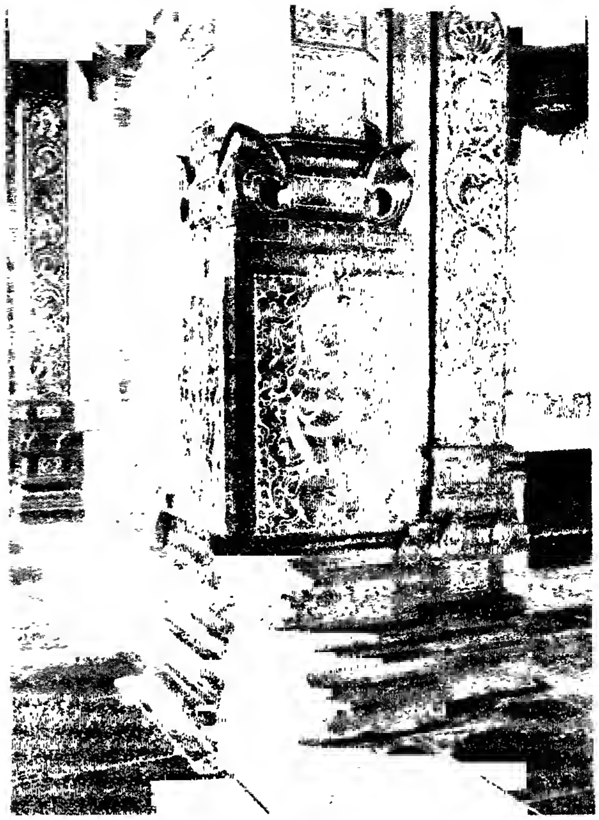


A view depicting relative positions of the Shripada Mandapam, the rain water-reservoir on the south-west and a part of the adjacent circular pathway running parallel to it.





A partial view of the interior of the Sabha Mandapam before the installation of Swamiji's Statue.



A close view of some of the ornamental columns of the Sabha Mandapam. Intricate carvings on the columns are partially visible.

SABHA MANDAPAM

The dimensions of the Mandapam are 130'-1½'' x 56' with its Main Entrance-opening of 11' x 18'. It has also two side-entrances of 5' – 6'' x 10' - 3'' each.

All the door-frames are in blue granite. They are highly polished and are decorated with traditional floral designs carved on them. The whole Mandapam may be said to be more or less after the Chola style.

There are four Chitra Kantha Stambhas (ornamental pillars) in the Pratima Mandapam (statue section) and eight Chitra Stambhas in the rest of the Sabha Mandapam, which are all highly polished by hand, using traditional methods.

The floral designs carved on the ornamental columns are partly adopted from Pallava style and are partly original but with a flavour of tradition.

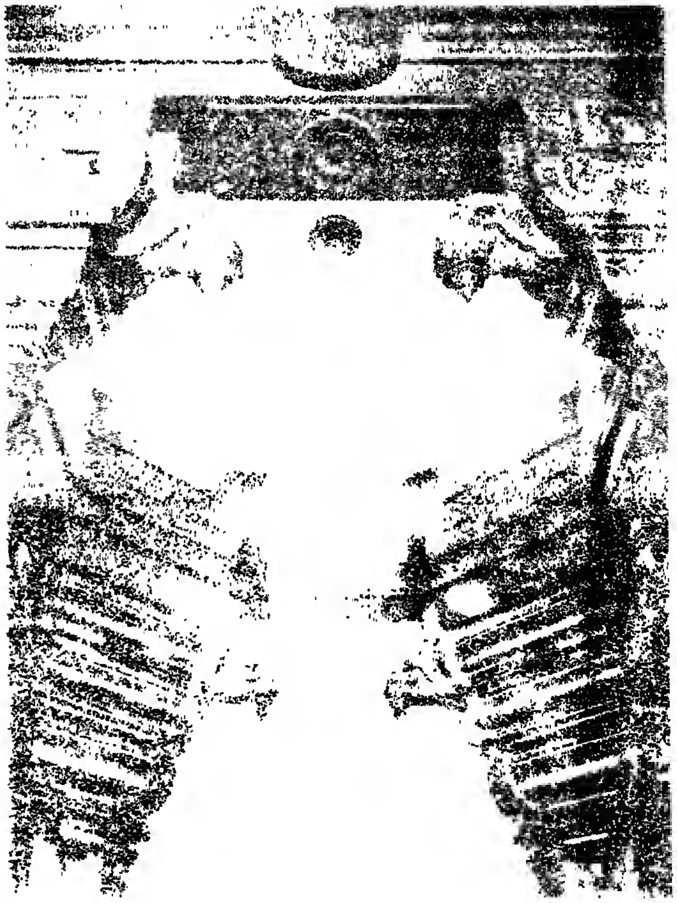
The flooring of the Sabha Mandapam has been done with red granite slabs obtained from quarries near Tuticorin about 96 miles away, and from the outskirts of Madurai about 176 miles away from Kanyakumari

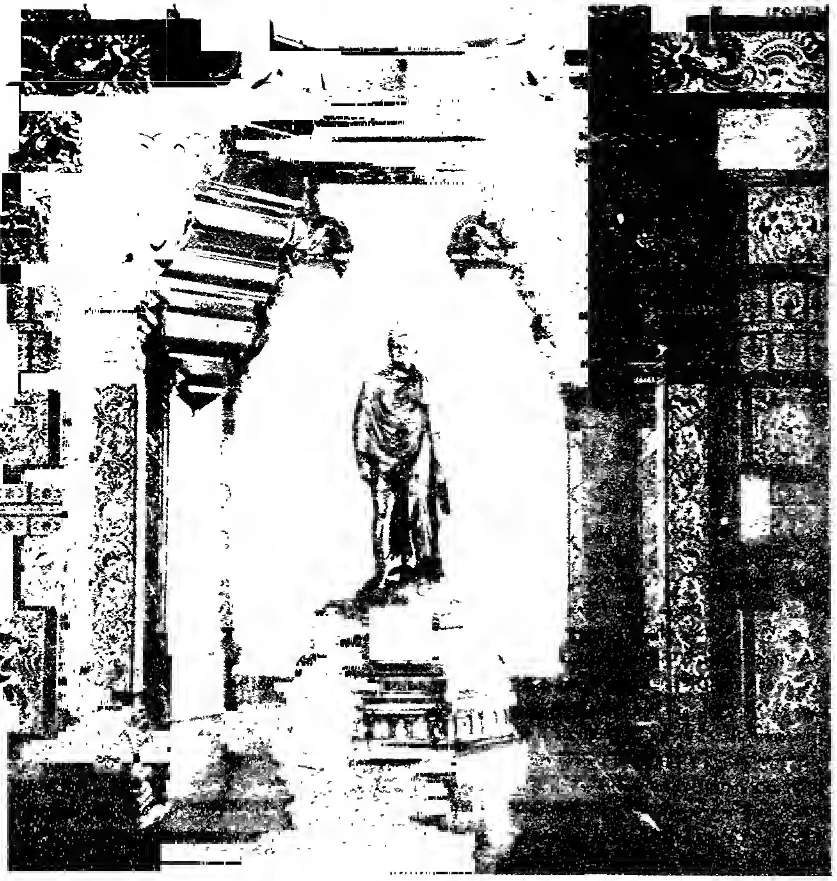
The height of the ceiling or Vitana of the Pratima Mandapam is 25' and of the rest of the Sabha Mandapam is 20'.

The ceiling consists of covering stones measuring up to a maximum length of 16' in which lotus designs have been provided at suitable places.

Two decorated rooms in the Sabha Mandapam house big portraits of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa and the Mother Sharada Devi.

A view of the ceiling of the Central Shikharam of the Sabha Mandapam.

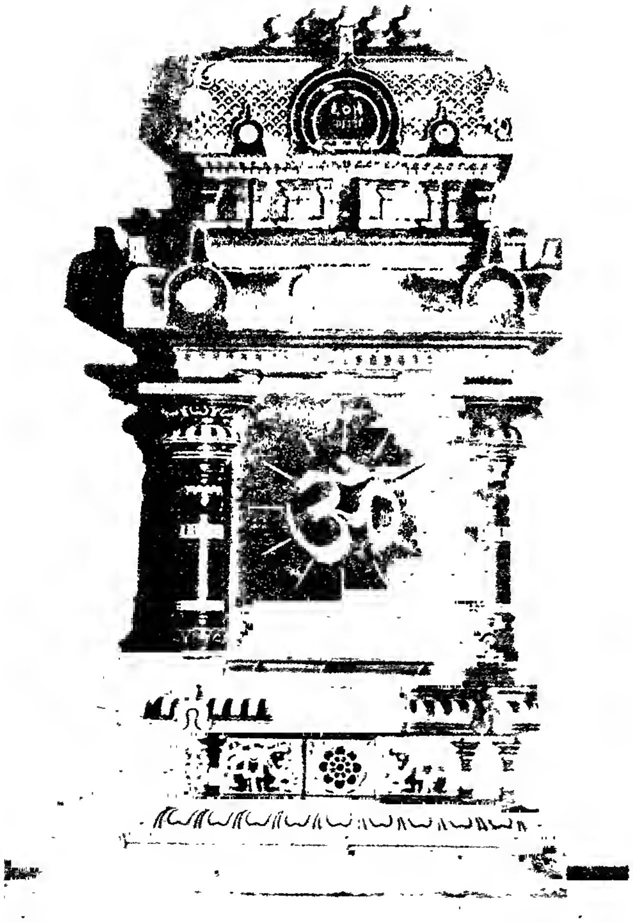




A bronze statue of Swami Vivekananda; statue height : 7'-4''. Total pedestal height : 4'-8''.

A partial view of the Interior of the Dhyana Mandapam with Pranava Peetham.

A close view of the Pranava Peetham.



STATUE

The Statue was prepared by Shri N. L. Sonavadekar, Assistant Lecturer of Sculpture, Sir J. J. School of Art, Bombay. The sculptor had been provided with a portrait of Swami Vivekananda for his general guidance in respect of the pose, drapery and the facial features of the statue, envisaged by the Committee. Shri S. M. Pandit, a renowned portrait-artist of Bombay prepared a portrait of the Committee's conception.

The Shripada Mandapam, Vivekananda Mandapam and the statue have been so designed that the vision of Swamiji in the statue is seen directed towards the Shripadam which is situated at a little lower elevation and is at a distance of 218 feet from the statue-point.

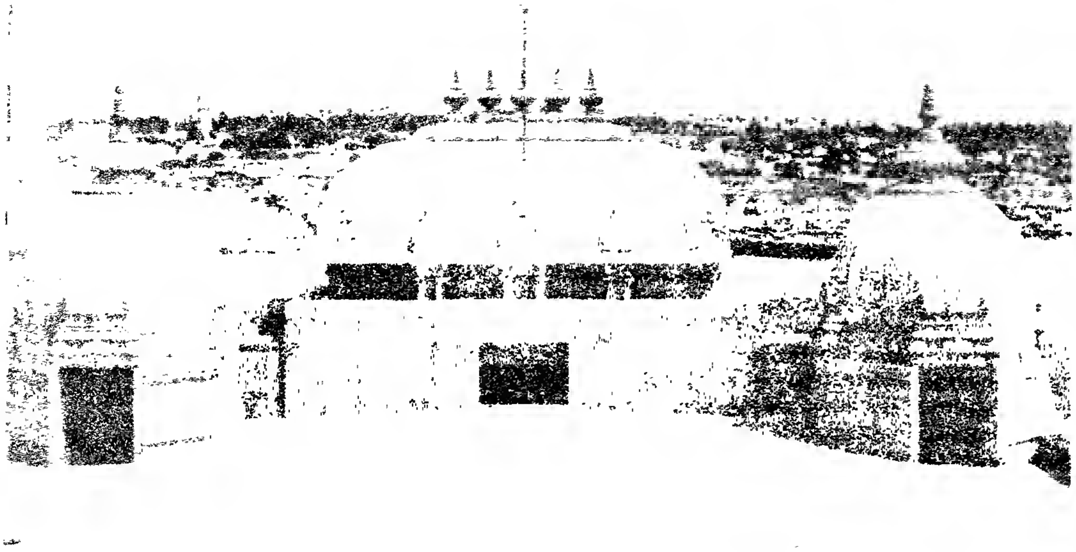
DHYANA MANDAPAM (MEDITATION HALL)

Dhyana Mandapam is constructed with a view to provide a proper place and atmosphere for those visitors who may like to sit in calm and meditate for some time.

The carpet area of the hall, excluding the adjoining rooms, is 43'-10'' x 21'-6''. A blue granite, quarried from near Ambasamudram about 72 miles away from Kanyakumari, is used for the construction of this Mandapam.

PRANAVA PEETHAM

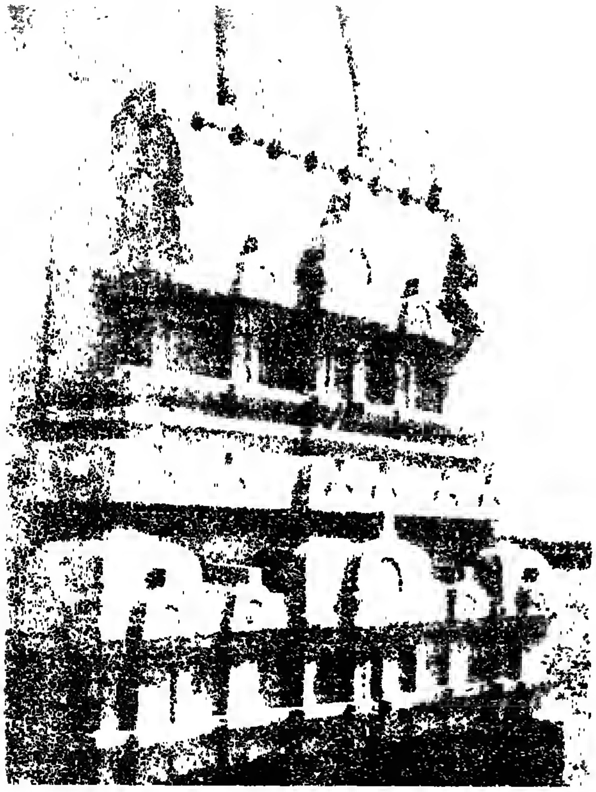
Within the Dhyana Mandapam, on its south-western side, is installed a highly polished altar with the symbol ॐ mounted on it. This altar or pedestal is named as Pranava Peetham. This Pranava Peetham has been designed with a view to



A rear view of the rectangular Shikharam over the Mukha Mandapam (porch) and of the two minor Shikharams over the two side rooms at the Main Entrance of the Sabha Mandapam.

The Central Shikharam with one of the four minor Shikharams over the Pratima Mandapam (statue section).

A close view of the Gopuram-design raised in deep relief on four sides of each of the Shikharams.



provide a convenient meditation-object for meditators. The symbol ॐ is inscribed in a mirror-glass and inset in the lighted rear-wall of the Pranava Peetham.

While the style for 'Pranava Peetham' has been adopted from the Pallava architecture, there is a happy blending of Chola and Pallava styles in the two ornamental pillars erected on both sides in front of the 'Pranava Peetham'.

The flooring of the Dhyana Mandapam is done with highly polished red granite slabs, obtained from a quarry at Vanchinagaram near Madurai about 176 miles away from Kanyakumari.

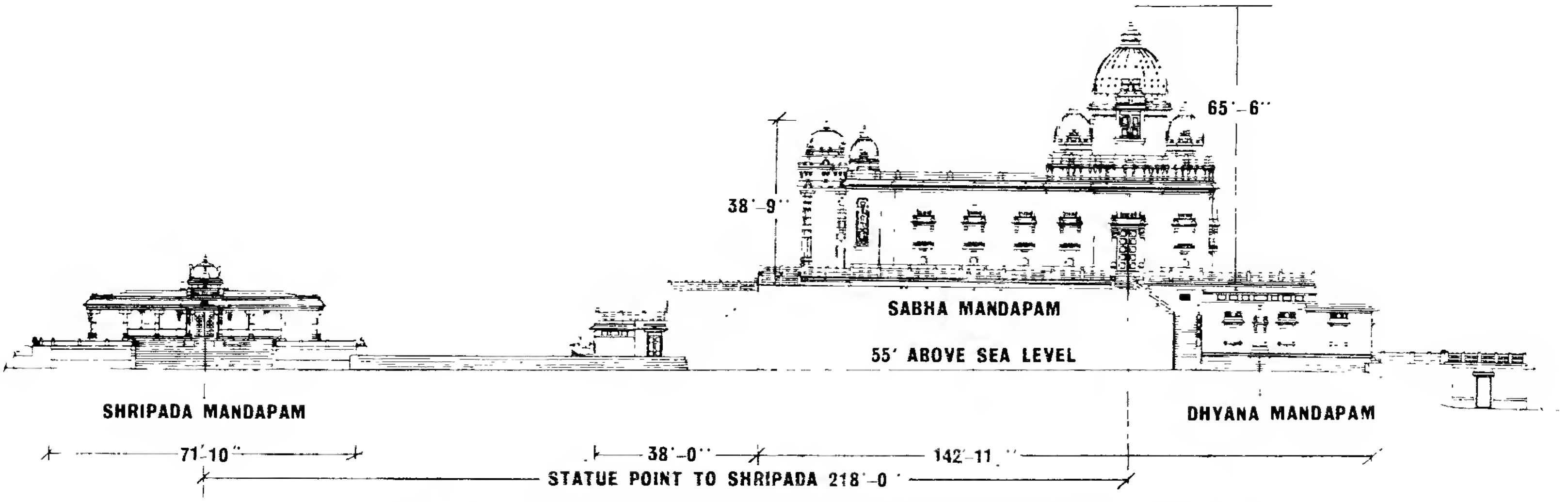
SHIKHARAMS

There are five Shikharams over the Pratima Mandapam and two smaller Shikharams over the two rooms near the entrance of the Sabha Mandapam.

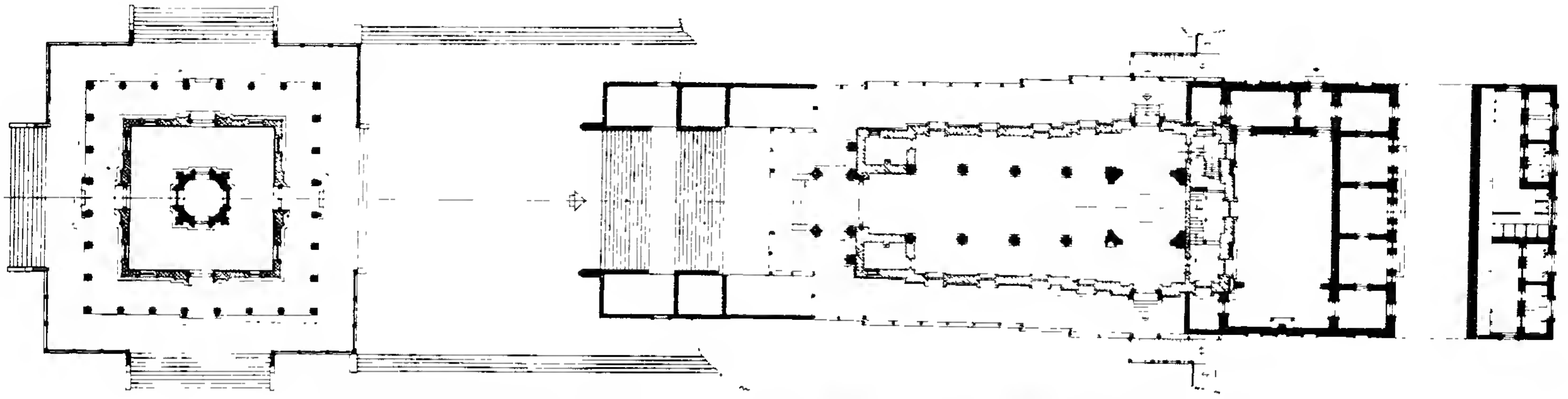
While the Central Shikharam is the tallest and rises to the height of 41'-6" from the roof-level, the four Shikharams on its four corners rise to the height of 20'-9" and the remaining two still smaller Shikharams to the height of 13'-0".

The design of the seven Shikharams has been almost copied from that of the Ramakrishna Temple Belur, near Calcutta. But a local touch has been given to these Shikharams by showing typical Gopuram-designs in bold relief on the four sides of all the Shikharams.

For Shikharams, red granite quarried from near Tuticorin has been used. These stones are dug out from an underground quarry. This type of granite is a costlier variety and requires more labour for dressing.



SIDE ELEVATION OF THE SHRIPADA MANDAPAM AND VIVEKANANDA MANDAPAM



GROUND PLAN OF THE SHRIPADA MANDAPAM AND VIVEKANANDA MANDAPAM

SOME IMPORTANT DETAILS ABOUT THE VIVEKANANDA ROCK MEMORIAL

Date of commencement of the stone-dressing work	6-11-1964
Date of commencement of the masonry work on the Rock	12-10-1967
Stone used	Red and blue granite
Total cft of stones (granite) used	73155 cft (excluding flooring)
Total weight of granite used	6000 tons (excluding flooring)
Maximum weight of a pillar (single piece)	13 tons
Maximum length and size of a beam	17½' x 2¾' x 2½'
Maximum weight of a beam	9 tons
Maximum number of workmen on the project	900 (average 650)

Means of access to the Rock	Ferry service

Two helipads are provided on the Rock, one on the north-west and the other on the south-west.

Dimensions of the helipad on the north-west	95' x 45'
Dimensions of the helipad on the south-west	114' x 53'
Means of communication	Wireless
The Chief Engineer and the Architect	Shri S. K. Achari of Devakottai (Tamil Nadu)
Memorial-Inauguration celebrated on	2-9-1970

Labour particulars for the period between Inauguration of the stone-dressing work on 6-11-1964 and Memorial-Inauguration on 2-9-1970

Total working days	2081
Total man-days	783767

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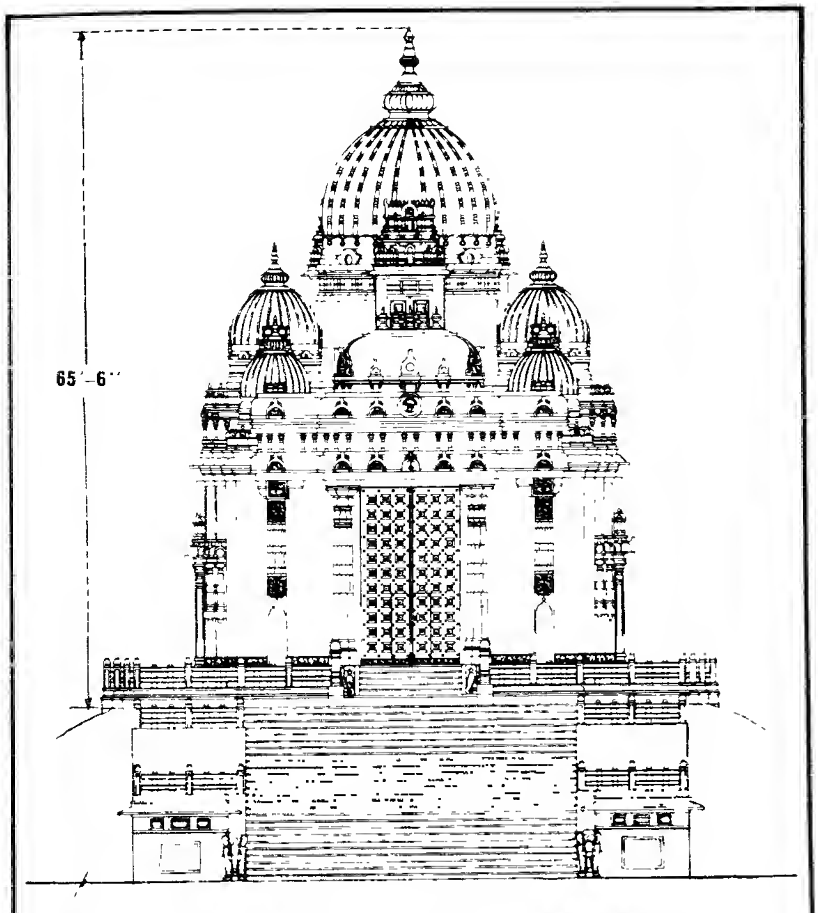
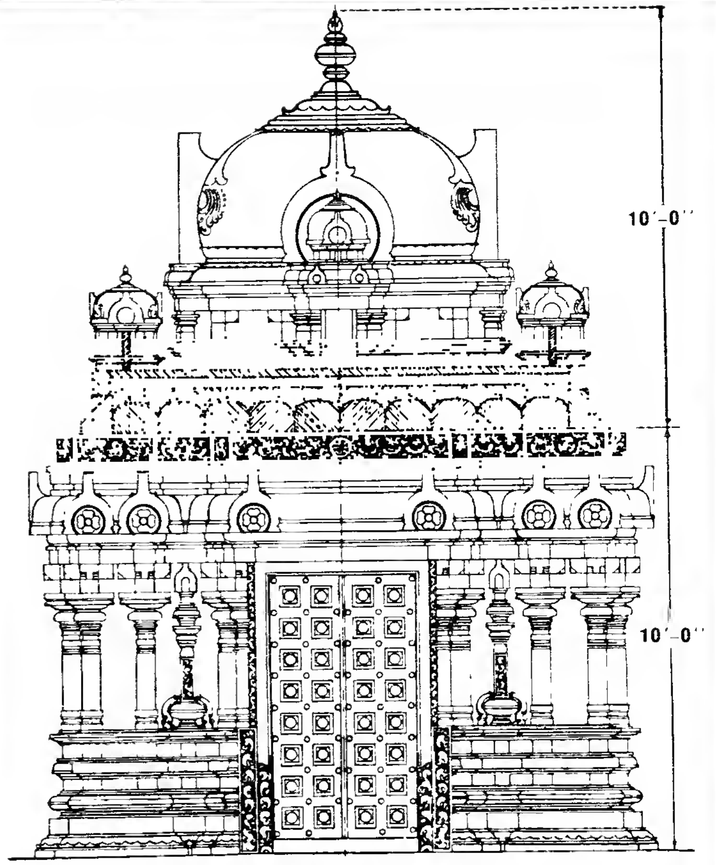
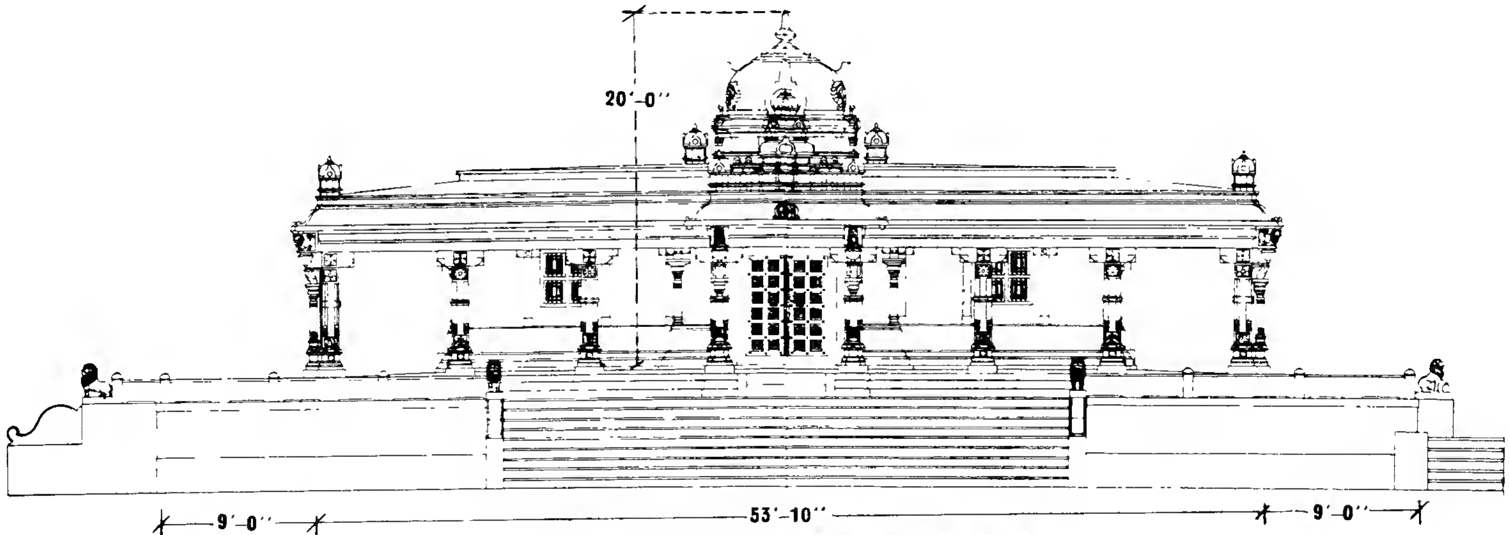


FRONT ELEVATION OF THE VIVEKANANDA MANDAPAM



FRONT ELEVATION OF THE GARBHAGRIHAM (THROUGH SECTION)
SHRIPADA MANDAPAM



FRONT ELEVATION OF THE SHRIPADA MANDAPAM

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The congregation of celebration-participants round the Swamiji's statue, for the 'Aarati', after the 'Poornahuti' performed by Shrimat Swami Vireswarananda.

Shrimat Swami Vireswarananda, President of the Ramakrishna Math and Mission, standing amidst some of the celebration-participants in front of the Shripada Mandapam after the Consecration Ceremony was over.

CONSECRATION OF THE MEMORIAL

September 2, 1970 (Bhadrapad Shukla Dvitiya) was the day chosen by the Committee for celebrating the consecration and the inauguration of the Memorial. The day synchronised with the 77th anniversary (as per Indian time and calendar) of the Swamiji's historic speech in the Parliament of Religions held at Chicago on 11th September, 1893.

The consecration was performed by Shrimat Swami Vireswarananda, the President of the Ramakrishna Math and Mission. The traditional ceremonies in connection with the consecration began in the early hours of 2nd September. After the "Poornahuti" performed by Shrimat Swami Vireswarananda, the ceremony came to a close at about 7-30 A.M.

Many senior Swamis of the Ramakrishna Mission as well as Swami Chinmayananda of Chinmaya Mission, Swami Chidbhavananda of Tapovanam and several other dignitaries from all over the country and abroad participated in the ceremony.

INAUGURAL FUNCTION

The same morning, a couple of hours after the consecration ceremony, the inauguration of the Memorial was done by the Rashtrapati, Shri V. V. Giri, in a public function held under the Presidentship of Shri M. Karunanidhi, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. The inaugural function consisted of two programmes, namely, (1) the ceremonious opening of the Memorial on the Rock-island where admission was restricted by issue of passes, (2) followed by a public meeting on the shore, opposite the Rock.

FUNCTION AT THE ROCK

The Rashtrapati, Shri V. V. Giri on his arrival by helicopter at the Rock at 9-20 A.M. was accorded 'Poornakumbha' reception. The Chief Minister and the officebearers of the Committee, among other distinguished persons, received him.

The Rashtrapati went first to the Shripada Mandapam and made floral offerings at the Shripadam. After going round the Shripadam he moved towards the Vivekananda Mandapam. Ascending the steps, he reached the carved teakwood doors of its majestic entrance.

INDIAN NAVY
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The Rashtrapati, Shri V. V. Giri, being accorded the traditional 'Poorna Kumbha' reception on his arrival at the Rock by a helicopter.

The Rashtrapati, accompanied by Shri M. Karunanidhi, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, entering the Sabha Mandapam.

Shri V. V. Giri paying homage to the memory of Swami Vivekananda by placing flowers at the feet of Swamiji's statue and making obeisance.

In the accompaniment of the Nadaswaram music and recitation of the customary mantras, the Rashtrapati applied the 'Prasadams' (sandal paste) specially received from the holy shrines in Puri, Dwarka, Badrinath, Rameshwaram and Kanyakumari on the closed portal of the Mandapam and pushed it open, signifying the opening of the Memorial.

As soon as the massive doors were thrown open the imposing 7½′ bronze statue of Swami Vivekananda gripped the attention of every one. Reaching near the statue, the Rashtrapati bowed before it. Placing the Prasadams on the statue-pedestal, he lit a Kuthuvilakku (oil lamp).

Thereafter, the Rashtrapati visited the Dhyana Mandapam. Stepping on its highly polished floor, his eyes fell on the Pranava Peetham (a decorated altar with 'ॐ', engraved in mirror-glass installed on it). He appreciated the superb workmanship displayed by artisans in the carvings on the altar-pedestal. He also welcomed the choice of ॐ as an object of meditation. After spending about 15 minutes on the Rock admiring the exquisite pieces of traditional Indian architecture, the Rashtrapati returned by helicopter to the Mainland.

A view of the central section of the large audience in the Inaugural Function, hearing Shri V. V. Giri with rapt attention. In the foreground, opposite to Shri V. V. Giri, are shrines of Swami Vivekananda and Shrimat Adya Shankaracharya. In the background is seen the Vivekananda Rock in mid-sea.

FUNCTION ON THE SHORE

The Rashtrapati accompanied by Shri M. Karunanidhi and Shri K. V. Subbiah (Minister for H. R. & C. E., Tamil Nadu), arrived at the meeting-ground behind the Kanyakumari temple at 10-00 A.M. The meeting commenced with recitation of an invocation in Sanskrit by Dr. V. Raghavan, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Committee, followed by a welcome address by its President Shri D. N. Sinha. Shri D. N. Sinha said :

"This temple shall be a reminder that a man of God had a holy vision here, but that vision has not been redeemed yet and it behoves upon all of us to do our uttermost to redeem it".

"We the poor and the nobodies have gone round with our alms-bowl and built the monument to commemorate the splendid spiritual vision of Swamiji. For though Swamiji's mortal body is gone, his spirit remains".

Next came a report by the Organising Secretary, Shri Eknath Ranade. He stated :

"The Shikharams or the domes of the Vivekananda Mandapam that you see today, we used to see when the Rock was bare and was devoid of any structure on it. Those very fancies have today taken a concrete shape—rather a granite shape".

"This Memorial to Swami Vivekananda is not just one mere addition to the existing memorials raised in his memory in the country. The Rock is associated with the Swamiji's life almost in the same manner as the Bodhi tree in Gaya is associated with the life of Gautam Buddha".

"It was here that he, in his deep meditation, got a vision, urging him to go abroad to give India's message of Universal Religion to the world as also to work for the regeneration and rebuilding of India so that she might become a fit and effective instrument to play the role ordained for her by the Divine. It is to commemorate this event in the Swamiji's life that this edifice has been built".

"The Committee did not mind the high cost because the Committee knew that this monument would be a tremendous source of inspiration for generations to come. And again the lakhs of rupees spent in this project have gone into whose pockets? They have gone to the poor stone-cutters, stone-chisellers, stone-dressers, fishermen who transported stones through the sea, the wonderful artists and artisans of Tamil Nadu whose deft hands carve living gods and goddesses out of dead stones, but who feel completely neglected in the present economic set-up".

"And from whom has the money come? Believe me when I say that the bulk of the money has come from the common mass of people—from peasants, labourers, students, mine-workers, office-goers, constables, jawans and factory workers".

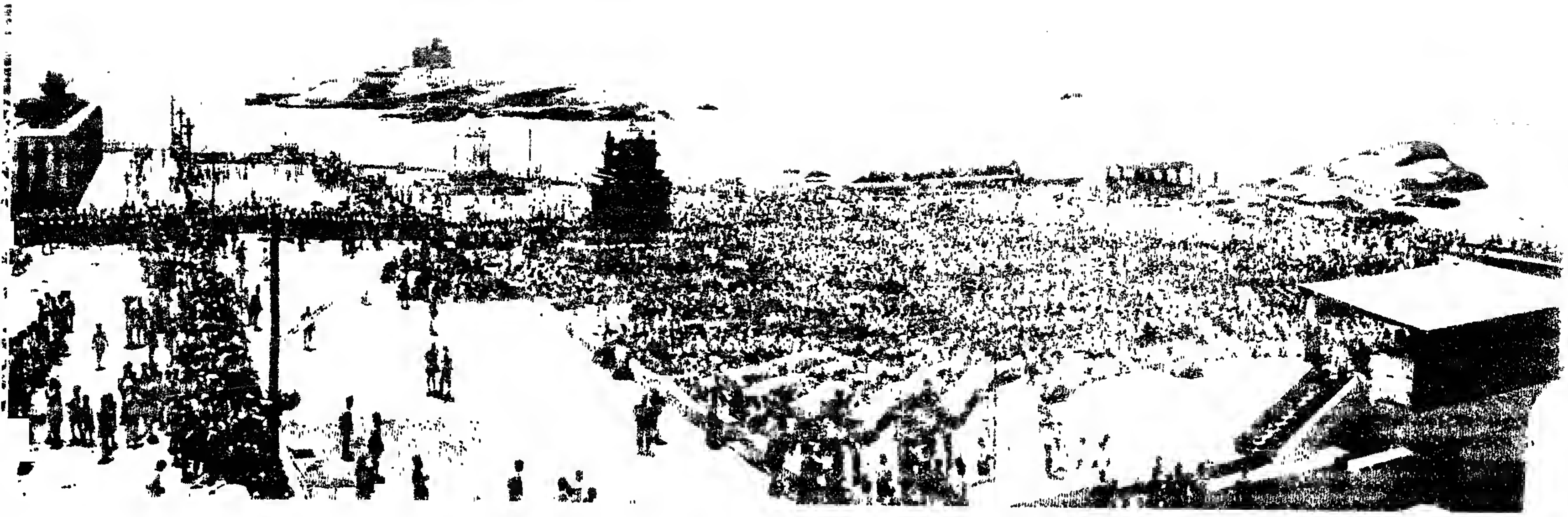
"The money was collected not by big men of authority but by thousands of Alasinga Perumals (The allusion is to a school teacher by name Alasinga Perumal who was a devout disciple of Swami Vivekananda and who was the foremost in making house to house collections in Madras to send Swamiji to the West to participate in the Parliament of Religions) all over the country. They went from house to house, school to school, office to office, factory to factory, and more than 25 lakhs of people, i.e., more than one per cent of the adult population of this country willingly donated at least a rupee each towards this cause. The people forgot their party lables, rose above group or regional loyalties, cast off communal affinities or other narrow considerations and joined in this national endeavour".

"When the construction work of the Memorial was actually undertaken towards the end of 1964, the budget estimated was Rs. 25 lakhs. But, subsequently, with the progressive expansion of the memorial-scheme, the budget went on increasing till the Memorial finally became a 1 crore 20 lakh-project."

"We started the work with only a few thousand rupees in the Committee's coffers. But, we had full faith that the money would come as we proceeded ahead. The money did come as we progressed and in the proportion we needed it. It never happened that the project suffered from lack of funds."

"A part of the dream is realised. What is the further aspiration of the Committee? It is to found a Service Organisation or a Mission on the lines of the great Ramakrishna Mission but to be manned and run by non-sanyasi missionaries pledged to life-long service and, as a corollary to it, to establish a Centre at Kanyakumari to train an all India cadre of dedicated workers, both men and women, for being deployed especially in backward areas of the country for the social and spiritual well-being of the people".

A Benedictory Speech by Shrimat Swami Vireswaranandji



A panoramic view of the concourse of people participating in the Inaugural Function of the Vivekananda Rock Memorial.

Shrimat Swami Vireswarananda giving his benedictory speech.

summed up Swami Vivekananda's message in the following words:

"Though Swamiji realised the importance of the spiritual ideal and its influence on the nation, he could not forget the miserable conditions of the masses all over India, their poverty and ignorance. They had been oppressed for centuries. The upper classes had neglected the masses, depriving the vast majority of the followers of Hinduism of its benefit, and the result was national degeneration. He realised that the material condition of the masses should be improved and they should be given education if India has to rise once more."

"He envisaged a future civilisation, a complete civilisation as he called it, which would combine the Indian spiritual ideal with Western science and technology, for which humanity was waiting."

Shri M. Karunanidhi, Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu added in his Presidential Address:

"The name 'Vivekananda' means, one who can distinguish the right from the wrong. He was a noble sage who had universal vision, which ennobled every one who came in contact with him or with his teachings.

"Though he is not with us today, the flame he lit, is still alight and from his teachings have sprung the conscience of India and faith in her unity. And in his great message,

Shri V. V. Giri giving his Inaugural Address.

Shri M. Karunanidhi, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and the President of the Inaugural Function, giving his Presidential Address.

Mankind finds Solace and Confidence."

"The memorial that stands here today will be a sentinel guarding not only our frontiers but also our culture and tradition."

"Swami Vivekananda always had before him the great motto of 'elevation of the masses'. His messages are always gospels of salvation, social elevation and equality for every one."

"I am very happy to inform on this historic occasion that the Tamil Nadu Government is wedded to the thoughts and gospels for which Swami Vivekananda stood."

Shri M. Karunanidhi concluded by quoting Vivekananda's exhortation : "Uttishthata Jagrata, Prapyavaran Nibodhata" (arise, awake, and stop not till the goal is reached).

Finally Rashtrapati Shri V.V. Giri delivered his Inaugural Address as follows :

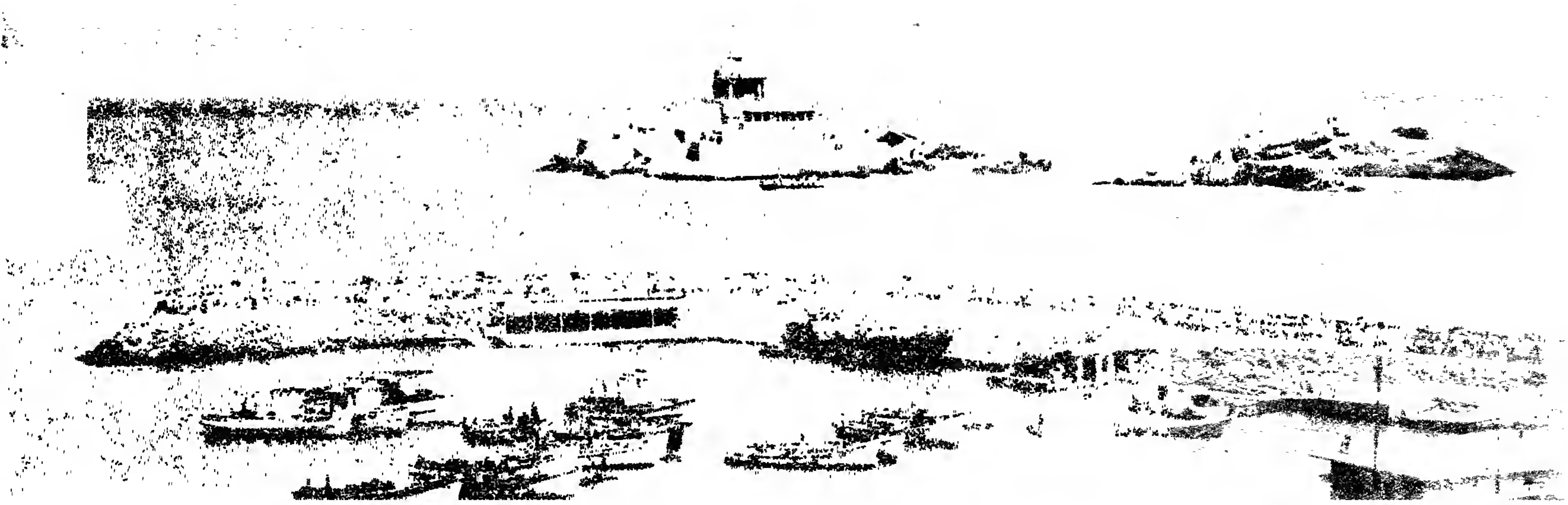
"Swami Vivekananda's contribution was not only limited to a religious revival or a cultural renaissance in our country, but more in bringing about a salutary change in the attitude and the approach of the people. His approach to problems was not based on any dogma or superstition but firmly rested on a rational outlook".

"He was not a mere idle philosopher who speculated on the 'beyond' or a saint who stressed on the negation of work and contemplation of the spirit, but one who was deeply involved with the hopes and aspirations of the people."

"Swami Vivekananda's concept of universality of religion was unique. He said that by the study of different religions, we find that in essence they are one. Swamiji thus emphasised the realisation of the divinity latent in every man. He, therefore, pleaded acceptance and respect of religious modes and methods, as pathways leading to the same goal".

"Vivekananda's message is of special significance when we are on the cross-roads of destiny".

After a vote of thanks proposed by Dr. S. Natesan, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Committee, the meeting concluded with national anthem.



A long line of visitors standing in queue near the jetty-platforms on the Kanyakumari shore, waiting for their chance to board boats to ferry them to the Vivekananda Rock.

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO THE ROCK MEMORIAL

About a fortnight after the opening of the Memorial the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, visited Kanyakumari to participate in the two month-long celebrations organised by the Committee to mark the completion of the Memorial.

The Prime Minister reached Kanyakumari on the night of 15th September, 1970. The following day, after visiting the Kanyakumari temple, she flew to the Vivekananda Rock at 8-00 A.M. by a navy helicopter. The office-bearers of the Committee and Shrimat Swami Ranganathananda of the Ramakrishna Mission, who was specially invited by the Committee for the occasion, received the Prime Minister on the Rock.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi spent about half an hour on the Rock, going round the Shripada Mandapam, Sabha Mandapam and the Dhyana Mandapam. Paying homage to the memory of Swami Vivekananda, she placed flowers at the feet of his statue.

While going round the Mandapam, Swami Ranganathananda and the Committee's Organising Secretary, Shri Eknath Ranade, explained to her about the purpose and significance of the various structures put up on the Rock and also apprised her of the Committee's plan of further activities.

Flying back to the Mainland, the Prime Minister visited a Pictorial Exhibition on Swamiji's Life and Mission, organised by the Committee under the able guidance of a reputed artist, Shri R. Goswami of Calcutta. A well-decorated temporary hall, put up near the Kanyakumari temple, housed the Exhibition.

The Prime Minister spent about 20 minutes in the Exhibition, evincing keen interest in many of the exhibits.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi then moved to the adjacent spacious pendal where she was to address a meeting organised by the Committee in her honour. The meeting was presided over by Shrimat Swami Ranganathananda. In his Presidential Address Swami Ranganathananda referred to Kanyakumari as the new symbol of India. "The Himalayas" he said "have been the symbol of India during all these centuries and the Himalayas represent the spirit of meditation, the spirit of inwardness."

"India has written a bright chapter in the history of man,

After visiting the Shripada Mandapam, Smt. Indira Gandhi is proceeding to the Vivekananda Mandapam.

Smt. Indira Gandhi, accompanied by Swami Ranganathananda and the Committee's office-bearers, entering the Sabha Mandapam.

in the tremendous development in his life of inwardness, meditation, transcendentalism in that immortal literature the Upanishads."

"But today," he said. "we have a symbol for India and that is Kanyakumari. And that Kanyakumari represents the manifestation of that idealism in practical terms, what Vivekananda called practical Vedanta. We have achieved greatness in the inner life. Today's problems call for dedication of these great energies of the Nation for the social, economical and the cultural betterment of the millions and millions of our people. And the message today, therefore, is meditation, but combined with action, combined with scientific and technical efficiency."

Swami Ranganathanandji elaborated this single theme in his thought-provoking speech of 20 minutes and, in the end, he exhorted the audience in the following words :

"Give up this static piety. Develop dynamic spirituality. Express yourself in a spirit of service for the common people. Therein is true spirituality. That was the message of Lord Krishna in the Bhagwat Geeta. It was this message which was strengthened by Swami Vivekananda."

Smt. Indira Gandhi spoke thereafter. In her extempore speech she said that the words of wisdom spoken by Swami Vivekananda were even more relevant today than when they were uttered.

She called for concerted efforts to not only eradicate 'economic poverty', but also 'spiritual poverty' of the people. Stressing the need for reconciling the spiritual needs of the individual with his material well-being, she said that both capitalism and communism, with their accent on materialism, had failed to answer the deepest urges in man.

"The modern man" she said, "desires to have the path made easier for him. But the easier we make it, the poorer we become in other ways. But, I think, there is a way of reconciling the two and I think, perhaps, India can find that way."

The Prime Minister referred to the 'ferment' in India and in other parts of the world and said, "youths are finding faults with old values not because these values are wanting, but because we of the older generation have not lived up to those ideals. Therefore, they try to search new paths. To us, some of these paths do not make sense. But, if through this approach of trial and error, we can find the truth at last I think, even the upheaval will have served a purpose."

Smt. Indira Gandhi offering flowers at the feet of Swamiji's statue and paying her homage to his sacred memory.

Referring to Swami Ranganathanandji's remarks about politics, she said : "It is not politics which is bad but what we make of politics. We have made politics a question of individual bickerings and individual selfishness, instead of what it is supposed to be, that is, a vast movement for an entire people, a movement towards raising the people economically as well as morally and spiritually."

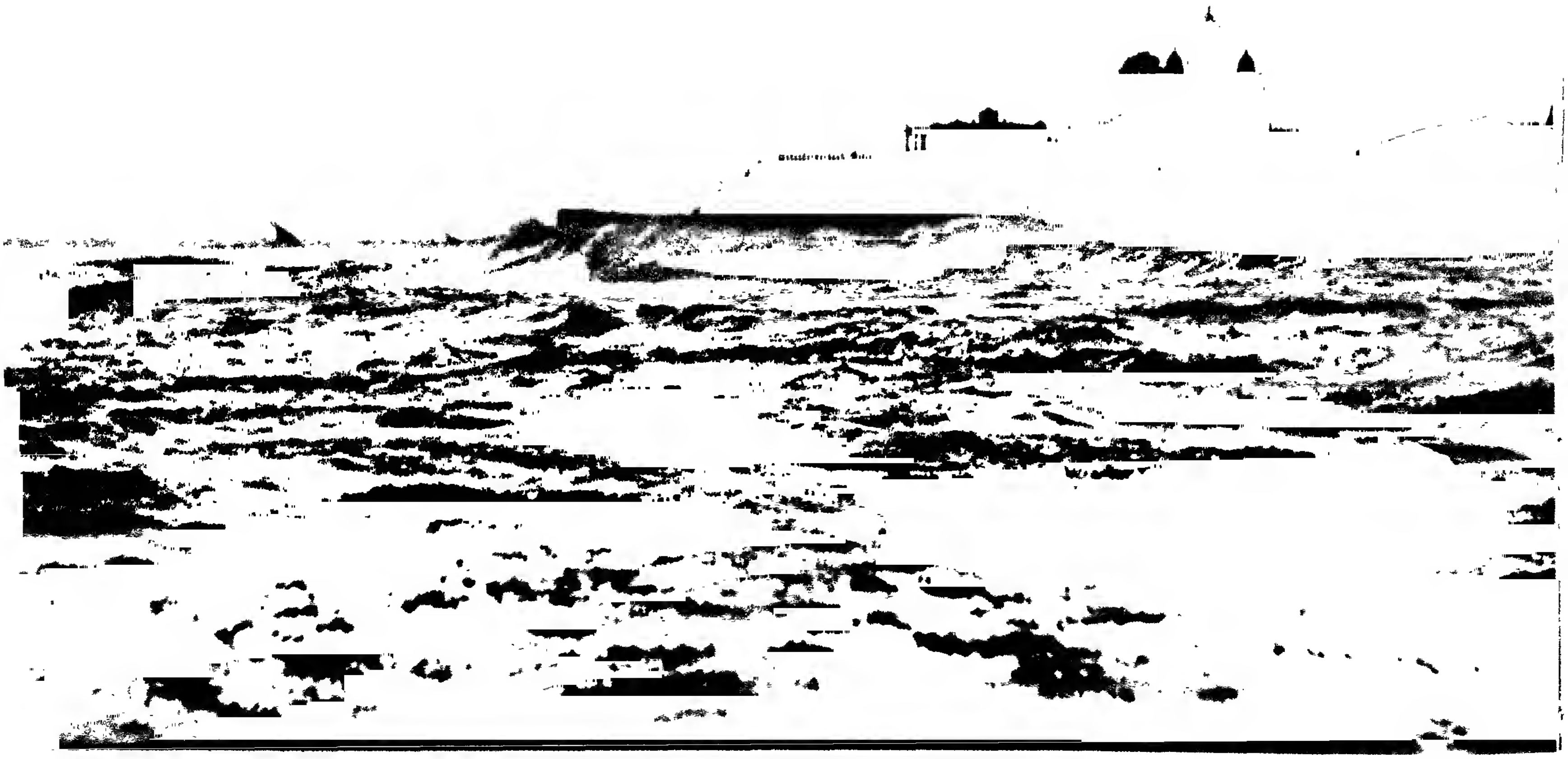
Quoting Swami Vivekananda she said, "If we could think, and work for collective salvation, for the welfare of one and all, individual salvation would be assured to us."

After the meeting, Smt. Indira Gandhi left for Trivandrum. Before leaving, she wrote the following in the Visitors' Book maintained by the Committee :-

"It is a moving experience to come to Kanyakumari and see how the faith of thousands in Swami Vivekananda's Message has made possible this memorial. May it inspire all who visit it and give them the courage to live up to Swamiji's great and timeless teachings. The second phase of the programme for establishment of a Lay Order is no less important and will give practical shape to Swamiji's Message of Service.

—*Indira Gandhi*
16-9-1970

A silhouette of the Vivekananda Rock Memorial as seen against the golden light of the rising sun.



"I do not see into the future; nor do I care to see. But one vision I see clear as life before me, that the ancient Mother has awakened once more, sitting on Her throne rejuvenated, more glorious than ever. Proclaim Her to all the world with the voice of peace and benediction."

— *Swami Vivekananda*

Swami Vivekananda Centenary Celebration
And
Vivekananda Rock Memorial Committee,
Madras

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Uttar Pradesh	,,	Sri Prakasa, Ex-Governor, Tamil Nadu
West Bengal	Dr	R C. Majumdar, Historian. Calcutta.

A hundred thousand men and women, fired with the zeal of holiness, fortified with eternal faith in the Lord, and nerved to lion's courage by their sympathy for the poor and the fallen and the downtrodden, will go over the length and breadth of the land, preaching the gospel of salvation, the gospel of help, the gospel of social raising-up—the gospel of equality.

— *Swami Vivekananda*

Buddhist Art of Nepal

N. R. BANERJEE

Introduction

THE BUDDHIST ART of Nepal, in architecture, sculpture or painting is not a school apart from the art of the Brāhmaṇical religion that flourished side by side in that country. Though the delineation of the figures of Buddha drew upon the well known lore of the tenet of Buddhism, as in India, the idioms of art of the most part were common between these two countries.

While the source of inspiration for the rich artistic tradition is to be sought in India, where the tenets of Buddhism germinated and developed, as also the art traditions, the Nepalese artist introduced his own individuality and personality, even into the minutest details, and it is these which make for the evolution of a distinctive Nepalese strain in the art of this Himalayan kingdom.

Hitherto it had been the practice to trace the beginnings of the art in Nepal to the Gupta art of India. Recent re-evaluation of already existing evidence in the country has pointed to a pre-Gupta phase rooted in Mathura.[1] The Gupta style was followed by the Pāla, (A.D. 750–1200), and the latter by the characteristics of the Sena style. After A.D. 1200, when Bengal and Bihar had come under the sway of Islam, the traditional source of artistic rejuvenation shrank at once, though it was the signal for the departure of many artists from India to Nepal for the sheer love of preserving their art and for personal survival as also of many co-religionists along with their sacred texts in manuscript.

Hereafter the Nepalese artists were entirely on their own, and, driven to bay, they evolved newer decorative elements and newer physiognomical features. These features were periodically galvanized by enlightened and cultured kings. It must have happened once during the rule of Yakṣamalla (A.D. 1428–1482), who forged a Newari revival in art and letters, without surrendering the spiritual links with India or the broad Indian heritage.

It happened again during the time of Pratāpa Malla, of Kathmandu (1641–1674), when there was a revival of arts and letters, large-scale constructions and artistic creations, besides repairs and restoration of ancient monuments under royal patronage and munificence.

Meanwhile, the groups of people who were on the march and had sought an escape from the oppression of the new rulers of the different parts of India, particularly from the west, must have brought in artistic and linguistic influences of their own. The conditions lingered on in this fashion, now glowing and now flickering, until A.D. 1769, when the country reached hitherto unknown political dimensions and was largely unified. The period from 1769 to 1847 was a period of turmoil in the cause of expansion of domains and subsequent stabilization of administration. Artistic tradition may have lingered to sub-serve the needs of religion, but hardly flourished, under the inevitable conditions of stress. The subsequent epoch, 1847 to 1951, is one of a set-back, caused by retrogressive political events of common knowledge, and art, at best, stagnated during the entire period, under duress.

In the chess-board of Nepal's history, the singular event of a Kanarese interlude, initiated by Nanya Deva, who made himself, and the dynasty founded by him, master of one of the principalities of Nepal in the southern region, brought in the distant influence from the Kanarese country, accounting for the unmistakably distinctive features of the medieval and late medieval sculptures of Nepal.

It has often been innocently claimed, without definite proof, that Sankaracharya paid a visit to Nepal, in the eighth century, and that he brought about a revival of Brahmanic worship, introduced the tradition of employing south Indian priests for the conduct of worship at the Paśupati temple, a practice, which is in vogue till this date.

If the Indian priests, who thus came to be appointed and installed, no doubt on the personal merits of knowledge and spiritual advancement, brought in any artistic infiuence at all through their relatives or attendants who came along with them, it must have happened after the system was historically introduced by Yakṣamalla in the fifteenth century (A.D. 1428–1482).

It would be interesting to record that the Vaiṣṇava cult, after its rejuvenation at the hands of Caitanya[2] in Bengal in the sixteenth century, also found a hearty welcome in Nepal. This process may have been responsible for some corresponding development in the field of art and thought as well. At any rate temples and images of Kṛṣṇa, as also of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa or portrayal of anecdotes from the exploits of Kṛṣṇa, as earlier elaborated in the *Bhāgavata* and the *Gīta-Govinda,* became very popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Nepal.

As to the development of the iconography of Buddhism in Nepal, inspiration may also have come from time to time from the preachers of the doctrine themselves. At the earliest end of galaxy stands Aśoka, who is credited by tradition with the introduction of the *stūpa* cult in Nepal.[3] It was Vasubandhu, who spread the doctrines of Mahāyāna in Nepal in the fourth century. Vajrayāna was introduced in succession by Śānta Rakshita, Padmasambhava and Komalasila in the eighth century, and rejuvenated by Acharya Atisa Dipankara in the eleventh century during their sojourn in Nepal on their way to Tibet.

The influence of the texts on iconography comprising *Sādhanamālā* and *Niṣpannayogāvalī,* both written in India, can easily be postulated in this context.

It is yet difficult to reconstruct fully the history of the growth of Buddhism or the evolution of the traditions of art in Nepal. The spring-boards outside Nepal from where these ideas may have issued forth were no doubt in the monasteries of Nalanda, Vikramasila, Odantapuri and Jagaddala. The art centres of Sarnath and Mathura were not far off, and their effects are observed on the art of Nepal.

Iconographical Texts followed in Nepal

The iconography of the Buddhist images in Nepal is based on Śilpa or Dhāraṇī texts. As Buddha became an incarnation of Viṣṇu in the thinking of the Hindus as early as the sixth century A.D., as recorded in the Bhāgavaṭa Purāṇa, the early Hindu texts, such as the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara,* describe the details of the Buddha figure. In course of time, a good volume of texts of iconography came into existence for the guidance of the artist. The most important text of this is dated in Nepal Saṃvat 285, working out to 1163 A.D. The text reflects the developments that took place between the seventh and twelfth centuries. For later developments

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considerable help is obtained from the *Dharmakośasaṃgraha* of Amṛtānanda, the Paṇḍit working in the British Residency in Nepal at the time of Brian Hodgson.

The antecedents of the Vajrayāna School which developed later can be traced back to a very old work called *Prajñāpāramitā* of which a translation was made into Chinese as early as the second century A.D. The system was well established in the *Guhya-samāja*, another work of the same order, dated to *circa* 300 A.D., itself founded upon the principles laid down in *Mañjuśrītmūlakalpa*, a work attributed to about 200 A.D. containing the principles of Mahāyāna.

The concept of the *pañca* or five Dhyānī Buddhas, to which direct references are made in the Chapatol inscription of Aṃśuvarman's time, (seventh century A.D. or slightly later) is a contribution of Vajrayāna. The name was used for the first time by Indra Bhuti in (700–750 A.D.) in his *Jñānasidhi*. In fact, Amitābha, one of the Dhyānī Buddhas, who dwells in the *Sukhāvatí* heaven and who was the progenitor of Avalokiteśvara, is mentioned for the first time in the *Sukhāvatī Vyūha* translated into Chinese between 148 A.D. and 170 A.D. and gradually the pantheon grew, and encompassed many deities including Akṣobhya, Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī Siṃhanāda, Mañjughoṣa and many others may be beginning of the eight century A.D. A popular form of Ādi Buddha, known as Vajradhara, came to be conceived of as early as the second half of the tenth century. The earliest inscriptional reference to the deity occurs in the Chapatol inscription, as stated above.

Texts Guiding Nepalese Architecture

The two early texts on the science of architecture, namely the *Viṣṇudharmottara* of the fifth-sixth centuries were composed in India. The tradition of multiple-plinthed *eduka* shrines, containing bone relics, which was first described in the *Mahābhārata* was carried through the centuries as is indicated by ample reference to it in the *Amarakośa*, attributable to the first century A.D., and latter also by the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, where it is described in some detail.

This tradition was later on smoothly combined with the tradition of multiple roofs, very often with deliberate lapses. The antiquity of this tradition can be traced back to the Peshawar Stupa of Kaniṣka.

The roofless religious edifices in the form of the Buddhist stūpas and caityas, of which some extant examples are much older than the earliest structural temples in Nepal (both Hindu and Buddhist) with either multiple roofs and a single plinth, or with multiple plinths and a single roof, or with multiple roofs and plinths, as the case may be, are ample testimony to the possible source of inspiration and incidence of the tradition.

The directional trends of the architectural forms would easily be an index of the directional trends of the sculptural forms, for the two have co-existed from the earliest days.

Indian Influence on the Bronze Images of Nepal

The tradition of stone images was also reflected in the bronze images that came to be made in response to the needs of mobile deities. These reflect fully the corresponding features of the stone sculpture, though as the material lent itself to plastic handling it far surpassed stone sculpture in fineness. These were cast solid or hollow by the *cire perdue* process. A later development was the use of thin foils as repousse work instead of composite sculptures.

In point of fact, the art of metal casting found a new fillip in Nepal under the influence of the style of the Pālas, and even long before the cessation of that influence. With the coming in of Islamic inconoclasm in India about 1200 A.D., whereupon the original source of art dried up and dwindled away, the Nepalese artists evolved characteristic features of their own.

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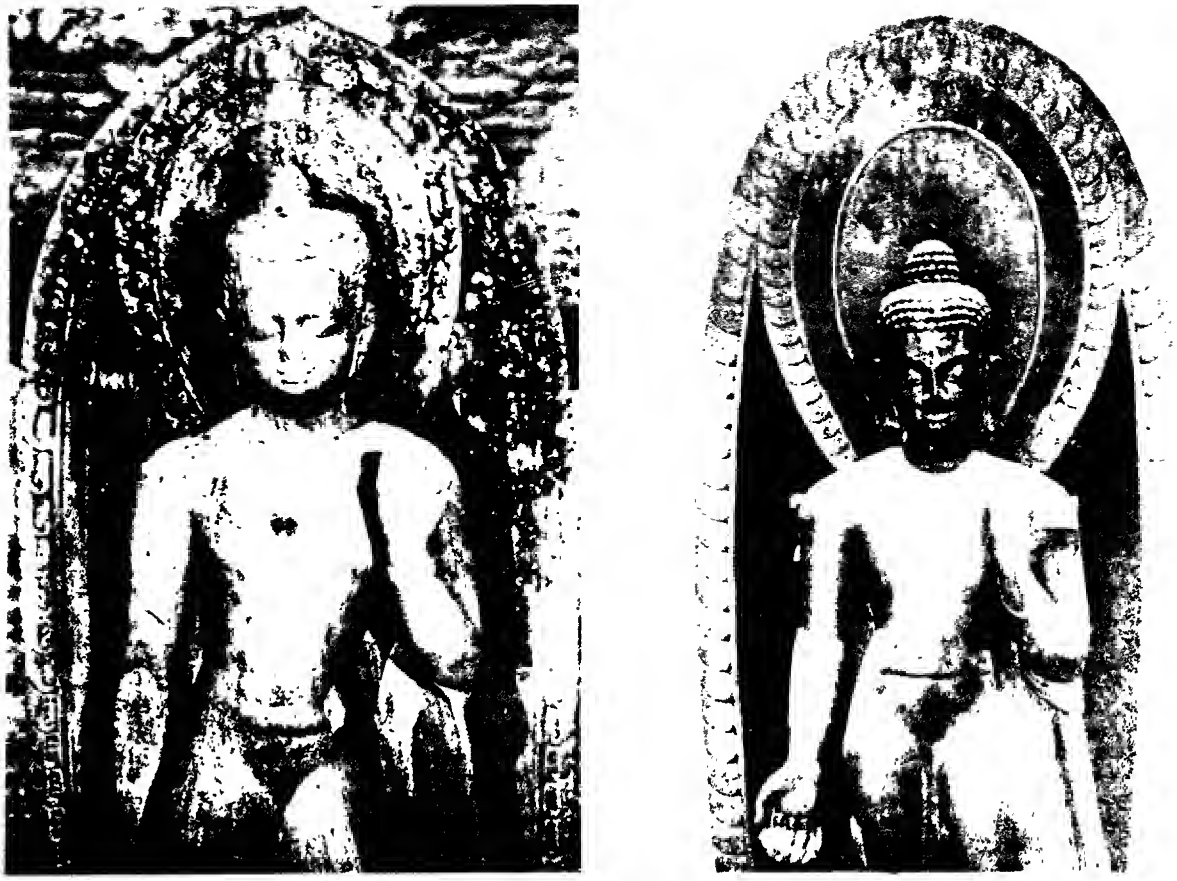

Buddha Images from Nepal.

That the art of metal casting was popular and in high demand is clearly indicated by the large number of metal images found in the numerous monasteries and temples in Nepal. Already in the thirteenth century there arose a Nepalese artist of exceptional merit called Arniko. His reputation had spread so far and wide that he was invited by the then emperor of China, Kublai Khan, for causing sculptures. This speaks for the emergence of a regional school in Nepal.

The metallic images in Nepal were either of bronze or copper to begin with and later they were of copper or brass. The images were often decorated with gilt, and the late medieval ones were studded with jewels and precious stones as additional features. Artistic excellence almost stagnated in the subsequent centuries for the pressure of other preoccupations, under which art did not find a sustaining, not to speak of a nourishing, hand.

REFERENCES

1. N R Banerjee and B K Rijal, 'Three Early Sculptures in Stone from the National Museum, Kathmandu,' *Ancient Nepal*, No 4, July, 68, pp 37–8. The Bodhisattva figure in question is stated to have been found in Lumbini, by Rahul Sankrityayana in his "Meri Jivan Yatra"
2. Caitanya himself is believed to have paid a visit to Gokarna (*Caitanya Caritāmṛta* of Krishnadas Kaviraja) A yogi called Caitanyanātha is stated to have come from Gauḍa Deśa (Bengal), and bought lands for his Avadhūtas in an inscription of Yaksamalla, dated A D 1964
3. Though the tradition of the five stūpas in the Patan area attributed to Asoka is yet to be firmly established by the spade, there is inscriptional evidence to support Asoka's claim in this direction at Nigali Sagar, near Lumbini, where he enlarged the stūpa of the previous Buddha Konakamuni in *circa* 250 B C (20th year of his coronation)

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India : The Home of Tibetan Learning

HIS HOLINESS THE FOURTEENTH DALAI LAMA

Introduction

SINCE TIME IMMEMORIAL Tibet and India have maintained the closest intercourse in the field of culture, education, religion, literature and art. Thoughts and ideas of phenomenal significance which emanated from India flowed freely in the fertile and receptive lands of Tibet, bringing about cultural and social revolutions. India was regarded not only as the fountainhead of all great ideas and systems but also as the source of inspirations and action initiatives. Of all these influences, Buddhism was the single, paramount factor which contributed to the magnificent metamorphosis of Tibet's history. This bright light of wisdom, symbolised by the noble forces of Buddhism, while spreading out to all the neighbouring countries of India, found its way into Tibet, and, in course of time, became a reigning force of unexcelled brilliance. The foundation of the cultural history of Tibet took a firm root with the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet. Generations of Tibetan intellectuals studied and developed a culture based on the original principles and philosophies of Buddha Dharma. Centuries of their dedicated service brought such phenomenal progress and achievements that was unparallel in the history of any language or nation of the world. A galaxy of Indian scholars gave to Tibet their perennial wisdom and opened the eyes of Tibetans to the wider horizons beyond. This helped to initiate the Tibetan mind, which regales in deep analysis and examinations, into exploring the virgin fields of the mind and thus opened up vast vistas of intellectual development. All these led to the enrichment of Tibetan thought. This is one of the primary reasons why Tibetans have always beheld India with a special sense of venerated fervour, and regarded her as the guide who introduced Tibet to the world of wisdom.

Visit of Buddharakṣita to Tibet

Before the onset of Buddhism, Bon, an animist cult, was the dominant faith of Tibet. Recorded history tells us that Tibet felt the first impact of Buddhism when the first Indian pandit, Buddharakṣita, visited Tibet during the reign of Lha-tho-ri, the 25th King of Tibet (who was later on recognised as the earthly manifestation of Samantabhadra). The sway of Buddhism became pronounced in the 7th Century A.D. when the court minister, Thonmi Sambhoṭa, a brilliant intellectual, was sent to India by King Srong-tsen-gampo of Tibet for educational studies.

After studying for a number of years at the feet of numerous Indian Pandits in the various branches of learning, Thonmi Sambhoṭa returned to Tibet. He not only innovated letters of

Tibetan script, the first of its kind in Tibet, but also translated Mdo-de-za-ma-tog and sPan-bKon-phyag-rgya-ma into Tibetan. From then on, there grew up an extensive corpus of literature. A host of Indian and Tibetan Pandits and Lotsavas (translator scholars) translated into Tibetan the Sūtras and Tantras brought from India and Nepal. The Kangyur consisting of over one hundred bulky volumes and Tengyur, consisting of over two hundred volumes were all translated during this period.

Lord Buddha gave to the world His unique teachings which are enshrined in the systems commonly known as Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna including the corporate teachings of Tantrayāna. The Hīnayāna doctrine was handed down through a successive lineage of seven hierarchs, and its progress through the avenues of time was unimpeded and unrestrained. Unlike Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna did not make a smooth sailing, having suffered persecutions at the hands of heretical and pagan forces on three different occasions. It was, therefore, considerably weakened.

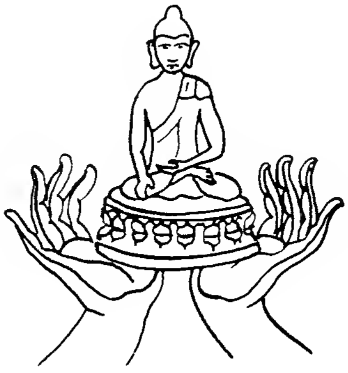

FIG 1 *Añjali Mudrā.*

Padmasambhava Introduced Vajrayāna

Guru Padmasambhava, a famous Tantric teacher from India (he is believed to hail from Dhanakośa island), visited Tibet in the 8th Century A.D. and preached esoteric teachings of the Vajrayāna Doctorine (the Adamantine Wheel of the Great Secret) to a group of 25 followers including King Tri-song-deu-tsen. In course of time, he founded the Nyingma School of

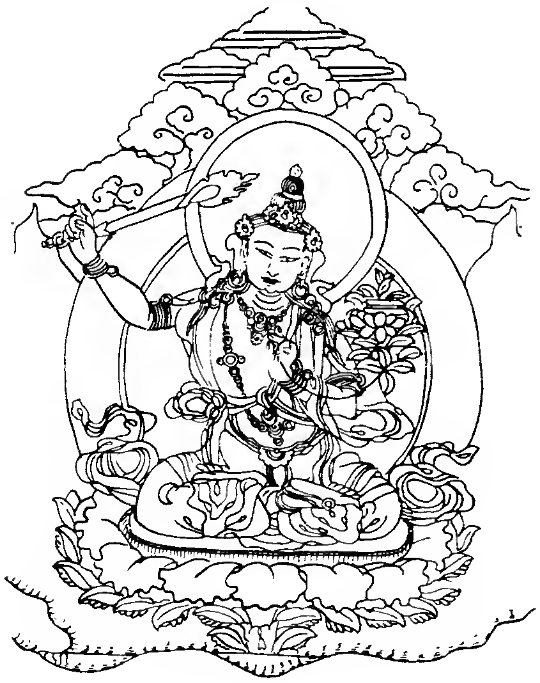

FIG. 2 *Hjam dbyans (Mañjuśrī), The God of Wisdom.*

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Vajrayāna in Tibet. In the 11th Century A.D., Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna, an outstanding scholar from Vikramasīlā University in India, came to Tibet and taught extensively on Sūtras and Tantras. His disciples like Khonton, Ngok and Drom founded the Kadampa School in Tibet.

Towards the end of the 11th century A.D. Marton Chokyilodro, a famous Tibetan translator, visited India three times. During his visits to India, he studied at the feet of such stalwarts as Paṇḍita Naropa, and, after returning to Tibet, undertook extensive translations and propagations of the knowledge gained from these giant Indian scholars. Later on, the doctrine which he propounded and handed down through Jetsun Milarepa and Nyam-mai-dagpa-lharje came to be known as Kagyud.

In the 12th century A.D., Khon Konchok-gyalpo inherited the Doctrine of Lam-Dre (the Path and the Enlightenment) from Drokme Lotsava. This doctrine was preserved and fostered through five hierarchs of Sakya Lamas, and came to be known as the Sakya Sect.

In the 14th century A.D. there emerged forth a famous figure Jamgon rJe Tsongkhapa, who is reputed to have made a thorough study of the inner meanings of the entire Sūtras and Tantras. The lineage established by his followers like Gyaltshab Khedrub rJe is known as Gandenpa or Gelug Sect. Besides these, a number of other subsidiary sects were also founded by different learned scholars.

Works of Indian Scholars often Referred

Admittedly, there are a few descriptive differences with regard to the relations between Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. The ultimate goal of both the schools, however, is essentially the same i.e. to help a being in the attainment of the supreme status of Buddhahood. The entire esoteric system of the Doctrine has been classified into distinct groups—internal and external. There is a great difference between these two groups. The people of Tibet regard Sūtras and

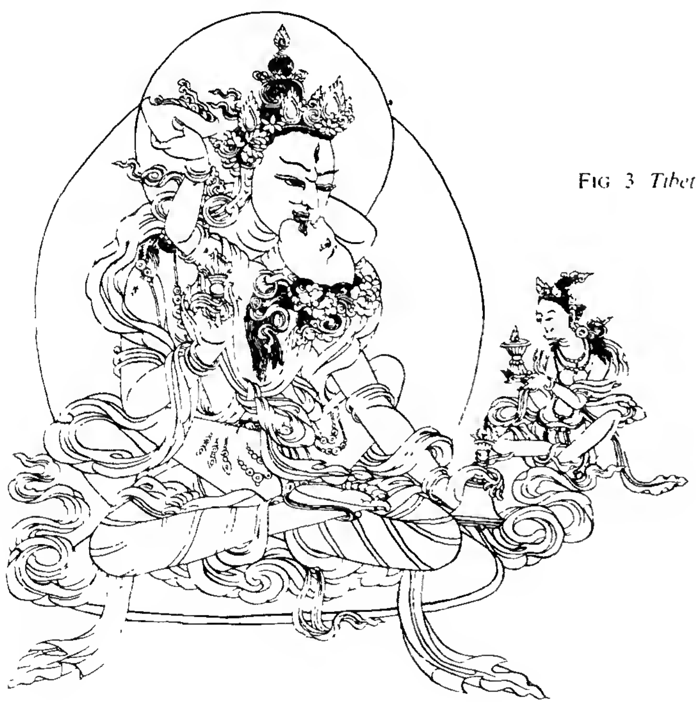

FIG 3 *Tibetan Woodcut of Padmasambhava and his Consort*

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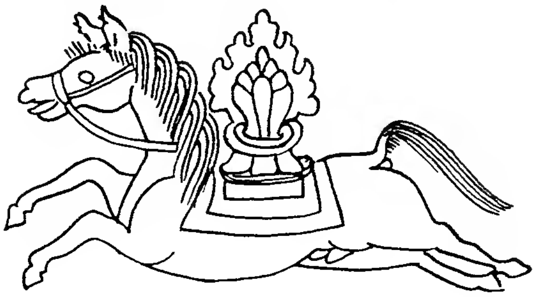

FIG 4 *The Cintāmaṇi Horse.*

Tantras, which they preach and practise, as essentially founded on Lord Buddha's teachings. Whenever further elucidations on the Teachings are required, reference is rationally made to the perfect conslusions arrived at by the learned Indian scholars. The commentaries of Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Buddhapālita, Candrakīrti, Śāntadeva and others are held in special esteem, and frequently referred to. Traditionally, the teachings and commentaries expounded by learned scholars of India are regarded as the only sources of the Doctrine.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the sages and Pandits of India and Tibet have left their wisdom and experience acquired by long years of hard studies, practice, meditations and reflections. Their noble efforts contributed to the building up of a bridge which united the two countries as children of the same family. This unique relationship will ever remain as a perfect example of international relationship and understanding.

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Indo-Tibetan Cultural Relations

ANKUL CHANDRA BANERJEE

Buddhism, the Unifying Force in North-East Asia

BUDDHISM MOULDED THOUGHTS, ideals and literatures of the entire south-east and north-east Asia from the 3rd century B.C. to the 12th century A.D. The history of Buddhism is on this account not only a story of the growth of a great civilization but also a story of cultural contacts, through the medium of this civilization, between different groups of people of the vast region in the south, south-east, north and north-east. Tibet which lies north-east also came into contact with India through Buddhism whose contribution to the cultural advancement of Tibet is indeed highly notable. Till the 7th century A.D. Buddhism was unknown in Tibet which was steeped in 'barbaric darkness'. Towards the early part of the 7th century A.D. Buddhism was for the first time introduced into Tibet and through it some beginnings of civilization were made among the Tibetans.

Buddhism Enters Tibet

It is generally believed that Tibet received Buddhism during the reign of king Naradeva (Miḫi-lha) who ascended the throne at the age of thirteen only in 629 A.D. But owing to his meritorious deeds he was later on better known as Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po (lit. straightforward, strict, profound) in Tibet. He was the son of king Gñam-ri-sroṅ-btsan who was a war-like king and held supreme authority over Tibet. King Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po imbibed the martial spirit of his father and took delight in bloodly wars and campaigns. On his accession to the throne he increased his military powers manifoldly and led an expedition against King Aṃśuvarman of Nepal in the south. Fearing defeat at his hand, Aṃśuvarman thought it wise to establish a matrimonial alliance with king Sroṅ-bstan-sgam-po of Tibet. He offered his daughter in marriage to him. The king gladly accepted the princess as his queen. King Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po was only sixteen years old when he married the Nepalese princess who was aged eighteen years. Tibet became a very powerful nation then because of king Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po again led a military campaign against Seṅ-ge-btsan-po (T'ai-tsung), the powerful emperor of China in the north. He also evaded the war by giving his daughter in marriage to him. King Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po had two queens. One of them was Thi-btsan, the daughter of King Aṃśuvarman of Nepal while the other was called Wen-Cheng, the daughter of Seṅ-ge-btsan-po (T'ai-tsung), the powerful emperor of China. Both of them were pious. The princess of Nepal was a devoted Buddhist. As a part of her dowry she brought an image of Buddha Akṣobhya which was enshrined in a great temple built by the king in Lhasa. It still exists there and is popularly called the Jo-khaṅ (House of the Lord). The Princess of China was also a worshipper of Buddha. She brought to Tibet fine images of Buddha Śākyamuni and Maitreya, as also a few Buddhist texts. These images were also installed in a great temple built by the king in Lhasa. It still survives there and is the chief temple of Lhasa. Both the wives were further 'canonized as incarnations of Avalokita's consort, Tārā, "Saviouress" or Goddess of Mercy, and the fact that they bore him no children is pointed to as evidence of their divine nature'. The Chinese princess was glorified as the White Tārā while the Nepalese princess as the Green Tārā who is still very much venerated in Nepal.

The king was a man of culture. He was deeply interested in the cultural development, social reforms and the like. By the persuasion of these two queens the king was soon converted to the religion of Buddha. He felt the necessity of introducing Buddhism into his own country and thenceforth devoted his attention to its spread in Tibet. He wanted every man to be virtuous and wise. He enjoined on leading a pure and simple life as also on cultivating love for one's motherland and fellow beings. He ruled over his kingdom on the basis of the ten golden precepts which agree fairly with the ten rules of morality (*śikṣāpada*) as recommended in Buddhism for the observance of both the monks and the laity in their daily life.

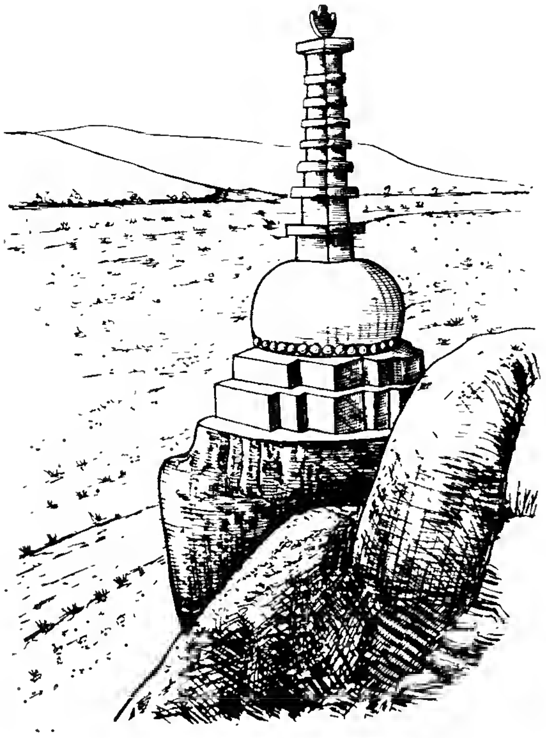

FIG. 1 *Wayside Stūpa*

Tibet sent its Men to Acquire Learning

At the instance of his queens king Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po sent many intelligent young men to India, Nepal and China for Buddhist works and teachers. Among the young men sent to India Thon-mi Sambhoṭa, son of Anu, was very intelligent. He was highly noted for his aptitude and erudition. Along with a group of sixteen companions, he was sent to study in Āryadeśa (India) and to invent a script for the Tibetan language. They studied there with Ācarya Devavitsiṁha (Siṃhaghoṣa), Paṇḍita Lipikara (Lipidatta) and others. But due to the extremely burning heat of the plains, all his companions died and Thon-mi Sambhoṭa only survived. He stayed in India for several years and studied the texts—both Buddhist and Brahmanical—extensively there with them. There was no form of writing in Tibet then. Texts were memorized and transmitted orally. It was Thon-mi Sambhoṭa who reduced the Tibetan language to writing and invented an alphabetic script consisting of thirty consonants and four vowels. The alphabet, evolved from the central Indian script of the 6th–7th centuries A.D., was adopted as the alphabet of the Tibetan language and from then on all historical events in Tibet as also all sacred Buddhist works were translated and written down in this script. Thon-mi Sambhoṭa is said to have written about eight books on writing and grammar in Tibetan. Among them the Kāraṇḍavyūha, the 100 precepts and the Ratnamegha-sūtra deserve mention. There is

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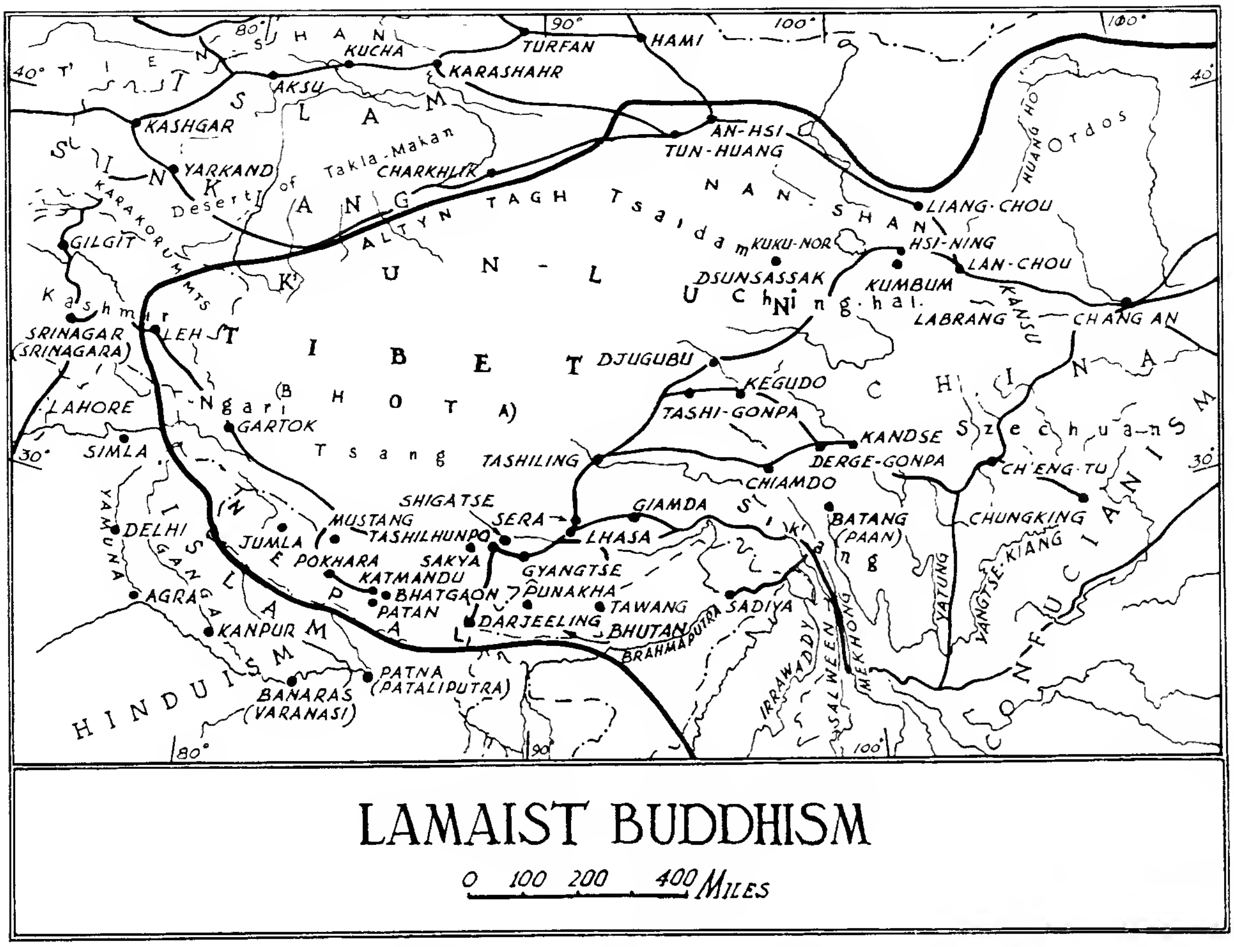
LAMAIST BUDDHISM
0 100 200 400 MILES
80°
90°
100°
110°
40°
30°
KUCHA
TURFAN
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LAN-CHOU
KUKU-NOR
DSUNSASSAK
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GILGIT
KARAKORAM MTS
Kashmir
SRINAGAR (SRINAGARA)
LEH
LAHORE
SIMLA
Ngari
GARTOK
DJUGUBU
KEGUDO
TASHI-GONPA
KANDSE
DERGE-GONPA
CHIAMDO
TASHILING
Tsang
SHIGATSE
MUSTANG
SERA
TASHILHUNPO
LHASA
GIAMDA
BATANG (PAAN)
CH'ENG-TU
CHUNGKING
Szechuan
YANGTSE-KIANG
YALUNG
MEKHONG
SALWEEN
IRRAWADDY
BRAHMAPUTRA
DELHI
JUMLA
POKHARA
SAKYA
KATMANDU
GYANGTSE
BHATGAON
PUNAKHA
PATAN
TAWANG
SADIYA
DARJEELING
BHUTAN
AGRA
KANPUR
PATNA (PATALIPUTRA)
BANARAS (VARANASI)
YAMUNA
GANGA
HINDUSTAN
TIBET (BHOTA)
KUN-LUN
ALTYN TAGH
Tsaidam
Nan Shan
Uch Ning hai
China
Yunnan
Kansu

Fig. 2 Map showing Expansion of Lamaist Buddhism

no doubt that the first script and the first grammar owed their origin to Thon-mi Sambhoṭa who thereby introduced literacy into Tibet. He is thus regarded as the father or creator of Tibetan literature. The King became very much pleased and appointed him his chief minister. He became his pupil and studied the texts with him for about four years. He further procured Buddhist texts from Nepal and got them translated into Tibetan.

Buddhism Became the State Religion

The translation work, thus started during Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po's reign, continued steadily for several hundred years till the close of the 17th century A.D., as a result of which a large number of works dealing with Buddhism and allied subjects were rendered into Tibetan. He established several Buddhist centres and temples in his dominion. The famous sandal wood image of Avalokiteśvara, the Lord of Mercy, which is worshipped even to-day, was brought to Lhasa during his reign. He is further said to have laid down the foundation of the Potala palace, the world famous eleven storied abode of Dalai Lama. He encouraged his subjects to adopt the new faith. Thus he gave a strong religious impetus to the whole of Tibet and made Buddhism the state religion. He died after a reign of about twenty years in A.D. 650. 'To the Tibetans he is not only the national hero but also the inspired founder of the nation, the giver of civilization

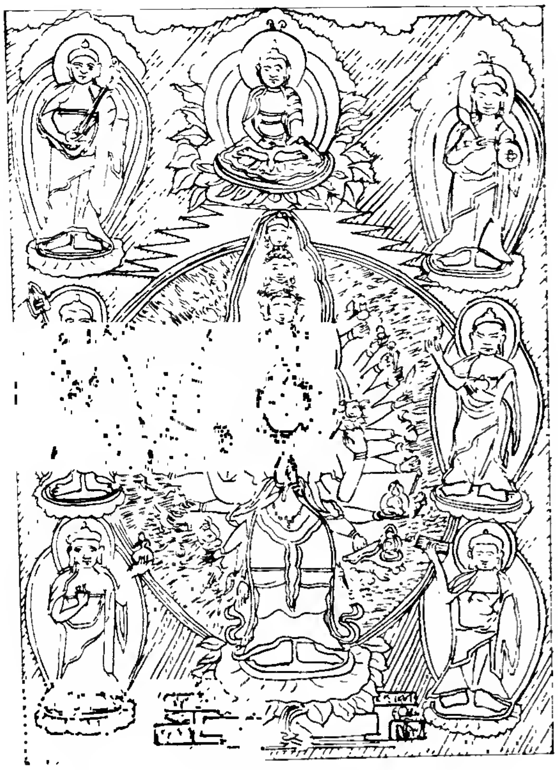

FIG 3 *Spyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokiteśvara), the patron deity of Tibet*

and, above all, the living spiritual guide of Tibet'. His name is to this day a household word. He is, indeed, revered as an incarnation of Spyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokiteśvara, Lord of Mercy), the patron deity of Tibet.

The history of Buddhism in Tibet remained obscure for some years after the death of King Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po as nothing worth recording about the progress of Buddhism happened. Practically it declined. We are, however, told that through the skilful guidance of Thon-mi Sambhoṭa the Tibetans conquered practically the whole of Eastern Turkistan during the reign of Sroṅ-btsan-śgam-po's successor in 670 A.D. They found big monasteries, beautiful shrines and fine statues of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in this region. They also came across a large number of texts dealing with different aspects of Buddhism. The discovery of a huge number of Bodhisattvas created a stir in the religious world of Tibet, and ultimately paved the way for the foundation of Buddhism there.

Zealous Propagation of Buddhism

In 705 A.D., king Khri-lde-gtsug-brtan who ascended the throne took great interest in the propagation of Buddhism. The interest in Buddhism thus reappeared and became extremely pronounced with him. He built many monasteries and temples in his dominiòn and highly encouraged the translation of the Sanskrit texts into Tibetan. He also invited the monks of Khotan to Tibet. In an edict (785 A.D.), still extant in Lhasa, is recorded the earnest zeal of the king for the propagation of Buddhism in Tibet.

Indian Teachers Invited at the Tibetan Court

The next great king was Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan (740–786 A.D.). His rule marks the zenith of Tibetan power and the affirmation of Buddhism as the chief religion of the state. It was during his reign that Śāntarakṣita, Padmasambhava and Kamalāśīla were brought to Tibet. He is regarded by the Tibetans as an incarnation of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī even to-day. He was the son of the Chinese princess who was a devout Buddhist and from her he received a strong religious impulse for Buddhism in Tibet. He sent an envoy to China in search of Buddhist texts. He was also successful in persuading Śāntarakṣita, the famous Buddhist teacher from India, to come to Tibet. Śāntarakṣita is a very popular name in Tibet. It is translated as Zhi-ba-tsho in the Tibetan Language.

On the advice of Ācārya Śāntarakṣita, king Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan sent messengers to bring Padmasambhava to Tibet. Padmasambhava, it is said, was the son of Indrabodhi, king of Udyana of U-rgyan. In his 'The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism', Waddel has given a legendary account of the origin of Padmasambhava. He married the sister of Śāntarakṣita. He was one of the distinguished teachers of the University of Nālandā, 'the Oxford of Buddhist India'

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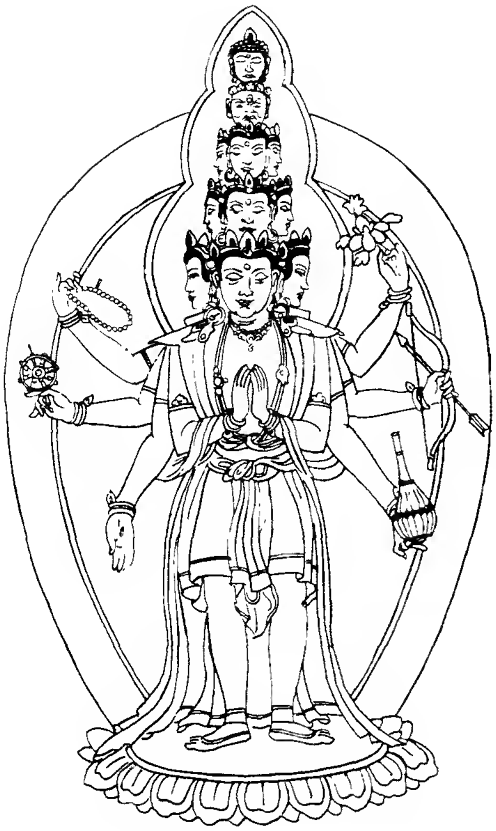

FIG 4. *Avalokiteśvara with eleven heads and eight arms*

and was deeply versed in the Tantrism of the Yogācāra school. He accepted the invitation of the king and escorted by messengers came to Tibet in 747 A.D. On the way he also subdued many evil spirits by means of his magic charms. He was warmly welcomed by king when he reached Tibet.

Padmasambhava who had great miraculous powers visited many parts of Tibet and expounded the fundamental teachings of Buddhism which received a fresh impetus there. With him started an era of great literary activity in Tibet. He organised the Saṃgha (order of monks) and introduced certain elements of Tantrism into the then existing religion. With him thus originated a new sect called Nying-ma-pa (lit. the old one) sect.

In this connection, it should be mentioned that Buddhism of Tibet is known as Lamaism after its Lamas (lit. superior priests, monks). 'But now-a-days the word Lama has come to be a title of courtsey for every priest of Tibetan Buddhism, whether he is a fully ordained Gelong (monk) or not'. Lamaism which is an admixture of some old Bon practices and elements of Tantrism has 'a marked individuality and a peculiar hierarchical organization of its own'. It is divided into various sects. They differ little in respect of doctrinal matters. But each sect has special tutelary deities, scriptures and practices of its own but they all tend to borrow from one another whatever inspires respect or attracts worshippers. Each sect has further a monastery and is outwardly distinguished by peculiarities of costumes, specially the hat. The Nying-ma-pa is the old sect established by Padmasambhava and is also called the 'Red-hat' sect. It claims to preserve fully the teachings of Padmasambhava. Of its many subdivisions, one known as the sect of Udyana, in reference to Padmasambhava's birth place, is considered to be the most ancient and still exists in the Himalayas and eastern Tibet. The Lamas of the Nying-ma-pa sect are said to have kept the necromancy of the old Tibetan religion more fully than any of the reformed sects that arose later on. They pay special worship to Padmasambhava.

Sam-Ye Monastery, the Odantapuri of Tibet

Padmasambhava advised the king to send a body of monks from Tibet to India to study the Buddhist texts in originals. At the request of the king he selected a site for a monastery and Ācārya Śāntarakṣita consecrated it. The king built the Sam-ye monastery, a few miles away from Lhasa on the model of the famous Sam-ye Odantapuri Mahāvihāra of Magadha. Ācārya Śāntarakṣita was appointed the head of the new monastery. It is the greatest monastery ever built in Tibet. It contains a number of fine shrines and has a good collection of Sanskrit and Tibetan books. With the construction of the Sam-ye monastery, Buddhism made steady progress in Tibet. But a fierce controversy arose over the interpretation of the Buddhist teachings among the followers of Śāntarakṣita and the desciples of the Chinese Buddhist Ho-shang.

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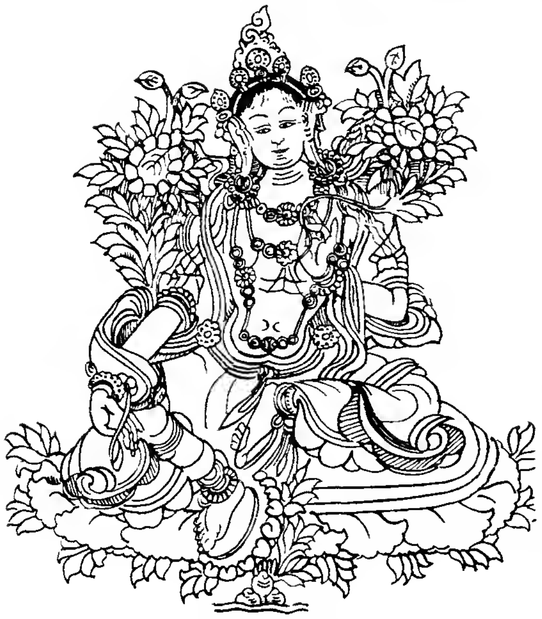

FIG 5. *Padmapāni*

Accordingly Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan invited Kamalaśīla from India to defend Śāntarakṣita's interpretation. A philosophical debate was organised and Kamalaśīla won. His victory was indeed 'an important landmark in the religious history of Tibet'.

Towards the close of the 8th century A.D. Padmasambhava procured a number of manuscripts of the Buddhist texts from Kashmir. Many learned monks were appointed to render them into Tibetan. Of them a monk named Vairocana of Kashmir was the best. The Sam-ye monastery thus became a great centre of literary activity in Tibet. Both Śāntarakṣita and Padmasambhava collaborated with each other in expounding the teachings of Buddhism. At their request many monks of the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism came to Tibet from Magadha for translating the Buddhist texts into Tibetan. Many youngmen were also ordained by them. Padmasambhava is known even today in Tibet as Guru or Mahācārya Padmasambhava. He is also called Guru Rimpoche and is given the first place as a propagator of Buddhism in Tibet. 'His image and portrait are to be found wherever Lamaism is practised, irrespective of sects or schisms'.

Bu-Ston, the Compiler of Kanjur and Tanjur

Bu-ston (1290–1364 A.D.) was an eminent scholar and authoritative historian of Tibet. He systematically arranged the Tibetan translation into two great collections. The first comprising the utterances of Buddha is popularly known as the Kanjur, while the second composed of writings of distinguished teachers by way of explanation of the first is known as Tanjur. The first thus contains original works, while the second exegetical works as also works on medicine, astronomy, grammar, logic, poetry and the like.

Let us now proceed to examine the contents of the Kanjur and Tanjur :

Kanjur, An Encyclopaedia of Original Teachings of Buddha

The Kanjur consists of 100 or 108 volumes. It is divided into seven parts, viz. i. Ḥdul-ba (Vinaya). 2. Śes-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa (Prajñāpāramitā), 3. Saṅs-rgyas-phal-po-che (Buddhāvataṁsaka), 4. Dkon-mchog-brtsegs-pa (Ratnakūṭa), 5. Mdo or Mdo-sde (Sūtra), 6. Mya-ṅan-las-ḥdaṣ-pa (Nirvāṇa) and 7. Rgyud (Tantra).

The Ḥdul-ba (Vinaya) contains thirteen volumes and is divided into the following parts : (i) Ḥdul-gzhi (Vinayavastu), (ii) So-sor-thar-paḥi-mdo (Prātimokṣasūtra), (iii) Ḥdul-ba-rnam-par-ḥbye-pa (Vinayavibhaṅga), (iv) Dge-sloṅ-maḥi-so-sor-thar-paḥi-mdo (Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣasūtra), (v) Dge-sloṅ-maḥi-ḥdul-ba-rnam-par-ḥbyed (Bhikṣuṇīvinayavibhaṅga), (vi) Ḥdul-ba-phran-tshegs-kyi-gzhi (Vinayakṣudrakavastu) and (vii) Ḥdul-ba-gzhuṅ-bla-ma (Vinaya-uttaragrantha).

Some scholars are of opinion that the Ḥdul-ba is divided into four parts : (i) Ḥdul-gzhi (Vinayavastu), (ii) So-sor-thar-paḥi-mdo (Prātimokṣasūtra) and Ḥdul-ba-rnam-par-byed-pa

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FIG 6. *A Bhutanese Mask*

(Vinayavibhaṅga), (iii) Ḥdul-ba-phran-tshegs-kyi-gzhi (Vinayakṣudrakavastu) and (iv) Ḥdul-ba-gzhuṅ-bla-ma (Vinaya-uttaragrantha), corresponding to the four divisions of the Pali works, viz., (i) Mahāvagga, (ii) Suttavibhaṅga, (iii) Cullavagga and (iv) Parivārapatha.

Here are given in brief the contents of each of the four parts: (i) The Ḥdul-gzhi (Vinayavastu) covers four volumes. It consists of seventeen chapters. It deals with the rules and regulations of the Saṅgha, the ecclesiastical acts and the like. (ii) The So-sor-thar-paḥi-mdo (Prātimokṣasūtra) and Ḥdul-ba-rnam-par-byed-pa (Vinayavibhaṅga) contain five volumes. The former contains disciplinary rules for the guidance of the monks and nuns while the latter is an extensive commentary on the Prātimokṣa rules. Each rule is explained word for word and occasion for the introduction of each rule is given. (iii) The Ḥdul-ba-phran-tshegs-kyi-gzhi (Vinayakṣudrakavastu)—extends over two volumes. It contains briefly rules regulating life and conduct of the monks for their practical guidance and the social conditions of the people of Central India. (iv) Ḥdul-ba-gzhuṅ-bla-ma (Vinaya-uttaragrantha)—covers two volumes. It is an appendix to the Ḥdul-ba. It tells us nothing new. It is only an abridgement of the Ḥdul-ba text, even then it is a work of great value as it helps us in the study of the Ḥdul-ba literature.

The Śes-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa (Prajñāpāramitā) contains twentyone volumes. It deals with psychological, logical and metaphysical terms of Buddhism. It is said that Ḥod-sruṅ (Kāśyapa) was the first compiler of the Prajñāpāramitā.

The Saṅs-rgyas-phal-po-che (Buddhāvataṃsaka) contains six volumes. It deals with moral precepts and metaphysics. It also speaks of Tathāgatas, their qualifications etc.

The Dkon-mchog-brtsegs-pa (Ratnakūṭa) contains six volumes. It deals with moral rules, qualities of Buddha, his teachings and the like.

The Mdo or Mdo-sde (Sūtra) consists of 270 treatises on various subjects. Moral and metaphysical doctrine of Buddha, legendary accounts of various persons, medicine, astronomy and the like occupy the greatest part of the Sūtra. It is said that Kun-dgaḥ-bo (Ānanda), the favourite pupil of Buddha, compiled the text after the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Gautama Buddha.

The Mya-ṅan-las-ḥdas-pa (Nirvāṇa) contains two volumes. It describes the last moments of Gautama Buddha, his funeral and how his relics were distributed.

The Rgyud (Tantra) contains twenty-two volumes. It deals generally with mystic theology and speaks of gods and goddesses, maṇḍalas (cosmograms), prayers and the like.

Tanjur, An Encyclopaedia of Scientific Works

The Tanjur contains 225 volumes. It has two parts viz. Mdo (Sūtra) and Rgyud (Tantra). The Mdo (Sūtra) covers 136 volumes. It contains mostly exegetical and scientific literature.

The Rgyud (Tantra) covers 89 volumes and contains rituals and ceremonies of Tantrism.

There are besides two other volumes, one deals with the hymns, prayers and the like and other is an index.

The two collections contain 4566 works—the Kanjur 1108 and the Tanjur 3458.

Apart from the translated works, there are various other original works composed in the Tibetan under the titles : *Lo-rgyus* (history), *Gtam-rgyud* (oral tradition), *Chos-ḥbyuṅ* (the origin of the dharma, i.e., Buddhism), *Rtogs-brjod* (heroic deeds), *Rnam-thar* (legendary accounts), *Yig-gzhuṅ* (chronicles) and others. These works deal mainly with sacred subjects which are apocryphal or authentic or quasi-authentic. The apocryphal texts of course occupy the major portion and are very popular in Tibet. All these indigenous works are written in elegant and accurate Tibetan language. Their literary style is also commendable.

Tibetan Students in Indian Universities

Many monks and novices came to India from Tibet to study the Buddhist texts with the distinguished leaders of Nālandā and Vikramaśilā universities. They worked hard under these teachers and acquired proficiency in Sanskrit literature too. On their return to Tibet they devised a system of vocabulary for translating Sanskrit terms into Tibetan and restored a number of Sanskrit works from their Tibetan translations. It has been in vogue since then. Undoubtedly by this device translations become very accurate, faithful and literal. It thus renders an appreciable service in the restoration of Sanskrit texts from their Tibetan versions.

From the Buddhist texts we learn that with the growth of the Buddhist Saṅgha (order) originated the monastery for the residence of the monks. It was generally situated outside the town or the village to keep the monks isolated from the world. The idea was that by escaping the worldly temptation, monks might devote themselves to meditation and progress in their spiritual life. Tibet, the land of lamas (monks), has also been strongly influenced in this regard. It has also got a monastery for the residence of lamas. In Tibetan a monastery is called *dgon-pa,* meaning a solitary place, a hermitage. Most of the monasteries are situated at a little distance from the cities or the villages. They are generally built of stones or sun-dried bricks. There are more than 3,000 monasteries scattered all over Tibet. Of the chief monasteries mention may be made of Bsam-yas, Rdo-rje-brag, Sa-skya, Tshud-phy, Bdag-ldan, Ḥbras-spuṅs, Se-ra, Bkra-śis-lhun-po and others. There is accommodation for 3,000 to 10,000 lamas in a few of them. The large monasteries are like towns and have their own police.

The site of a monastery is often picturesque. It is usually open on the east so that rays of the sun may enter into it. It should have a lake in front of it. Its site is usually consecrated by a body of monks before any building is begun. Again at the laying of the first stone prayers are offered to protect the building from evil spirits. A monastery usually takes a religious name, or the name of a famous Indian monastery, or the name of a local place. Its architecture is generally ostentatious and preserves much of the mediaeval Indian style. Schlagintweit, Huc, Rockhill and others have described it in some details.

Each monastery has a hall for teaching purposes. It serves as a college. Unlike in Burma, it is open to those who enter the saṅgha (order) only and not for laity.

There is a temple in each monastery. In Tibetan a temple is called *lha-khaṅ* (God's house). It is generally the central and most outstanding building in the monastery. Images of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, local gods and goddesses, saint and the like are usually installed there. They are usually of gilded copper only. Lamas gather together several times a day and chant hymns in chorus there. Every visitor is enjoined to circumambulate the temple.

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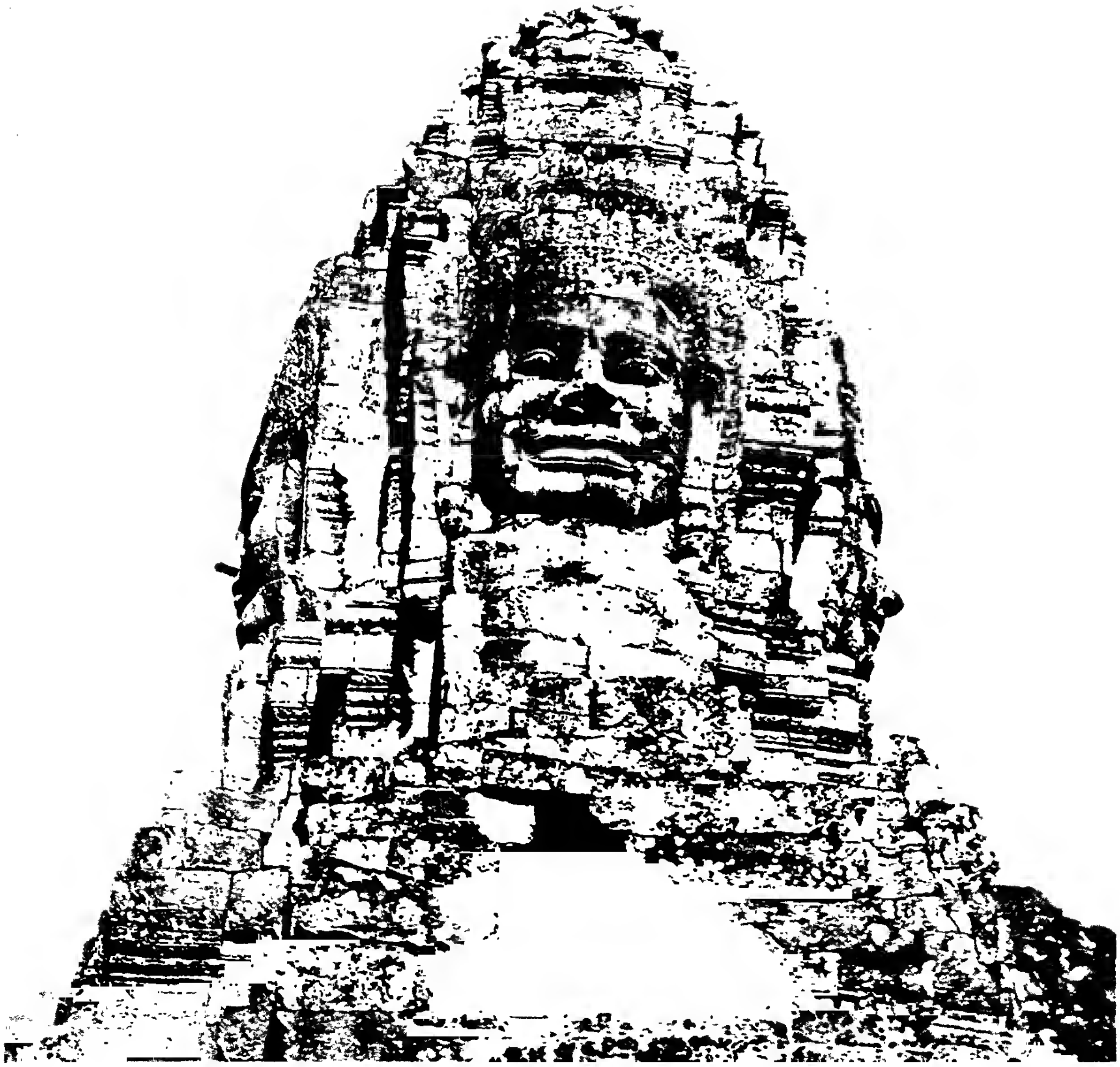
I Colossal face of Lokeśvara at the Bayon, Angkor Thom, Cambodia.



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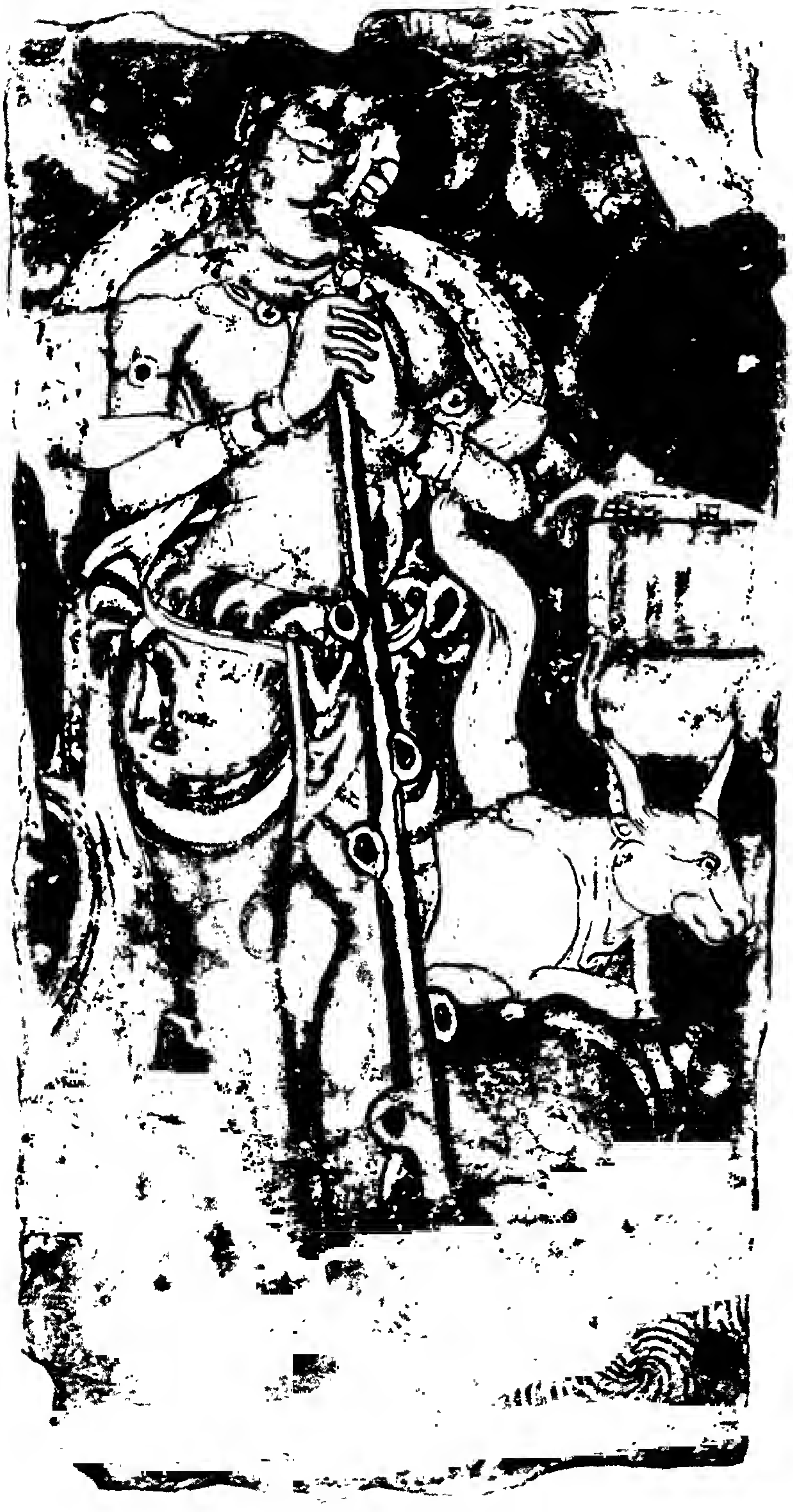

II A mural of Gopāla from Kızıl, dating to about 500 A.D. (Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin).

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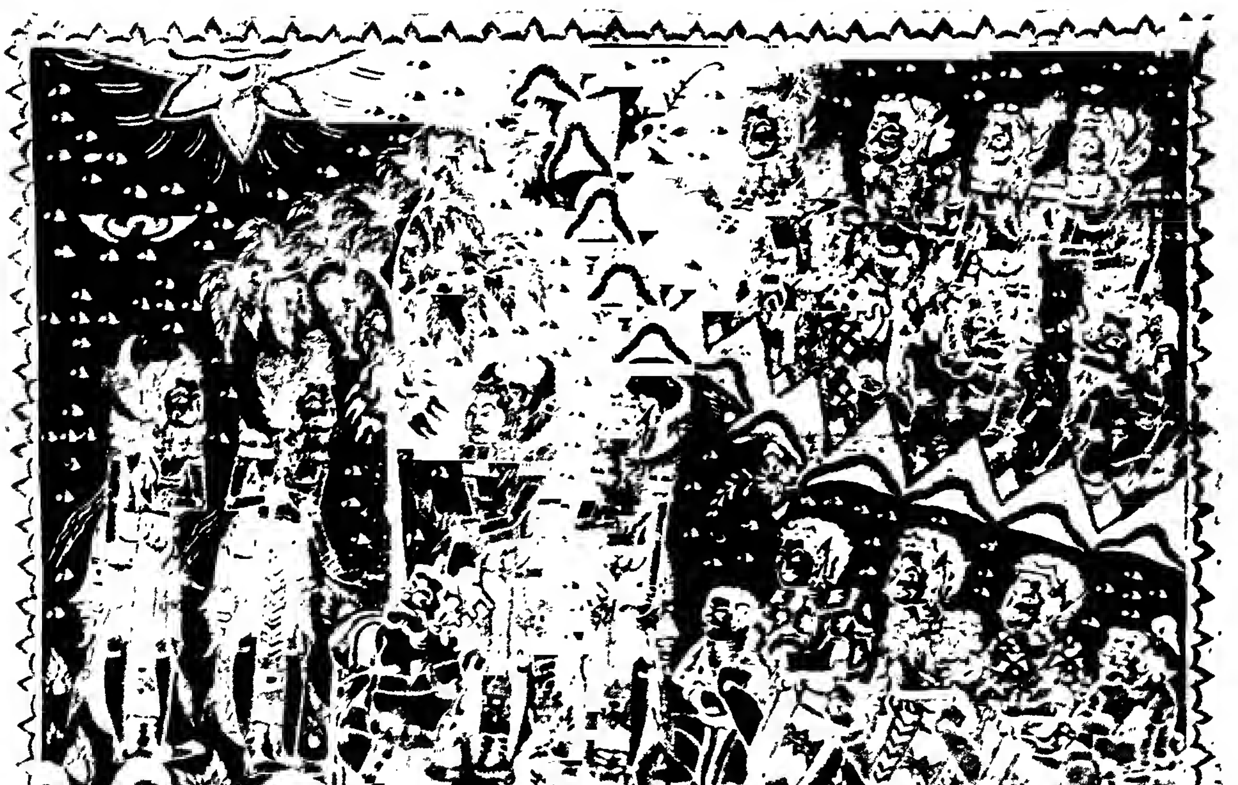
III An Indonesian painting with Lord Kṛṣṇa preaching the Bhagavad-Gītā to Arjuna



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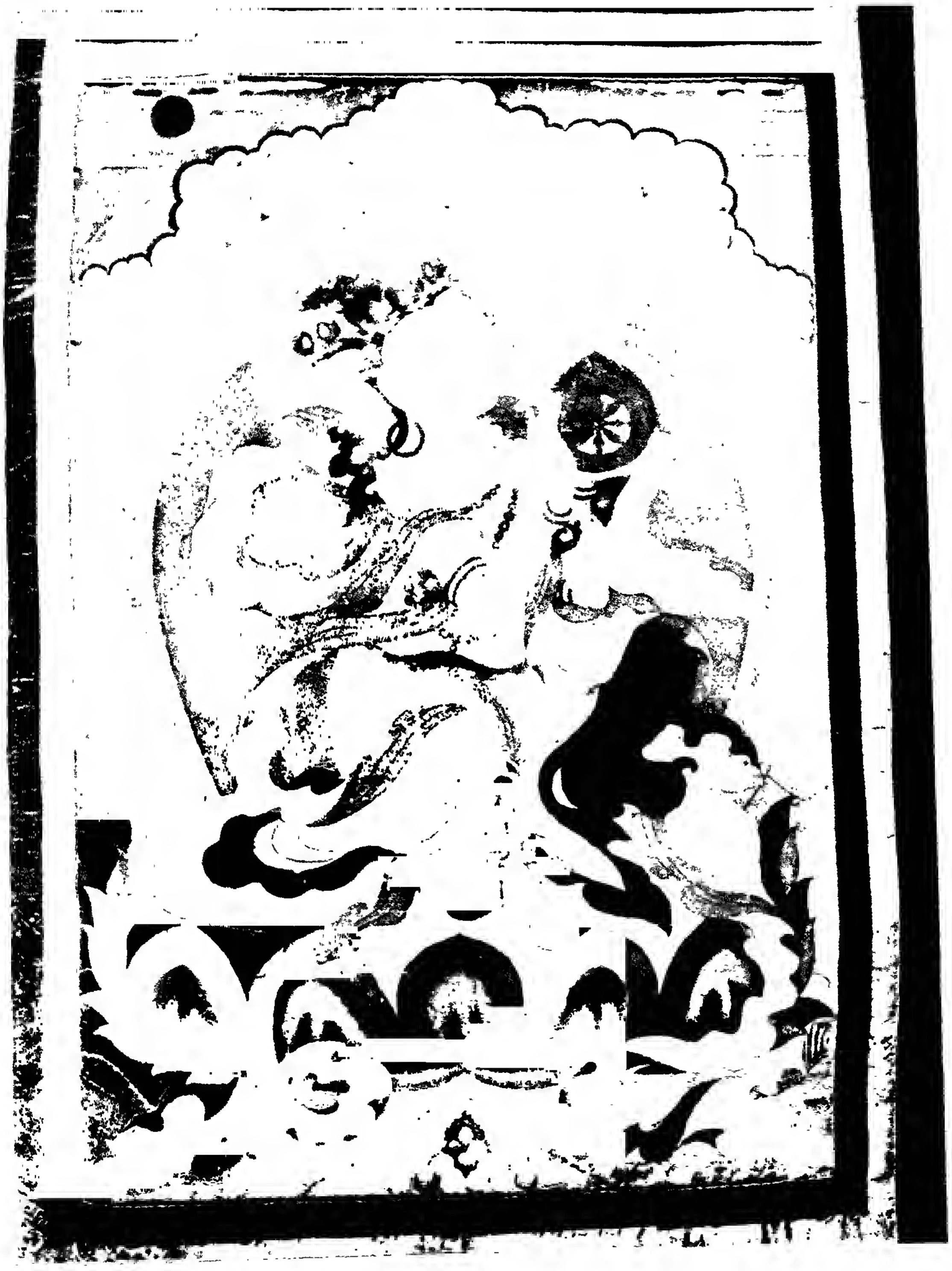

IV Sahāmpati Brahmā on a thaṅka from the Kham area of Inner Tibet. (Raghu Vira Collection)

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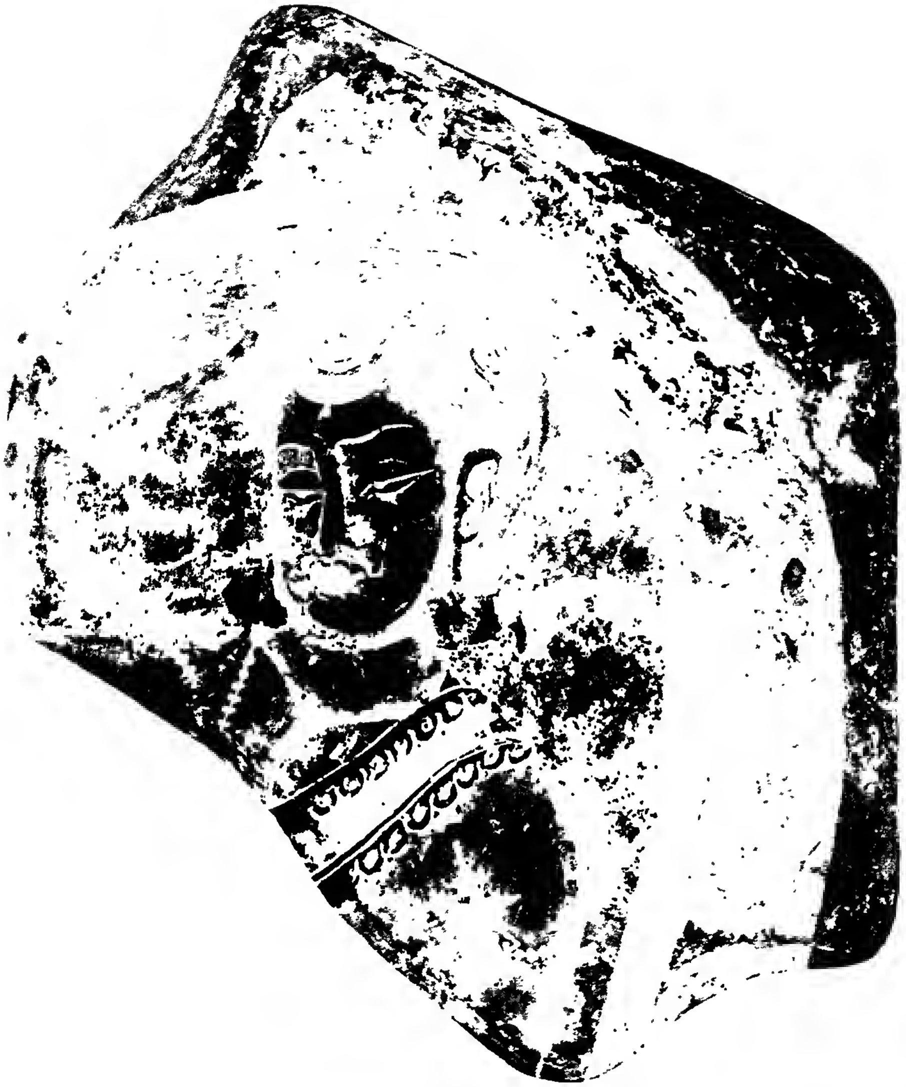

V A young Ṛṣi in a parṇakuṭī, from a fresco at Kizil (Central Asia)
(Museum für Volkerkunde, Berlin)

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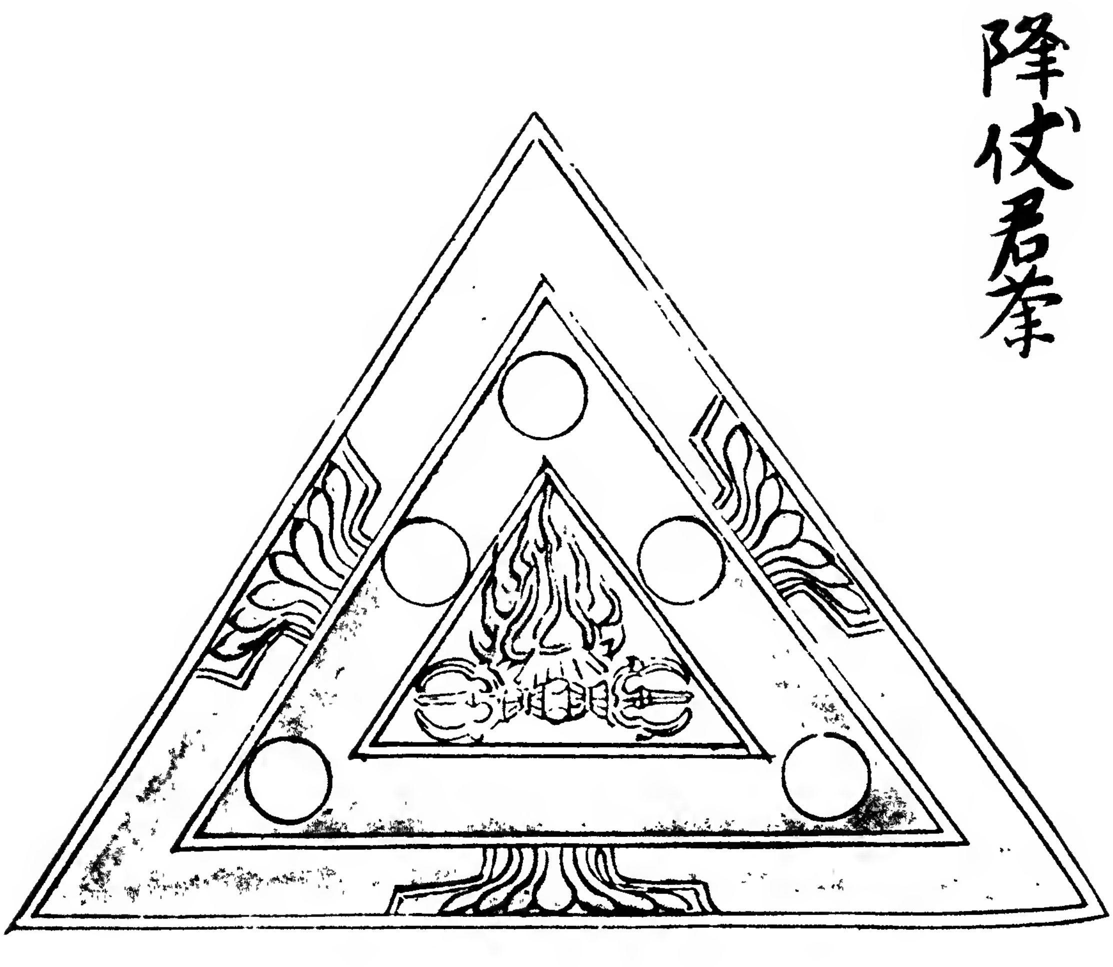

VI Illustration of a homa-kuṇḍa from a Japanese manuscript entitled Goma-ro-dan-yo, which corresponds to Sanskrit Homa-kuṇḍa-vidhi. (Toji Monastery, Japan)

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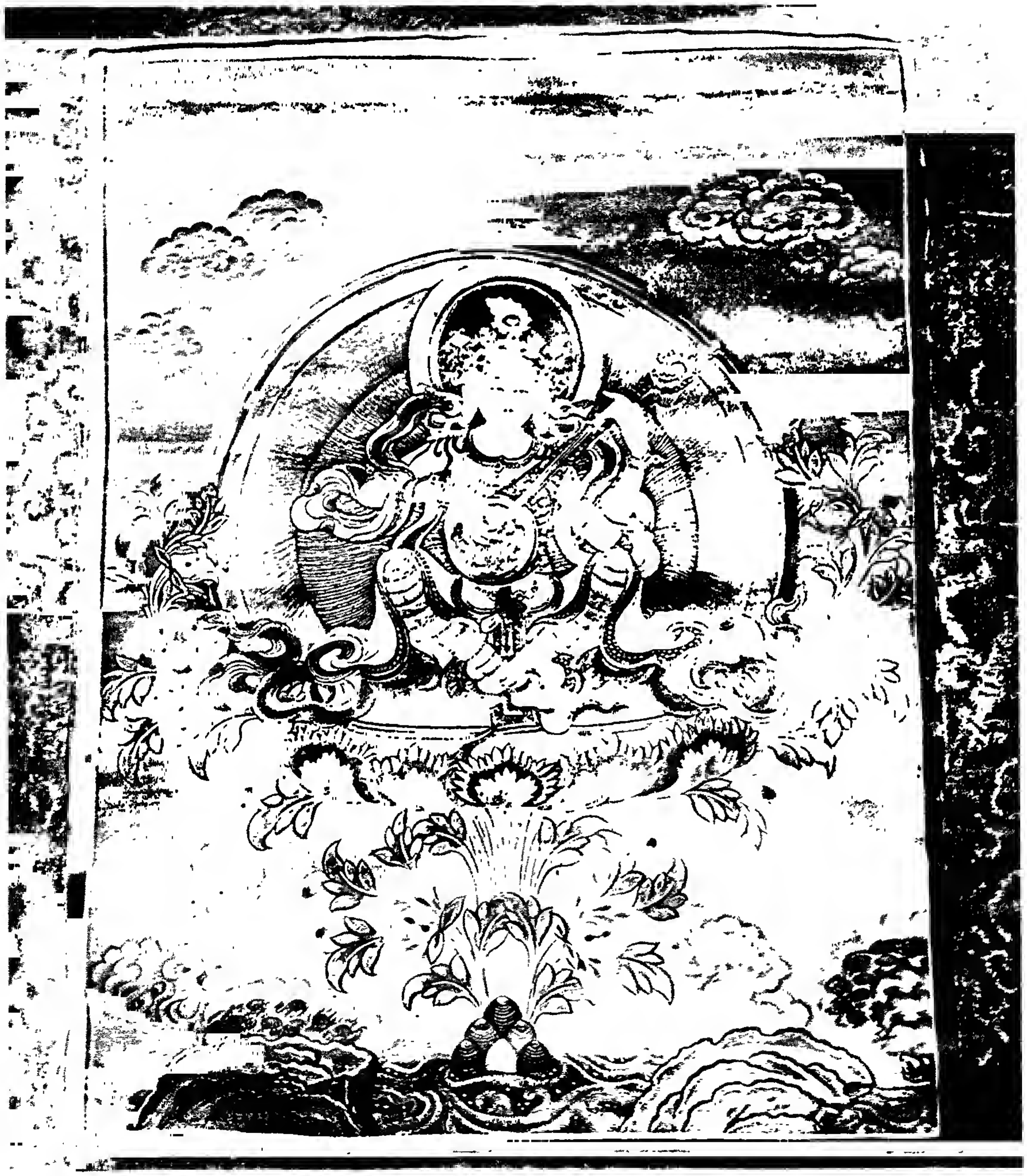
VII Siberian painting of Sarasvatī from the Aginsky Monastery in North-Eastern Siberia.



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VIII Main entrance to the Angkor Wat, Cambodia.

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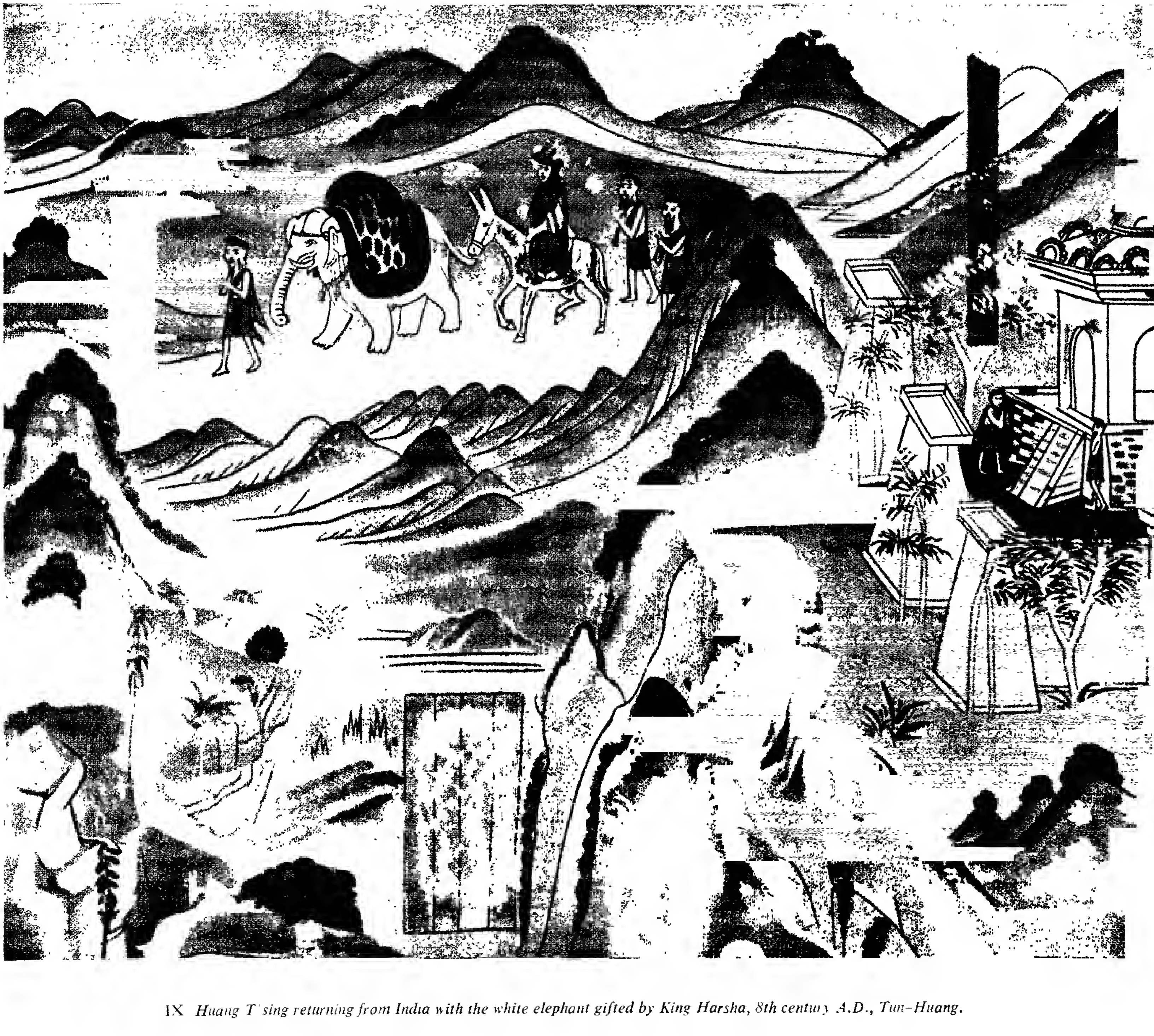

IX *Huang T'sing returning from India with the white elephant gifted by King Harsha, 8th century A.D., Tun-Huang.*

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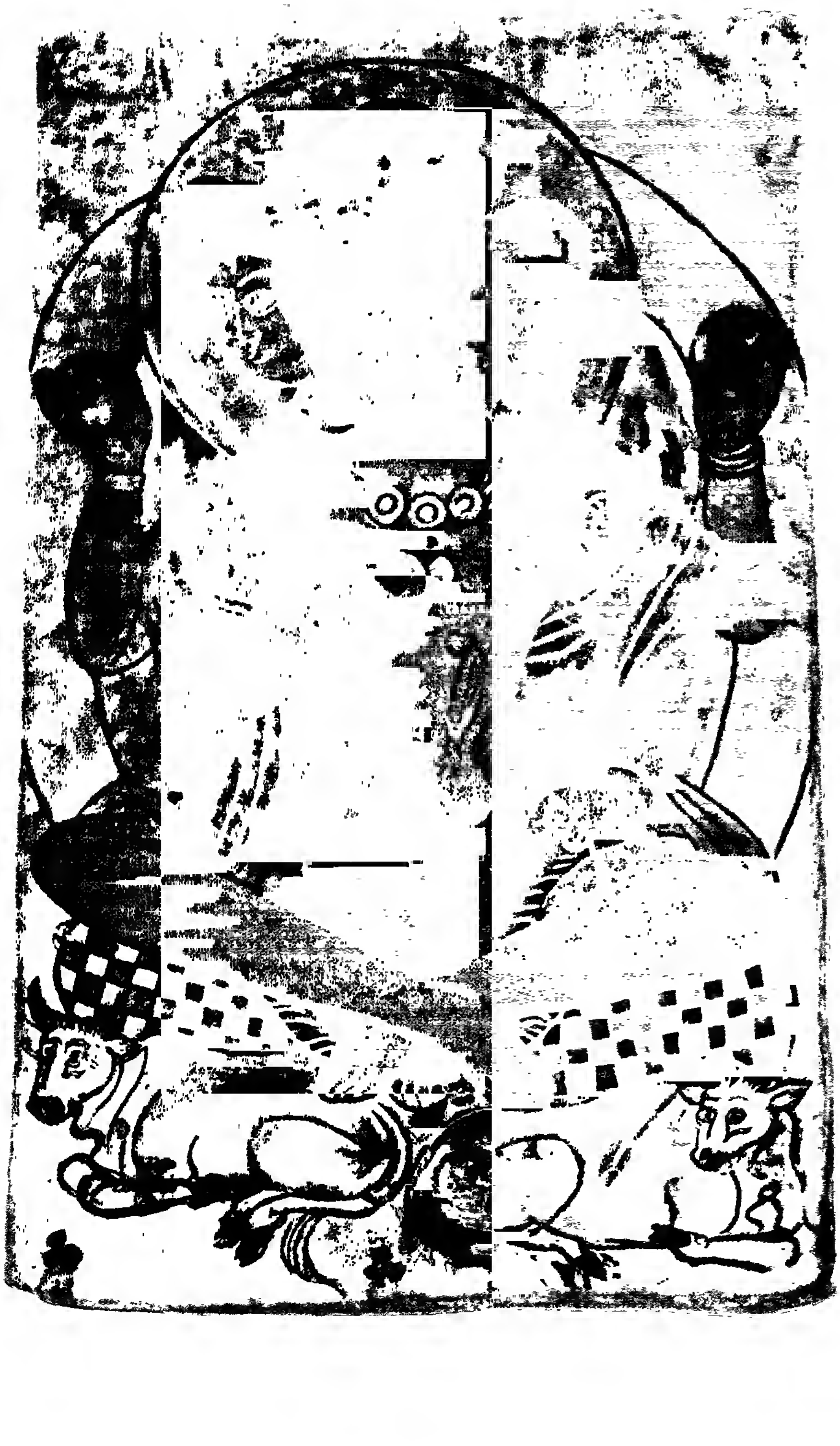

X Shiva represented as four-armed three-headed figure from Dandan-Uiliq

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Glimpses of Indian Culture in Tibet

L. L. MEHROTRA

FOR CENTURIES PAST Tibet had flourished as a repository of an ancient culture thriving under the silence and solitude of a vast firmament away from the tumult and turmoil of the world. Tibet was known to mankind not for its wealth and weaponry but for the heights of its spiritual glory and the depth of its philosophical thought. Religion had been the keynote of this culture, governing the lives of a sturdy but contented humanity that shared its joys and sorrows with the sun and shower, the stars and storms that greeted the 'Roof of the World' from morn till dusk and dusk to dawn. Here, man was not the measure of all things but an humble creature with his share of karman in the saṁsāra, of activity and fruits thereof in the inexorable vortex of life. What was titanic in him was not vanity but the effort to emerge out of it, through suffering and sacrifice, meditation and prayer, compassion and congregation. Life continued in its spiritual endeavour in the mountain fastnesses, the glens and the plateaux of Tibet until recently the force of circumstances changed the shape of things.

Antiquity of Indo-Tibet Contacts

Generally, we think of India's contacts with Tibet with effect from the advent of Buddhism there. According to the Tibetan tradition, however, these contacts go farther back into history. Tibetan chronicles such as Deb-sṅon and Mkhas-paḥi-dgaḥ-ston and scholers like Bu-ston suggest that the Tibetan race stems from the descendants of a military general named Rupati belonging to the Kaurava army. According to the Tibetan legend, Rupati fled to Tibet after the defeat of the Kauravas at the hands of the Pāṇḍavas in the epic battle of Mahābhārata, and was followed by a large number of his followers. Mr. T.W.D. Shakabpa in his work *Tibet : A Political History* states that a large number of learned Tibetans claim the Tibetans to be descendants of Rupati and his followers. According to him, the claim is based on a letter written by the Indian pundit Śaṅkarapati, (Deje-dakpo in Tibetan) about a hundred years after the death of the Buddha. The letter describes the migration of Rupati's followers to Tibet.

Esteemed Land of Noble Master

Buddhism went to Tibet from India. Being the Land of Ḥphags-pa (Ārya)—the Noble Master, India represents to the Tibetan mind the birthplace of all that is noble in thought and deed. Tibet's religion, philosophy, art, poetry all show a deep Indian influence. In order to understand what the Western scholars have termed as the 'tremendous civilizing influence' of Buddhism in Asia, it will be necessary to have a look at the religion that was in vogue in Tibet before the introduction of Buddhism in the 6th–7th century A.D.

The Pre-Buddhist Religion of Tibet

The religion is known as Bon. The verb *bon-pa* means to 'murmur spells'. The founder of Bon according to its tradition was one Tomba Shenrab. The followers of Bon are called Bonpos. The highest deity of Bonpos is the blue sky who is supported by a swarm of *Lha* or goodspirits and is in perpetual conflict with the *Ḥdre* or goblins. Men were often pawns in the spiteful squabbles and jealousies of *Lha* and *Hdre* and the way to keep from their wrath was through bloody sacrifices including those of human beings. Gods and demons alike could be controlled by thaumaturgic power developed by Shens or high priests. Those wizards killed to heal, their magic being always black, employing methods at once violent and vulgar. The impact of Buddhism on this creed was so strong that the Bon came to have even a Bon *Saṅs-rgyas* or Bon Buddha and like the *Dkon-mchog gsum*—the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha of Buddhism, the Bon developed their own *Yung-druṅ gsum,* the three svastikas. The Bon architecture, iconography and sacred furnishings are none too different from those of Tibetan Buddhism. The Buddhists succeeded in diverting the larger section of the Tibetan population from the basic savagery of the Bon religion. However, in spite of the Buddhist triumph, the Bon religion continued to flourish in some parts of Tibet with its inhuman practices. And just as Buddhism transformed the Bon religion, the latter in turn infected Buddhism itself in the battle for survival. We see a whole mass of Du, and Nyan, Sadhak, thab-lha, pho-lha, i.e., the black demons, the argalies, the serpent spirits, the hearth gods, the tutelary gods, creeping into the Buddhist pantheon on the Tibetan soil.

Inter-relation between the Bon and Buddhist Philosophy

It is true that a Bon temple and a lamaist temple have much in common. The architecture is the same, the wall paintings look similar, drums, trumpets, butter lamps, the thrones, the masks, all look alike, the iconography is so similar that sometimes the Ston-pa Gzhen-rabs might not appear any different from Śākyamuni. However, the basic distinction between the two religions continues to be not so much of form as of spirit. The Bon is mundane, is worldly oriented. The aspirations of a Bonpo, at best, stop at reaching the heaven, the blue sky, for obtaining a life of perpetual luxury and mirth. The lamaist approach is essentially extra-mundane and crosses the blue sky to reach the state of Śūnyatā and Nirvāṇa.

Buddhism Introduced to Tibet

Buddhism was introduced in Tibet by the memorable efforts of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po and Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan, the two kings whose names are written in the golden pages of Tibetan history. One flourished in the first half of the 7th century A.D. and the other in the second half of the 8th. Before Buddhism reached Tibet through Bhikṣu Śāntarakṣita, Kamalaśīla and Padmasambhava, it had undergone in India itself a profound evolution in its doctrine and practice. The three Piṭakas viz., Vinaya, Sūtra and Abhidharma had been compiled. The split between the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna had taken place. And the assimilation of the elements of the Yoga School of Hindu Philosophy into Buddhism had led to the growth of the Yogācara School. Buddhism had also drawn heavily from Tantrayāna and Mantrayāna. It would, therefore, be seen that the form of Indian Buddhism that came to Tibet in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D., more than a millennium after the Mahāparinirvāṇa, had undergone a good deal of acculturation. It was not the same Mahāyāna doctrine which appeared in the early centuries of the Christian era and which attracted the attention of the most learned men of the Buddhist World.

Buddhism Adapted to Serve common man

Many of us may be philosophic but few are philosophers. Most of us thrive on the emotional plane. Religion to be acceptable and to be able to become the sheet anchor of the common man has to cater to this requirement. Mahāyāna Buddhism did this by first deifying the histotical Buddha and then weaving round him a host of other divinities. Tibetan Buddhism revels most in giving expression to this aspect through a multitude of paintings, sculptures and literary works. Thus there are the Phyogs-kyi-glaṅ-poḥi Saṅs-rgyas (Ādi-Buddhas), the Rgyal-ba rigs lṅa (Dhyānī-Buddhas), the Mānuṣi-Buddhas of whom the historical Śākyamuni is just one, and a series of other Buddhas such as Mar-me-mdzod (Dīpaṅkara), and Sman-bla (Bhaiṣajya guru). Then, there are Dhyāni-Bodhisattvas including Spyan-rasgzigs or Avalokiteśvara, of whom the Dalai Lama is an incarnation. There are female Bodhisattvas and green, white and yellow, blue and red Sgrol-ma or Tārās. Dhyānī-Buddha, Śaktis, Ḍākinīs, Lha-mo, and eight mothers from Gog-mo-ma to Dri-chab-ma. There are Yab-yum forms of divinities too, integrating the maternal and the paternal origins of creation, the Dharmapālas and Lokapālas. There are Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs, Nāgas and demons, witches and fairies, all reminding one of the later accretions to pristine Buddhism. And there are spells and charms deified, thanks both to the Mantrayāna and the Bon. The simple doctrine of Don-grub (Siddhārtha), thus got embroiled in the praphernalia of gods and rituals, in contrast to what the Master had wanted. Buddha said : "I perceive danger in the practice of mystic wonders that I loathe, and abhor and am ashamed of." Thus, Buddhism might have assumed forms which Buddha possibly would not have liked. However, it created a pageantry of cultural patterns which Tibetan Buddhism so beautifully represents. One might argue that the multiple deities from the Phyogs-kyi-glaṅ-poḥi Saṅs-rgyas or the Primordial Buddha downwards in the Tibetan pantheon are quite a departure from Buddha's own approach. However, the road that Buddhism followed is possibly common to other creeds. Legends grow around the events of the life of of the 'Founder' and a simple faith assumes a complex form. But then these legends are translated through the medium of fine arts into forms of beauty and lead to the flowering of priceless cultures. This is how the colourful Tibetan culture grew.

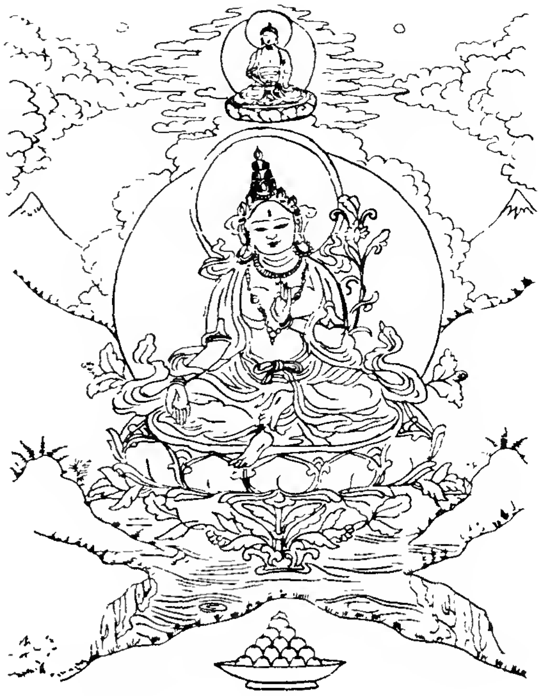

FIG. 1 *Sgrol-ljan Śyāmā Tārā: The deified consort of Sron-btsan-Sgam-po*

Philosophical Background of Buddhist Creed

As religion could not be divorced from philosophy in the true oriental tradition, every stage of the divine hierarchy in Buddhism was given a philosophical signification. The self creative Ādi-Buddha creates by thought the Dhyāni-Buddhas who live in perpetual Nirvāṇa with a Dharma-kāya, body of Truth-essence, not a physical body. From the Dharmakāya Budhas emanate the Sambhogakāya Bodhisattvas and from them in turn the Nirmāṇakāya Mānuṣi-Buddhas. Saṁbhoga is experience of infinite happiness. In Buddhism, however,

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the term has been lifted from its ordinary meaning of carnal pleasure to spiritual beatitude. Whereas the Dhyāni-Buddhas live in meditation, the Dhyāni-Bodhisattvas experience Supreme happiness, not through the medium of senses, but in mind state. However, once in every kalpa (world cycle) they do assume Nirmāṇakāya, a mortal frame built of the elements, viz., earth, water, air, fire, etc. Gautama Buddha is the Mānuṣi-Buddha of the present, the fourth cycle, and Avalokiteśvara, its Dhyāni-Bodhisattva, creator. There are five Dhyāni-Bodhisattvas in the Trikāya System:

(1) Kun-tu-bzaṅ-po (Samanta bhadra)—the all benign
(2) Phyag-na-rdo-rje (Vajrapāṇi)—the bearer of thunderbolt
(3) Phyag-na-rin-chen (Ratnapāṇi)—the jewel-bearer
(4) Spyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokiteśvara)—of compassionate look, and
(5) Phyag-na-sna-tshogs-rdo-rje (Viśvapāṇi)—crossed thunderbolt bearers.

Apart from the above, there are other Bodhisattvas such as Byams-pa (Maitreya), Ḥjam-dpal (Mañjuśrī), Snam-snaṅ (Akāśagarbha), Saḥi-sñiṅ (Kṣitigarbha), Ḥjig-rton (Trailokyavijaya), Sagrib-pa-rnam-sel, (Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin), etc. They embody various aspects of divinity such as Love, Compassion, Beatitude, Strength, Dominion, etc. There are female Bodhisattvas as well such as Dbyaṅs-can-ma (Sarvasvatī) associated with learning and fine arts, Nor-rgyun ma (Vasudhārā) with abundance, Śes-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa (Prajñāpāramitā) with Transcendental Wisdom and others endowed with various powers and attributes, as also definite features.

Concept of the Terms 'Bodhisattva' and 'Lama'

It is the Bodhisattva ideal, which distinguishes Hīnayāna from Mahāyāna. Bodhisattvas, having emanated from a higher state, or having risen from the imperfect state of ordinary men to that of Arhat, are fully qualified to become Buddhas. But as individual interest must be sacrificed for the common good, and as the endeavour to liberate others is nobler than the liberation of one's own self, these Bodhisattvas choose not 'to disappear like a flame freed from name and form.' They live in the midst of suffering humanity sharing their experiences as incarnations and lifting them from their lot—Karman. Karuṇā or Compassion gains supremacy over self-centred individual Mokṣa or release. The core of the entire Tibetan attitude to life, in conformity with this ideal, is Karuṇā, their spiritual leader the Dalai Lama is Karuṇā's incarnation par excellence. He dominates by the power of love through the conquest of the heart. The next important incarnation is Panchen Lama representing Ḥod-dpag-med or Amitābha—Infinite Light—the Dhyāni-Buddha of the existing kalpa. Apart from these two Grand Lamas, there are numerous incarnate Lamas called Tulkus. They are believed to be incarnations of accomplished Indian, Tibetan or Mongolian saints. The term Hutuktu represents a rank. It does not represent a category of incarnate Lamas. A Hutuktu may or may not be an incarnate Lama. The word Lama *(Bla-ma)* means the Superior one and applies to incarnate monks, though in common parlance it has come to apply to even ordinary ones. Almost every family contributes one Lama to the order of monks. This Lama grows in the spiritual tradition from childhood passing his grades of Dge-tshul and Dge-loṅ. The laity is only entitled to the title Ge-nyen (Dge-bsñcu). Some of the monks become Khenpos or Abhots of monasteries depending upon the state of their spiritual development and inclination to lead an ideal life.

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Different Sects of Tibetan Buddhism

There are five major sects or orders of Tibetan Buddhism :

(1) Nyingmapa (Sñiṅ-ma-pa)
(2) Sakyapa (Sa-skya-pa)
(3) Kargyutpa (Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa)
(4) Kadampa (Bkaḥ-gdams-pa), and
(5) Gelukpa (Dge-lugs-pa).

Sñiṅ-ma-pa means the ancient order. Its founder was the Indian saint Padmasambhava who came to Tibet in the reign of Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan in the second half of the 8th century. The Nyingmapas are popularly known as red hat sect by virtue of the colour of the cap they wear. A master Tantrist, Padmasambhava (Tibetan—*Padma-ḥbyuṅ-gnas,* pronounced as Pema-jhungne) introduced *rdzogs-chen*, the road to perfection through Ādi-yoga, whereby the Siddha sees Light through Yogic practices and acquires Yogic powers in the process. The most famous Nyingṁa monastery is Samye (Bsam-yas).

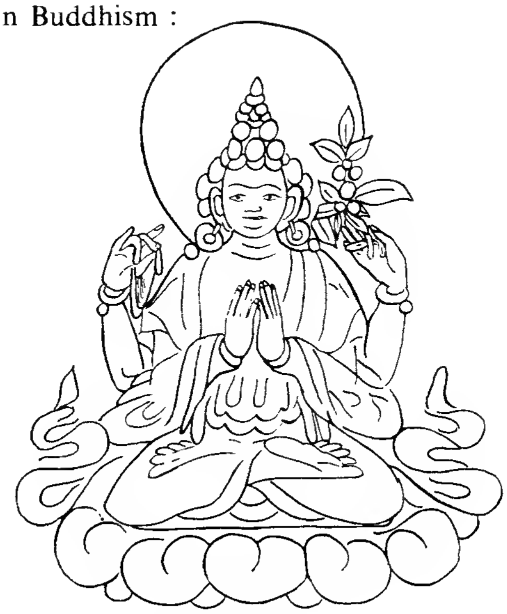

FIG. 2 *Padmapāni (Tibetan Chenusi) The peculiar protector of Tibet.*

Sakyapas, the followers of the second important sect of Tibet, are little different from Nyingmapas. They are associated with the Sa-skya monastery in Tsang province in Western Tibet. The word *Sa-skya* means *Pāṇḍu-bhūmi*, grey earth, which is the colour of the soil where the monastery is located.

Kargyutpa is the third great monastic order. It was founded in the 11th century by the Tibetan saint Marpa on the basis of the teachings of his Indian Guru Naropa. The greatest emphasis of this sect is on mystical Vajrayāna and its greatest mystic saint is Mila-ras-pa. The first saint in Kargyutpa's apostolic succession is Tilopa, an Indian sage of the 10th century, who propounded the Mahāmudrā philosophy known in Tibet as *phyag-chen,* the Great Symbol. Tilopa is believed to have received his doctrine direct from Rdorje-ḥchaṅg (Ādi-Buddha Vajradhara), and this esoteric tradition was orally transmitted in succession from Tilopa to Mila-ras-pa through Naropa and Marpa. Mila-ras-pa is the most celebrated of the poet-saints of Tibet and his life sketch and philosophy have been rendered eternal in the Jhe-tsun-ka-bum *(Rje-btsun bkaḥ-ḥbum).*

Kadampas constitute the fourth important sect of Tibetan Buddhism. Its founder was Atīśa, a scholar of philosophy from the Vikramaśīlā Monastery of India who arrived in Tibet in 1038 A.D. His was the first major effort to reform Tibetan Buddhism. He lived for 13 years in Tibet and breathed his last there. Kadampa means to give precept. Atīśa emphasised virtuous living in accordance with Buddhists of Tibet from the undesirable accretions of centuries to the essence of Mahāyāna Buddhism. His attempt at reform was followed up with much greater vigour and effect by Tsongkhapa three centuries later. Tsongkhapa who lived from 1348 to 1419 recognised monastic celebacy as the only form of religious life. He laid the foundation of the Geluk sect, the most important and powerful monastic order of Tibet, known as the Yellow Hat sect after the colour of the hat its followers wear. Tsongkhapa placed the greatest accent on the purity of mind and purging of consciousness of all evil thought.

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Geluk Monasteries and Lama Tradition

On the outskirts of Lhasa there are three very famous monasteries of Tibet. They are DGaḥ-ldan, Ḥbras-spuṅs, and Se-ra. All three belong to the Geluk sect. The DGaḥ-ldan monastery was established by Tsongkhapa himself and the other two by his immediate desciples. At Shigatse to the south-west of Lhasa there is another well-known Geluk monastery called Bkra-śis-lhun-po which is the traditional seat of the Panchen Lama. Lama Gendun-dubpa who built Bkra-śis-lhun-po was actually the abbot of ḤBras-spuṅs monastery. He was the first Gyal-wa-rimpoche, the precious Victor which is the traditional title of the Dalai Lama. The word Dalai Lama is a Mongol word. It is the Mongol translation of the Tibetan word *rgya-mtsho*, which means 'ocean'. The third Gyal-wa-rimpoche was Sonam-gyatsho. He was invited by Altai Khan, the Mongol Emperor, in 1577 and was called Dalai Lama by the latter. Subsequently, all his preceding and succeeding incarnations were called Dalai Lama. From 1391, the unbroken tradition of this institution of the Dalai Lama—from Gendun-dubpa to the present, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama—is a very notable feature of the history and culture of Tibet. Even the 'system' of reincarnation, originally Indian, and familar to the Tibetans since the advent of Buddhism in Tibet, came into popular vogue in their country only from the time of Gendun-dubpa. This system of heredity does not automatically pass the title from father to son but is based on a very discreet process of selection of the true reincarnation of the deceased Rimpoche or Tulku. The process of selection is so rigorous that it might take years before the 'right' choice is made and the reincarnation may be found thousands of miles away from the place where the previous incarnation departed from his body. The basis of this belief and practice is the old Indian philosophy of rebirth, which does not see death as an end, but as an occasion for the soul to assume a new cloak after the previous one no more remains fit to serve it.

वासांसि जीर्णानि यथा विहाय
नवानि गृह्णाति नरोऽपराणि ।
तथा शरीराणि विहाय जीर्णानि
अन्यानि संयाति नवानि देही ॥भगवद्गीता॥

Painting in Monasteries

Monasteries are sprinkled throughout the length and breadth of the country as cradles of Tibetan culture. The atmosphere inside them is darkish which immediately transports the visitor into a realm of inner depth and makes him look within for *ātma-paryavekṣaṇa*, self-scrutiny. The presiding divinity installed in the shrine at the back of the prayer hall dominates the cosmos around, of which the temple is the very symbol and the devotee a part. The images in the temples and monasteries fall into various categories of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Tārās, Ḍākinīs, Yidams, Dharmapālas, historical personages and non-human types, etc. The images may be of gold, silver, copper, bronze, stone, wood or clay. The benign images wear what is known as Bodhisattva garments such as five-leafed crowns, ear rings, necklaces, armlets, bracelets, wristlets, anklets, scarves, shawls, and garlands to the navels and sometimes to the thighs. The fierce images or angry ones will have Dharmapāla garments consisting of five skull crowns, necklaces, often of snakes, garlands and belts of skulls. They are often draped in tiger or elephant skins. Sometimes you find them wearing aprons of human bones carved with deities and symbols. Some images have only monastic garments, distinct from the above two princely categories of Bodhisattva and Dharmapāla garments. Mānuṣi-Buddhas, for example, are shown in monastic garments, wearing a shawl draped on the shoulders, with a peaked cap most often but no princely paraphernalia. Some of the figures are nude e.g., those of

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Kun-tu-bzaṅ-po (Ādi-Buddha Samantabhadra). The divinities may have a Tantric or a non-tantric form, according to the number of heads and arms they have. These with one head and two arms are non-Tantric. Some Yabyum figures always show the divinity with his śakti, his energy to create, sustain and destroy the universe. Whereas the majority of images radiate spiritual calm and serenity, some have an utterly demonic aspect reminiscent of the Bon cult. The non-Tantric forms carry with them non-Tantric symbols such as the rosary, the book, the lotus, and the jewel. The Tantric divinities on the other hand will have such symbols as the skull cup, skull drum, chopper, axe, elephant, goat and the skeleton wand. Padmasambhava generally carries a khaṭvāṅga with him—it is a ritual wand with the thunderbolt top and a skull, two heads and a trident above. Spyan-ras-gzigs, i.e., Avalokiteśvara, has 108 forms, Tantric and non-Tantric.

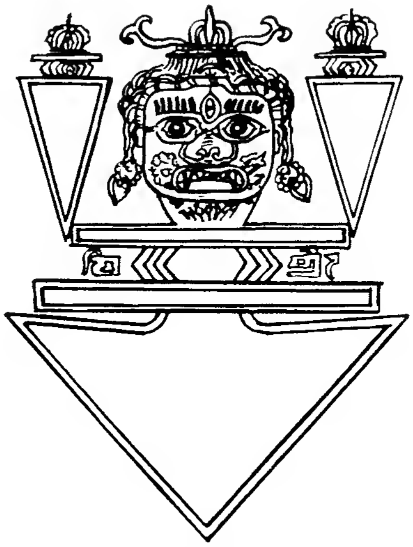

FIG 3 *The Face of Tam Din and Charms directed against evil spirits*

Whereas the images, serene of fierce, give depth to the atmosphere in Tibetan monasteries and temples, the paintings lend colour to it. The colours on these paintings are always lustrous and bright. They are made of vegetables and flowers, and last for centuries. The wall frescoes are as colourful as the 'thaṅkas' are. The thaṅkas—scrolls painted either on silk or on thick paper—are rendered more attractive by the embroidery around them. Tibetan paintings have a huge variety of themes. Scenes from the life of the Buddha taken from the Jātakas are reminiscent of Ajanta paintings of India, though the direct inspiration to the Tibetans came not from Ajanta, but from the art of the Pāla Kings of Bengal. Other three categories of Tibetan paintings, unique in character and style, are those depicting Bhavacakra, tshogs-śiṅ and Maṇḍala. Bhavacakra is the Vortex of Existence; the Tshogs-śiṅ is the tree of divine assemblage, and the Maṇḍala is a geometrical pattern with numerous divinities and symbols set into its various sections. The hub of Bhavacakra has a cock signifying lust, a snake signifying anger and a pig signifying ignorance. There are three circles around the central circle. The first is divided into two parts, one dark, showing the way to the nether region, the other, lighted, showing the upper forms of existence. The upper semicircle has the region of the Lha or gods in the centre, *Mi* or men to left, and *Lha-ma-yin*, not-yet-gods, to the right. In contrast to this, the lower semi-circle describes the state of nyalwa, hell, in the centre, of hdhud-ḥgro or animals to the left, and yi-dvags, tortured spirits, to the right. The outermost circle, demonstrates the Pratītya-samutpāda, rten-hbrel, the chain of 12 independent causes leading to the cycle of births and deaths mentioned earlier. (See colour Plate IV).

Monastic Libraries

Apart from these beautiful and sublime paintings and images each Tibetan monastery has a set of sacred Tibetan scriptures known as Kanjur and Tanjur often encased in neat glass almirahs. *Ka* means the word of command. Kanjur contains 100 volumes (in another edition 108) incorporating what is believed to be the original words of the Buddha. 225 volumes of Tanjur on the other hand, are mainly commentaries on the original. All of them are on hand-

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made paper with printing done on them with incised wooden blocks. Sanskrit works have been translated into Tibetan by a very successful and scientific method employing two experts, one of each language. The translations are so perfect that if one translates them back, the original is restored almost in its entirety. It is probably true that Mahāyāna literature was properly catalogued and preserved for the first time in the Tibetan language. It is also true that many works no more extant in their original Sanskrit form are available only in the Tibetan language.

Monasteries were Rather Architectural Norms

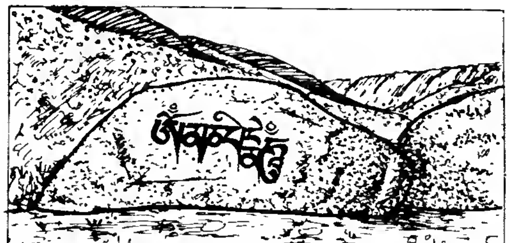
All these monasteries, temples and Chortens *(mchod-rten)* are extremely fine examples of Tibetan architecture. Potala and Norbulingka, the two palaces of the Dalai Lama are said to represent the pinnacle of Tibet's architectural glory. Jo-khang temple, the central Cathedral of Lhasa, the Ganden, Sera, Depung and Samye monasteries, all in its vicinity, make the city of Lhasa a temple of architecture. Apart from architecture, sculpture and painting, Tibet is very rich in other fine arts such as music, dance, drama and poetry. The sixth Dalai Lama was Tibet's greatest poet of romantic lore. The Tibetan culture combines with extraordinary success a mystique tradition of rigorous religious life with the charm and mirth of social living. The Tibetan way is truly the Middle Way, the Majjhima Path, prescribed by the Blessed One 2500 years ago, the path which avoids both extremes : of the mortification of the flesh and of exessive indulgence in its pleasures. So says the Mahāvagga :

"By avoiding these two extremes, O! monks, the Tathāgata has gained the knowledge of the Middle Path, which leads to insight which leads to wisdom, which conduces to calm, to knowledge, to Sambodhi."

Tibet was the Spirit of India

The culture of Tibet, above everything else, is a glowing example of how the stream of Indian consciousness crossed the Himalayan frontiers and flowed into far-off lands, transforming them body, mind and soul into an eternity of Love, Peace and Compassion through a community of ideals and institutions.

Like Oṁ Maṇi Padme Hūṃ, like the jewel in the lotus, let us hope, these ideals would inspire mankind into a life of virtue, devotion and sacrifice and save it from total dissolution born of human imperfections. Let the grandeur of man's material advance be matched by the glory of spiritual heights so that we may really be treading on the Middle Path.



OṀ MAṆI PADME HŪṂ

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Influence of Indian Philosophy on Mongolian Shamanism

ACAD. RINCHEN

Introduction

SHAMANISM, THE MOST ancient religion of the Mongols, is ancestor-worship. During a thousand years of its existence, Mongolian Shamanism had created a very rich mythology, a really copious Shamanist lore and an ethic founded on the base of an original system of its natural philosophy which combined myths and lore in right order. And that philosophy directed all the conscious activities of the Mongols of the past, so that by getting acquainted with the Mongolian Shamanist ethic and philosophy we can understand and explain more precisely facts of the fascinating history of the Mongols than those who try to make it out without attention to the mental habit of the ancient people.

We can indicate hundreds of cases when the incomprehension of even a single word of the Mongolian texts led to absolutely faulty conclusions. For example, the Soviet academician Mr. Sergei Kosino, the translator and annotator of the text of the *Secret History* of the Mongols, has understood the word *domuγ* alone in the sense of a legend, of a true history of the past, of an accomplished fact and translated the expression *'eme minu domuγ či'* of the reply of the mortal adversary of Genghis Khan to his victorious rival as *'ukazyvat' žene byla masterica* "my wife is versed in the art of recounting old histories"[1] and from his comprehension of the word *domuγ* makes a very important conclusion : *itak Tjamukha sam konečno, a ne žena tol'ko yego-byl "skazitelem bylei," i.e., poklonnikem feodal'noi stariny i ubezdennym, sledovatel'no, protivnikom novogo dela Čingisa Kotoryĭ imenno etoĭ samoĭ "starine" obyavil bespoščadnyu voinu do konca,*[1] thus even Jamukha himself and not merely his wife "passed in the art of recounting old histories", that is to say that he was a worshipper of feudal antiquity and yet the adversary convinced of the new affair of Genghis who proclaimed particularly at that 'antiquity' a merciless war till the end." But the noun *domuγ či*, the erroneous comprehension of which led Mr. Kosin to a faulty conclusion, serves to characterise an ambitious person and Jamukha only said that it was his wife, under the influence of whose ambition he made himself the adversary of Genghis, his good friend of youth.

Shamanistic Ethics and Philosophy

The understanding of Shamanist ethic and philosophy permits us, for example, to understand and interpret the manner of execution of the Russian prisoners after the battle of 31st May 1223 at Kalka.

The Russian chronicles of the thirteenth century mention that the Mongol bearers of

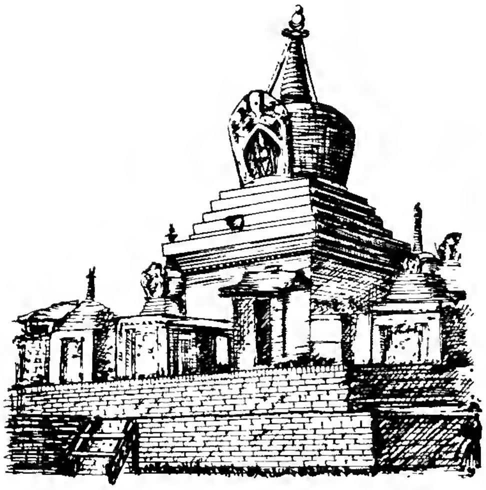

FIG. 1 *Gandantehchinling Monastery. The golden stūpa was erected by holy Balganshadavdorj in mid 18th century*

flags of truce were killed and that cruel act led to battle on the bank of the river Kalka, after which the Russian prisoners of war were crushed by the Mongols who threw them on the ground and during the banquet sat on planks placed over the unfortunate ones. We can account for the cruel act of the conquerors: they had found out after the battle, among the prisoners those who had given the order of killing the flag-bearers who are inviolable according to the Mongol custom. They sentenced them to death, for according to the Mongol conception they had committed a triple crime : in seizing the flag-bearers they had outraged the dignity of the entire nation ; in killing them they had strapped (lashed) spirits of ancestors of the massacred flag-bearers and violated the right of immunity of envoys.

But, among the numerous prisoners these selected guilty persons were all of noble birth or of military dignity. And the Mongol customs as also their Shamanistic beliefs prohibited them from shedding the blood of noblemen and dignitaries outside the combat. Mongolian judges in sentencing to death these military criminals of the vanquished enemy had decided to pay honour to the noble origin of the culprits without spilling their blood. And it was also incumbent to avenge the outrage of the nation and ancestor-spirits of the staked flag-bearers. And they considered it fitting to crush the criminals by the weight of the Mongol noblemen during the feast after the victory. Outrage for outrage : the hostile warriors under heels of the conqueror, and honourable death without the bloodshed of the condemned.

In an age when the Westerners exercised their brains over various means of tormenting the victims of their "justice" and invented instruments of severe corporal punishment and outrageous tortures to extort confession and for causing the death of human beings in a manner most dreadful in the eyes of the spectators and most painful for the martyrs, when torments of the wheel or at the quartering unknown to the Mongols were to the west a distraction of every day, the execution of the military criminals at Kalka was not more barbarous than those in the Christian west and from the point of view of the Shamanist ethic rendered justice without dishonouring the noble origin of the criminals who should not be outraged by bloodshed.

And that Shamanist ethic and the philosophy of Shamanism directing spirits of the people of State, Chiki Khutuk, the Mongolian judge of the thirteenth century, did not accept methods to extract confessions and institute false trials so sadly known during our own days, when the posthumous

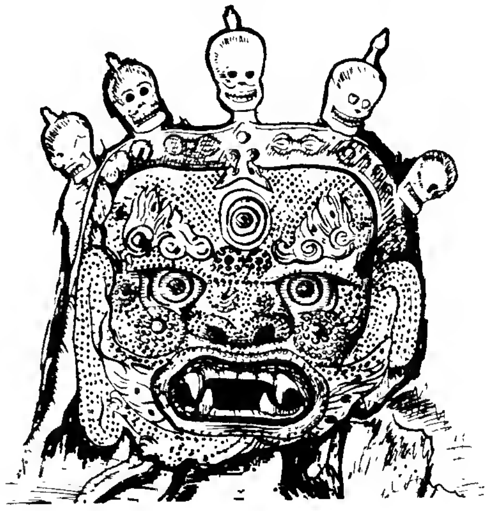

FIG. 2 *Mask of Mahākāla.*

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rehabilitation ceased almost to shock human beings.

In the thirteenth century Mongolian Shamanism was not a primitive religion of a primitive, barbarous and illiterate people. It had a harmonious system of its conception of the world and in course of centuries it accepted also ideas of other religious systems and philosophies of the East, as, for example, Buddhism and Christianity.

The real philosophy of Mongolian Shamanism is not yet studied by scholars and we have only some articles on Shamanist rites. Well, materials concerning Buriat Shamanism have been collected by Buriat ethnographers and folklorists Khangalov, Baldayev and others. The work of the Mongolian Buriat scholar Dorje Banzarov 'Shamanism or the black religion of Mongols' published in Russian[2] represents up to this day unique research on Shamanism and presents a general idea of that ancient religion of the Mongols. The author of these lines has the intention of writing a book on the real philosophy of Mongolian Shamanism based on the materials which he has collected over more than forty years.

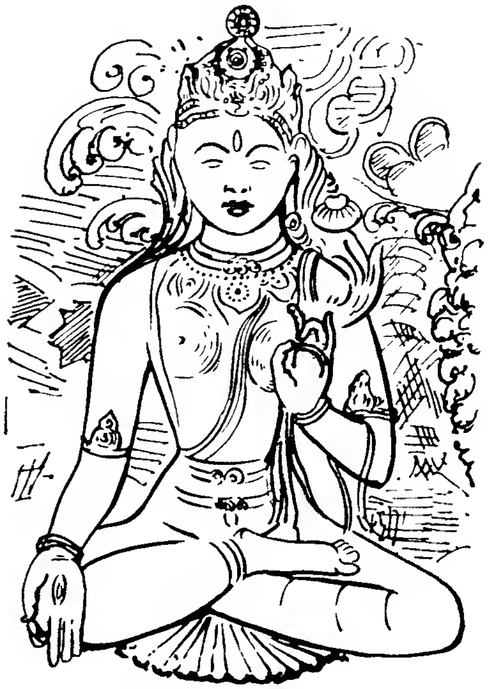

FIG. 3 *Avalokiteśvara*

It is impossible to touch here all the problems of Mongolian Shamanist philosophy in a small article and I only desire to mention the influence of the Indian spiritual culture over Mongolian Shamanism.

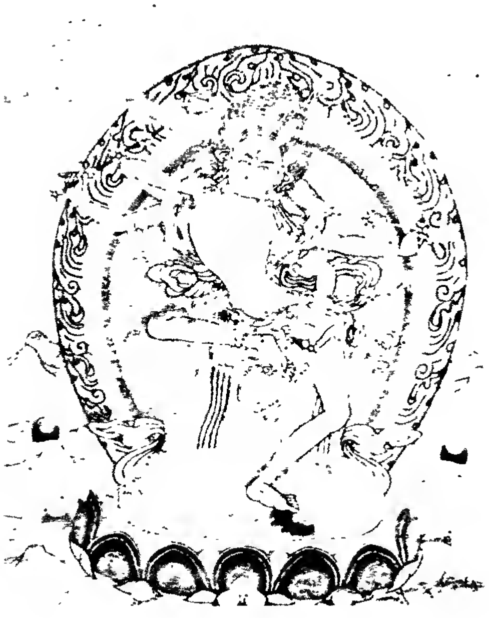

FIG. 4 *Representation of Siva*

Hindu Influence on Shamanism

The decipherment of books in the Kitan writing, a people of Mongolian origin, in the future will enable us to be acquainted with Buddhist literature, translated in the language of ancestors of the contemporary Mongols and to solve several problems of the cultural heritage of the Mongols. In the Shamanist texts, oral or written, we find logical objects in Sanskrit, the classical language of the Indians. Some of these borrowings are ancient enough and we find them in epic songs and in Shamanist hymns. Sanskrit names e.g. Sumeru, are widely prevalent in the Mongols and the Mongolian typonymy. There are hills bearing that glorious name of the king of mountains of the Mongolian mythology : Sümbür in the province of Kubsugul, Batu Sümbür in the environs of Ulanbator, etc.

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According to old Shamanist beliefs, meteorites are explained as the fall of stones from the mountain Sumeru. At the commencement of our century a meteorite fell at the foot of Mt. Čidür Önggetü in the territory under the banner of prince Mergen vang and burnt the ground within an area of a nomadic encampment. It is said that during several nights herds of horses, frightened by the strange odour of the burnt ground, avoided the spot of the fall of the meteorite and the local population explained this phenomenon as the fall of a stone from Mt. Sumeru which frightened the herds.

Influence of Hindu Mythology

Through the instrumentality of the Mongols some names of mythological beings, borrowed from Sanskrit, penetrated the language of Turkish peoples of Siberia like Tuva, Yakuts, etc. In the epic songs of northern Buriats of the region of Irkutsk, which are of Mongolian origin, the Sanskrit name *Garuḍa* is recognized under the form of *Kherêdei* or *Khan Keredei*—the king (of birds) Kherêdei, which shows us the popular etymology deriving that word from the name of raven in the Buriat language *kherê*. And under that form *Kherêdei* it has penetrated the folklore of Yakuts, who are the Turk neighbours of Buriats in Siberia. Among the Mongols the name Garuḍa is often used like a masculine proper name : *Garudi, Temur Garudi* 'Garuda of iron', *Olfei Garudi* 'Garudi of good fortune', etc. (See Plate 43).

In popular belief, the Shamanist spirit of the sacred mountain Bogdo Khan oula to the south of the Mongolian capital Ulanbator is personified in the guise of a gigantic Garuda and the ancient armory of the town of Ulanbator represented a Garuḍa with outstretched wings.

In the Shamanist hymns of the 14th–17th centuries we find names of several Indian deities, such as *Bisnu* (Viṣṇu), *Bisman tngri* (Vaiśravaṇa deva), *Esrua* (Brahma), etc. (Plates 40–42).

Hindu Concept of Avatāravāda

The Indian idea of the incarnation of deities also penetrated Mongolian Shamanism. In an old Shamanist prayer of the imperial family Borjigin the youngest son of Genghis Khan, the great lord Tului, is called an incarnation of Samantabhadra and the wise consort of the Emperor Kublai is termed an incarnation of Boddhisattva Tārā in the same prayer in verse.

Buddhist Influence on Shamanism

The idea of metempsychosis also penetrated the more advanced and later Mongolian Shamanism undoubtedly under the influence of Buddhism. It is believed up to the present day that a sign made by black or red ink over a part of the body of the deceased would appear on a newborn of his kith and kin at the same place in the form of a beauty-spot. This belief exists even among the northern Buriats of the region of Irkutsk where the influence of Buddhism was never as great as in Mongolia.

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Hinduism in Ceylon

V.C. SRIVASTAVA

Introduction

ONE OF THE myths of history is the theory of 'isolationist growth of culture' in ancient times. The myth has been exploded by definite evidences of cultural contacts among different countries of the ancient world. India had close commercial and cultural contacts with the outside world, particularly with Ceylon, countries of South-east Asia, China and Japan in the East and Central Asia; and the Persian and the Roman worlds in the West. Hindu India[1] was the focal point from which radiated beams of culture throughout the ancient world. Ceylon had been one of the beneficiaries of this cultural unfoldment. Ceylon, culturally as well as politically, had never been an island of isolation. She had intimate and lasting contacts with India throughout her history. It is no exaggeration to say that Hindu India had been the greatest contributor to the evolution of the Ceylonese culture and society. The Indian tradition of art, literature and religion had fructifying influence upon Ceylonese art, literature and religion respectively. The social and political institutions of Ceylon also derived their inspiration from those of Hindu India. The expansion of Indian culture to Ceylon and other countries was made possible by the efforts of the Indian missions and missionaries abroad who were the torch-bearers of all that was good and noble in the land of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa; Buddha, Mahāvīra, Paramahaṃsa, Vivekānanda, Tilak and Aravinda and many other jewels of India whose names adorn the pages of Indian history.[2]

Rāma Episode and Ceylon

The history of contacts between India and Ceylon is probably as old as the history of mankind itself because there is a marked similarity between the cultures of prehistoric Ceylon and those of south India as is revealed by the excavations in the Teri sites of Tirunelvelli. The episode of Rāma's expedition to Laṅkā and consequent defeat of Rāvaṇa may be taken to contain a kernel of historical truth. There are many places in Ceylon which are intimately associated with this episode. Moreover, Rāma-Sītā episode is very popular in the cultural and social life of Ceylon. On these grounds[3] the identity of Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā with Ceylon has been propounded. If there is an historical background behind this episode, there should not be two opinions regarding the cultural lesson of this event. It demonstrates the introduction of the elements of Āryan culture in Ceylon which was then inhabited by the aboriginal tribes such as Nāgas and Yakkhas. According to the Rajavaliya[4] the date of this epoch-making event is fixed in 1301 B.C. but it is difficult to agree as this chronicle is of a late date.

It is quite probable that the indigenous culture of India might have been introduced into Ceylon before Rāma as Rāvaṇa is said to be a devotee of Lord Śiva.

Vijaya's Immigration a Landmark in the Spread of Hinduism

The coming of Vijaya in 543 B.C. (or 483 B.C.)[5] from India to Ceylon marks another important landmark in the history of India's contact with Ceylon. The Mahāvaṃsa[6] contains references to this event. The Ajanta murals[7] of India also bear witness to it. This may rightly be taken as the first planned settlement of the Indians in Ceylon. It appears that both[8] the Dravidian and the Āryan streams are mingled in Vijaya's immigration to Ceylon as he is connected with two opposite regions—Orissa and Bengal in the east showing probably the Dravidian elements and Lāṭa (Kathiawar) in the west disclosing probably the Āryan elements. Since there are evidences[9] for the prevalence of the Hindu religion before the reign of Devānāmpiya Tissa (247 B.C.–207 B.C.) it may be presumed that Vijaya's immigration coupled with a few sporadic colonizations resulted in the introduction of the elements of Hindu culture in Ceylon such as the worship of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Skanda and Gaṇeśa.

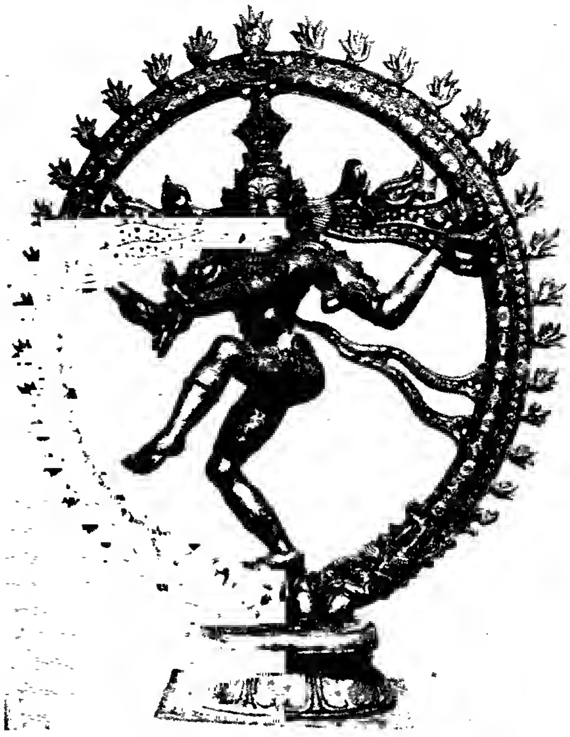

FIG 1 *Bronze statue of Natarāja, Colombo Museum.*

Aśoka's Missionaries Converted Ceylon to Buddhism

Aśoka has been a great internationalist. It was during his reign that a number of missions and missionaries were sent to different parts of the civilized world. Ceylon in Devānāmpiya Tissa's reign (247 B.C.–207 B.C.) also received the mission of goodwill whose leader was Mahendra. He was later on joined by Saṅghamitrā.[10] This mission had a phenomenal success in the sense that it was successful in the conversion of Ceylon to Buddhism. This event had far-reaching consequences as every aspect of Ceylonese culture which came to be dominated by Buddhism. Therefore, Buddhism is regarded as one of the germinal facts in the cultural history of Ceylon.

Influence of Gupta Culture on Ceylonese Art

The Gupta period of India witnessed remarkable growth of Indian culture outside India. Ceylon continued to have intimate relations with India during this period. Buddha-ghoṣa,[11] the famous Buddhist monk of India visited Ceylon during the reign of Mahānāma (401–431 A.D.). It was during this period that the tooth relic of Buddha was brought from India to Ceylon. It is therefore quite evident that the Gupta culture deeply influenced the art and culture of Ceylon.

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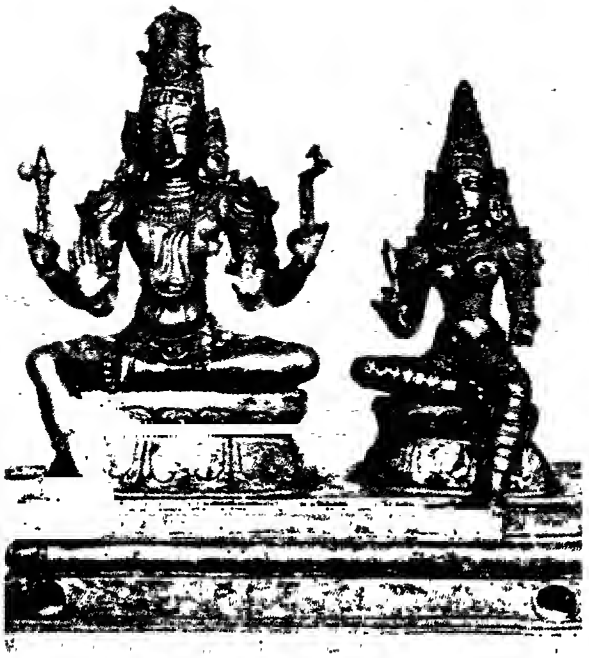

FIG. 2 *Bronze statue of Śiva-Pārvatī, Colombo Museum*

Post-Gupta Brahmanism

After the collapse of the Gupta empire, the relations of Ceylon with India came to be confined to the south India. The Tamil Hindus had regular contacts with Ceylon : sometimes friendly, sometimes hostile but Tamil element[12] has always been an important factor in the social and cultural life of Ceylon. From the 7th century A.D. to the 16th century A.D. three empires of south India—the Pallava, the Chola, including the Pāṇḍya and the Vijayanagara empire—maintained close contacts with Ceylon and exercised influence over her art, culture and religion. Thus India and Ceylon have been in intimate touch with each other throughout their history. It is quite natural that Ceylonese culture contains many elements of Hindu Culture.

Śaivism in Ceylon

Buddhism, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism are three major faiths of Ceylon at present[13] and they have held this position from the beginning of history. The indigenous religious life of Ceylon centred round the worship of folk-gods of the Nāgas and the Yakṣas but soon after Vijaya's immigration to Ceylon Hinduism made its entry into Ceylon. Śiva-worship may have been prevalent in Ceylon even before this incident. Śiva appears to have been an important god of Ceylon because many shrines and temples of Ceylon are dedicated to Śiva and Śaiva deities, such as those at Follonaruva and other places.[14] A large number of Śiva images has also come to light from Trincommallee.[15] Śiva was worshipped as the highest deity of Hindu pantheon in Ceylon. Adam Peak or Śrīpāda has been associated by the followers of the Hindu religion in Ceylon with Śaivism. Like the Indian Śiva he has a family consisting of his consort Pārvatī and sons Gaṇeśa and Skanda. The Tamils at present in Ceylon are orthodox followers of Śiva whom they worship as the Supreme deity and the Ultimate Reality.

Viṣṇu the Protector of the Buddha's Faith

Viṣṇu, the god of the Ṛgveda and the Purāṇas, is the protector god of Ceylon. Viṣṇu figures in many legends of Ceylon and like the Indian Viṣṇu is famous for the measuring of the universe by means of his three strides.[16] The ten incarnations of Viṣṇu are also mentioned in Ceylonese legends. It appears that the popularity of the Viṣṇu cult was at the cost of local indigenous cults of Ceylon because the Satara-Devala-Devipuvata narrates that Viṣṇu came to Ceylon and overcame the Yakkhas. He came to be intimately associated with Buddha in India as well as in Ceylon. According to Ceylonese traditions Viṣṇu is the protector of the faith of Buddha who appointed him a guardian of the religion and put him in-charge of Ceylon. Viṣṇu supported Buddha in latter's struggle against Māra. He has also been invoked as Nārāyaṇa and holds Rāma's arrow and the golden bow in the right hand. Like the Indian Viṣṇu he figures prominently in Siṃhalese weddings where he is invoked for divine blessings. The

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popularity of the Viṣṇu cult can be realised from the discovery of many Viṣṇu images from different parts of Ceylon.

Popularity of Skanda-Worship

Skanda worship was an important ingredient of the religious life of Ceylon and is still a factor to be counted with. The antiquity of Skanda worship in Ceylon goes back to a very early time because it is said[17] that the Ceylonese king Dutugemmunu in the first century B.C. rebuilt the shrines of Katāragāma offering it to God Skanda. Katāragāma has been the centre of Skanda worship and is still an important place of pilgrimage especially to Hindus. The importance of this cult can be realised from the fact that almost in every Buddhist temple there is a separate shrine of the God of Katāragāma. Moreover, Skanda has an important place in the Kandy Peraheras. He is the foremost of the gods of the Jaffna Peninsula. He is the God of War sometimes called Subrahmaṇya. It appears that south India had been the source of inspiration in this respect where the worship of Subrahmaṇya or Skanda or Kārttikeya had been quite popular.

Śāstā worshipped as the Village Deity Aiyanar

Aiyanar is the village god of Ceylon. He is a forest deity who is responsible for protection to travellers. Probably he is identical with Harihara-putra, son of Viṣṇu, in his disguise as Mohinī, and the God Śiva of the Hindu legends. Horse and elephant are the *Vāhanas* of Aiyanar and are installed in his temples such as at Madampai. His Indian origin is quite evident when it is said[18] that he came from Madura in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom to Ceylon in the time of King Bhuvanaikabāhu. According to the Vanni Puvath, he is the principal god of the Vanni region of Ceylon.

The Cult of Pattinī

The cult of Pattinī shows a common link between Ceylon and India. It appears that the cult of Pattini was introduced into Ceylon in the second century A.D. by King Gajabāhu (174–196 A.D.). It is said that king Gajabāhu was present along with other kings at the consecration of the first Pattinī temple by Senguttuvan, the Chera king of south India. The Goddess Pattinī figures quite prominently in the legends and rituals of Ceylon. A large number of images of Pattinī has come to light from different quarters of Ceylon. In many Buddhist temples shrines of Pattinī are found. One of the Devalas of Kandy belongs to the goddess Pattinī. She figures in the grand annual Kandy Peraherah. She is worshipped in her more familiar Tamil name Kannaki Amman in eastern provinces of Ceylon.

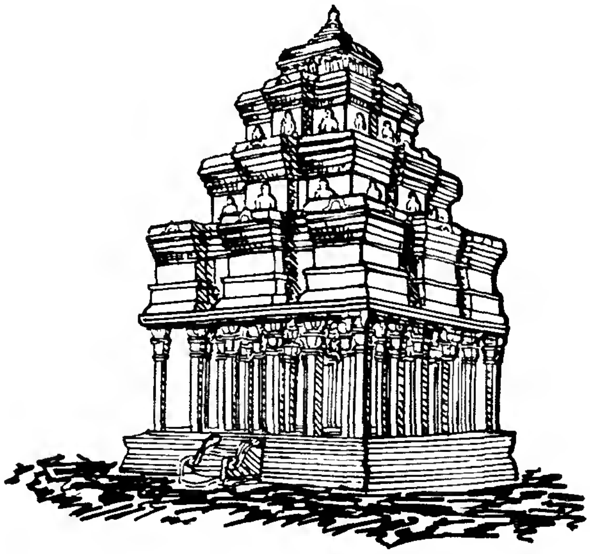

FIG. 3 *Conjectural supestructure of wood, brick and plaster over Stone-pillars in Ceylon*

Buddhism The Greatest Link

It has rightly been said that the greatest of

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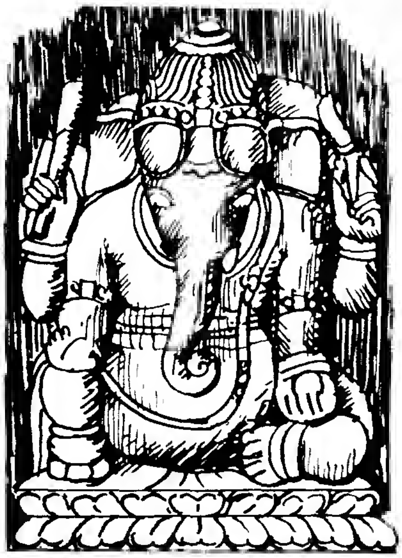

FIG 4 *Ganeśa*

all links between India and Ceylon is Buddhism. It was during the reign period of Devānāmpiya Tissa[20] (247 B.C.–207 B.C.) that Buddhism was introduced in Ceylon by Aśoka's missionaries Mahendra and Saṅghamitrā who were responsible for the conversion of the people of Ceylon to Buddhism. It was a happy idea of Aśoka to have sent a branch of the Bodhi Tree to Ceylon. The second event of importance in this connection was the bringing of Buddha's tooth relic by Princess Hamamali, daughter of the King of Kalinga, in 362 A.D. during the reign of King Kiti Sri Mevan of Ceylon. Before that Duthgamini (101–77 B.C.) was responsible for the erection of the great Stūpa whose details are given in the *Mahāvaṃsa.*

Great Buddhist Scholars

Vattagamini (29 B.C.–17 B.C.) did a singular service to Buddhism by his efforts of putting into writing the sacred scriptures of Buddhism as the Pāli Tripiṭaka. Theravāda Buddhism had thus a strong footing in Ceylon which it has continued to hold throughout its history though Mahāyāna was also introduced during the reign of King Mahāsena of Ceylon (334–362 A.D.) by Saṅghamitta of the Chola country.

Buddhaghoṣa, the great commentator of Theravāda Scriptures, also visited Ceylon in the 5th century A.D. and composed the great work *Visuddhimagga.* Buddhadatta Thera, a contemporary of Buddhaghoṣa, also visited Ceylon; Dharmakīrti (13th century A.D.) of the Pāṇḍyan country also went to Ceylon and helped the cause of Buddhism and wrote the *Cullavaṃsa,* the supplement to *Mahāvaṃsa.* Dhātusena is credited with the building of the famous Buddhist monastery known as Abhayagiri.[21]

A large number of images of Buddhist deities has been found from Ceylon and most of the buildings are Buddhist. The Kandy Perahera also contains Buddhist ceremonies connected with the tooth relic. Poson festival of Ceylon celebrates the coming of Mahendra to Ceylon. Similarly, the Saṅghamitrā day celebrates the advent of Saṅghamitrā. Buddhism had been the greatest force in the evolution of Ceylonese art, literature and culture.

Syncretism in Religious Life

An important feature of the religious life of Ceylon has been the spirit of mutual co-existence and syncretism as is evident from the relationship of Buddha-Viṣṇu and also from the fact that the Buddhist temples contain Hindu shrines.

Ceylonese Script and Language evince Indian Impact

Siṁhalese language and literature are deeply influenced by the literary tradition of India. The Siṁhala language is one of the Indo-Āryan groups of languages of the same family as Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali and Hindi. No doubt Sanskrit and Pāli have contributed much to the development of literary Siṁhala language. Besides this Āryan element, there is a Dravidian element in the composition of the Siṁhalese language. The tribal languages of Ceylon have also a hand in the enrichment of vocabulary of the Siṁhalese language.[22]

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The sacred texts of Buddhism are in Pāli and not in Siṁhalese. It is well known that Pāli developed from a North Indian dialect termed as Māgadhī. The early inscriptions of Ceylon are in Brāhmī script which is similar to that of south India more particularly the Pallava script. To illustrate this point, the script of Tiriyāyi inscription is similar to the Grantha script of south India. It may however be noted that the Grantha characters have been adopted to write Sanskrit in the south India.

The Aṭṭhakathās, i.e., commentaries on the Buddhist canonical texts, are representative of the earliest Siṁhalese literature. They may have been written in the early centuries of the Christian era. They, along with ballads, legends and ancient lores, must have been the basis of the *Dīpavaṃsa* in Pali. The other chronicle *Mahāvaṃsa* is in two parts written respectively by Thera Mahānāma in the 5th century A.D. and Dharmakīrti in the 13th century A.D. Buddhaghoṣa is one of the greatest Pāli authors who wrote commentaries on the Nikāyas of Theravāda and *Viśuddhimagga*, a compendium of Theravāda Buddhism. In all these Pali works the influence of the literary traditions of India may be clearly seen. King Kumāradāsa (513 A.D.) is famous for his Sanskrit work *Jānakīharaṇa*. It appears that he was influenced by Kālidāsa[13], the king of Sanskrit poets in India. The Sandeśa Kāvyas of later times also owe their inspiration to the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa.

Hindu India bears Imprint on Ceylonese Art and Architecture

The Ceylonese art owes a great debt to Hindu India. Ceylonese architecture, sculpture, painting, dance, drama and music were inspired by the traditions of ancient India. Though the borrowings from India are immense, yet the local genius of Ceylon had also contributed its share in the evolution of art. Sometimes the borrowed style and techniques have been so elaborately developed that they look like independent growths such as in the case of 'Moon-stone' and the decorative patterns in architecture. They are of Amarāvatī origin yet the Ceylonese 'Moon-stones' are distinctive of the place in elaboration and development. There are two strands in the Ceylonese architecture of the past—the Siṁhalese and the Tamil. Architecture in Ceylon centres round two outstanding types of Siṁhalese architecture—firstly the 'Stūpa' type enclosed by the circular shrine known as Vattadage. Secondly, there is the type of a massive brick built shrine with a vaulted roof from the heavily moulded plinth. The period from the third century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. may be rightly taken as the period of Stūpa popularly known as 'Dāgaba' in Ceylon. Some of the famous examples of this type are Runaweli, Dāgaba Anurādhapura (Ist century B.C.); Marichavatti Dāgaba; thirdly Jetavana Dāgaba (3rd century A.D.); Abhayagiri Dāgaba and Mahānāga Dāgaba. All these follow the Indian tradition of hemispherical stūpa.[14] They along with their reliefs and decorative patterns, are reminiscent of the Buddhist art of Central India as represented in the Stūpas of Bharhut and Sanchi. According to Paranavitana[25] the second type of Ceylonese architecture had no parallel in India and was evolved in Ceylon from indigenous prototypes. The later architecture from the 4th century A.D. onwards was influenced by the south Indian tradition of art. Broadly speaking there had been four major influences from south India in the evolution

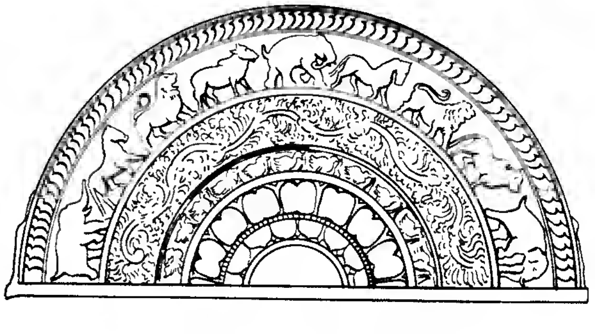

FIG 5 *Candraśilā, Anurādhapura, Ceylon.*

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FIG 6. *Bronze statue of Devī, Colombo Museum*

of architecture: the Pallavas (6th century A.D.–9th century A.D.), Early Cholas (850–1100 A.D.); Late Cholas (1100–1350 A.D.) and lastly the Vijayanagara influence (1350–1600 A.D.). Some famous examples of the Pallava oriented temples of Ceylon are the Isurmuniya Vihāra, Dambulla rock temples and Koneśvara temple at Trincomallee. They remind us of the Rathas of Mamallapuram of India. A few Hindu temples such as Śiva Deval No. 2 and No. 5 at Pollonaruva and Nalanda Gedige in Kandy are representatives of the early Chola style of architecture. The examples of late Cholas including the Pāṇḍyas are most of the Devalas of Pallonaruva. In this style Gopurams and large maṇḍapas become quite prominent such as at Chidambaram and Madura in South India. In the Vijayanagara style of architecture there are corbel decorations on the capitals of pillars. The Lankatilaka and the Gadaldeniya temples of Ceylon are representatives of this style.

Ceylonese sculpture was also deeply influenced by the Indian traditions of sculpture. The sculptures of the early period are in the tradition of Bharhut, Sanchi and Amarāvatī. The period from 5th century A.D. to the 12th century A.D. may be recorded as the richest period of Ceylonese sculpture. A few examples may be cited here to demonstrate the influence of the Gupta, Amarāvatī, Pallava and Chola sculptures. A group of a 'pair of lovers' on a granite slab at Isurmuniya Vihāra is a good example of the Śṛṅgāra motif as the Mithuna figures in the temple art of India. They remind us of the erotic sculpture of the Khajuraho temples. The harmony, serenity and the balance in the sculpture reminds us of the sculptures of the Gupta period.

Another group represents 'Man and Horse' on a rock at Isurmuniya Vihāra in the so-called Mahārāja Līlā pose which is sometimes seen in the south Indian bronzes. As pointed out by Coomaraswamy[26] it is in pure Pallava style. Similarly the group of elephants emerging from within a cleft recalls the elephant-sculptures of the Rathas of Mahābalipuram. The Moon-stones as at Anurādhapura are of definitely Amarāvatī origin though they have been developed in Ceylon and are much better than their Amarāvatī counterparts.

According to some scholars[27] the Buddha in human form materialised in Ceylon earlier than in India but as pointed out by Paranavitana,[28] Buddha image in Ceylon was a by-product of the cultural wave that Ceylon received in the times of Aśoka which later on came into contact with the more mature art of the Andhras.

Buddha Images Copied Amarāvatī Style

The early Buddha images of Ceylon are marked by their folded drapery covering only the left shoulder. It represents the Amarāvatī style of sculpture (Ist century A.D. to 3rd century A.D.). This style continued to be practised in later times as is evident from the collossal rock

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cut image of Buddha at Avukana. The sitting Toluvil Buddha of Anurādhapura is incomparable for its calm serenity and spiritualism which are the hall-marks of the Buddha images of the Gupta period. There is a close affinity between this sculpture and the seated Buddha at Sarnath in India. Among the rock-cut sculptures the best example is the Gal Vihāra group of Pollonaruva (12th century A.D.) which represents a scene of the Parinirvāṇa of Buddha.[29] There is another figure of a standing Buddha at Lanka Tilaka in the Trivanka pose. There are many bronze images in Ceylon which also follow the Indian tradition. For example the large sedent Buddha image from Buddula in *jñānamudrā* is in the best tradition of Gupta art. In the images of Tārā and Pattinī as well as the Mahāyāna deities Indian influences are clearly visible. The Śiva images in bronze have been found from Pollonaruva. They follow the Chola style or the Dravidian style. The figures of Śiva as Naṭarāja are similar to figures of Indian Naṭarāja as found in the Madras Museum.

Ceylonese Painting too Related to Amaravatī Traditions

Ceylonese painting also derived its life blood from the high traditions of Indian paintings as represented at Ajanta, Ellora and Bagh. The rock paintings at Sigiriya (5th century A.D.)[30] are related to that of Ajanta though according to Benjamin Rolland[31] they are related to the Amaravati traditions and not to those of Ajanta. According to him the Amaravati tradition may be seen in the jewellery, dress and decorative motifs. The post-Sigiriya paintings are represented by the Hindagala paintings of the 7th century A.D. As at Ajanta here also one scene merges into another, the principal characters being repeated in each. The paintings at Pollonaruva and particularly those of Dimbulgal cave also show Indian influences. The Kandyan art of building is similar to the Kerala art of building and they are closely related to each other.

The Dance and Drama

The dance and drama of Ceylon have close affinities with its Indian counterpart as enunciated in Bharatanāṭyaśāstra. Siṁhalese music contains many technical terms and accompanying instruments which are of Indian origin. The frieze from the Gadaldeniya temple shows three dancing figures which recall Bharatanāṭya poses. Similarly the evidences from the bronze figures as well as from the Sandeśa Kāvyas point to the Indian origin of Siṁhalese dance. It was in the tradition of Bharatanāṭya which was practised by the Devadāsīs in south India and their counterparts in Ceylon Nalangana. The Karnāṭaka music was also brought to Ceylon and Tamil folk music has a large part to play in the development of Siṁhalese music. There is a close similarity between the Kathakali and the Kandyan dances as well as between Siṃhalanāṭyam and Tāṇḍavam.

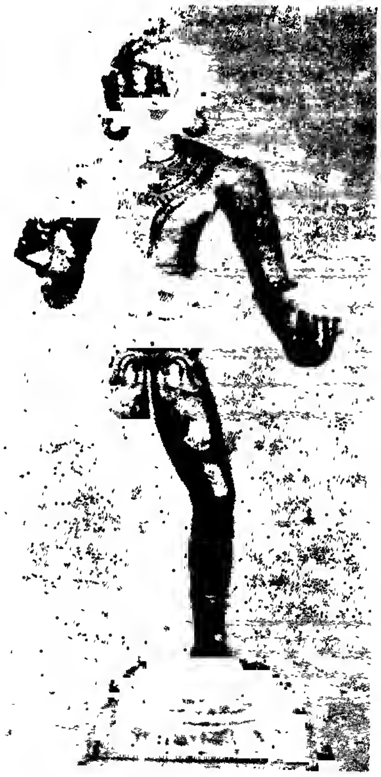

FIG 7 *Bronze statue of Rāma, Colombo Museum*

Common Socio-Political Organisation

The social and political institutions of Ceylon are also modelled upon the ideals of Indian society and politics.

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According to Coomaraswamy the caste system of Ceylon differs from the well-known four-fold system of the Hindus and is similar to the Dravidian system of south India in which the cultivator is ranked as the highest. Similarly the Siṁhalese marriage customs have a good deal of correspondence to the marriage customs of Kerala. There is much that is common between Ceylon and south India particularly Kerala in dress and saritorial fashion. The importance of matriarchal element in the Ceylonese society also shows affinity to the social set-up of south India. The Ceylonese court and royalty followed the pattern of a culture inherently Brāhmaṇical and were fully familiar with the tenfold Rājadharma and the laws of Manu.[34]

Cultural Movement Two-way Traffic

The review of Indian elements in Ceylonese culture and society will leave no room for doubt that Ceylon and India were actually integral parts of one cultural whole. Throughout their history Ceylon and India helped each other in the building of their cultural, social and political life. The impression should not be gained that Ceylon only borrowed from Indian culture. Pāli literature and the Buddhist traditions of India are unthinkable in the absence of the Ceylonese contribution. Both the countries were actuated by the spirit of give-and-take of all that was noble and good in the hearts of India and Ceylon.

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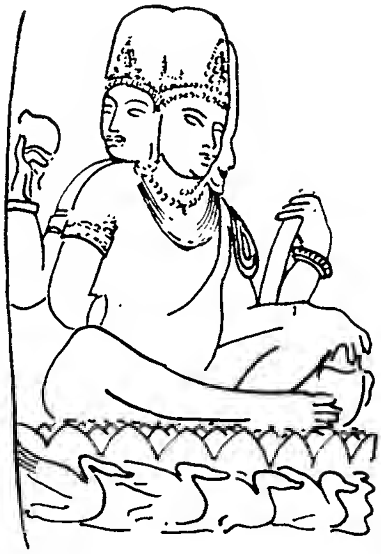

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Mahāyāna Cult in Ancient Ceylon

DIRAN K. DOHANIAN

Introduction

THE GOSPEL OF the Buddha, we are told in the Pali chronicles of Ceylon,[1] came to the beautiful island of Laṅkā during the reign of Devānaṁpiyatissa and as the gift of the great Buddhist Emperor of India, Aśoka Maurya, who sent his son, Mahendra, and daughter, Saṅghamitrā, to establish the religion of light in the jewelled-isle of the South.

The royal missioners quickly converted the Sinhalese king together with his army, his courtiers and an untold number of his people. They established a monastery in the precincts of the royal capital and planted there a sapling of the great Bodhi tree, under which the Buddha had attained his enlightenment.[2]

Devānaṁpiyatissa, the royal convert, offered his kingdom to the Buddha, in apparent emulation of Aśoka Maurya, and heaped material benefactions upon the clergy.

In this manner, the religion of the Buddha became the official, or state, religion of the kingdom of Laṅkā and the future of Laṅkā as a Buddhist state was determined.

The ancient history of Ceylon is, in fact, the history of a Buddhist state whose kings acted in literal remembrance of Devānampiyatissa's pious response to the enlightening faith preached by Mahendra. The rulers of Laṅkā were styled "Defenders of the Bowl and Robe,"[3] whose privilege and obligation it was to ensure peace and prosperity so that the religion might flourish, to provide for the needs and wants of the monastic fraternity, and to guard the precious purity of the faith by suppressing heresies and effecting periodic reforms among the Saṅgha.

The Saṅgha, on the other hand, enhanced the king's rule through the preaching of the true doctrine and the acceptance of alms or offerings. Moreover, it had the power to attribute legitimacy to the king's government or withhold it.

From the days of the pious Tissa, Church and State developed as primary, equal, mutually-dependent, mutually-enhancing, and rival agencies of civilisation.

When the unity of the Saṅgha was shattered by schism and the single fraternity subdivided into rival groups and multiple sects, it was both advantageous to the State and problematic for it.

The Establishment of Abhayagiri Monastery

The initial split took place during the reign of Vattagāmanī-Abhaya (29–17 B.C.) who built the great Abhayagiri monastery on the ruins of a Jain vihāra, and offered it to a thera named Mahātissa, who had been of some help to the king in time of war.[4] The gift of the vihāra

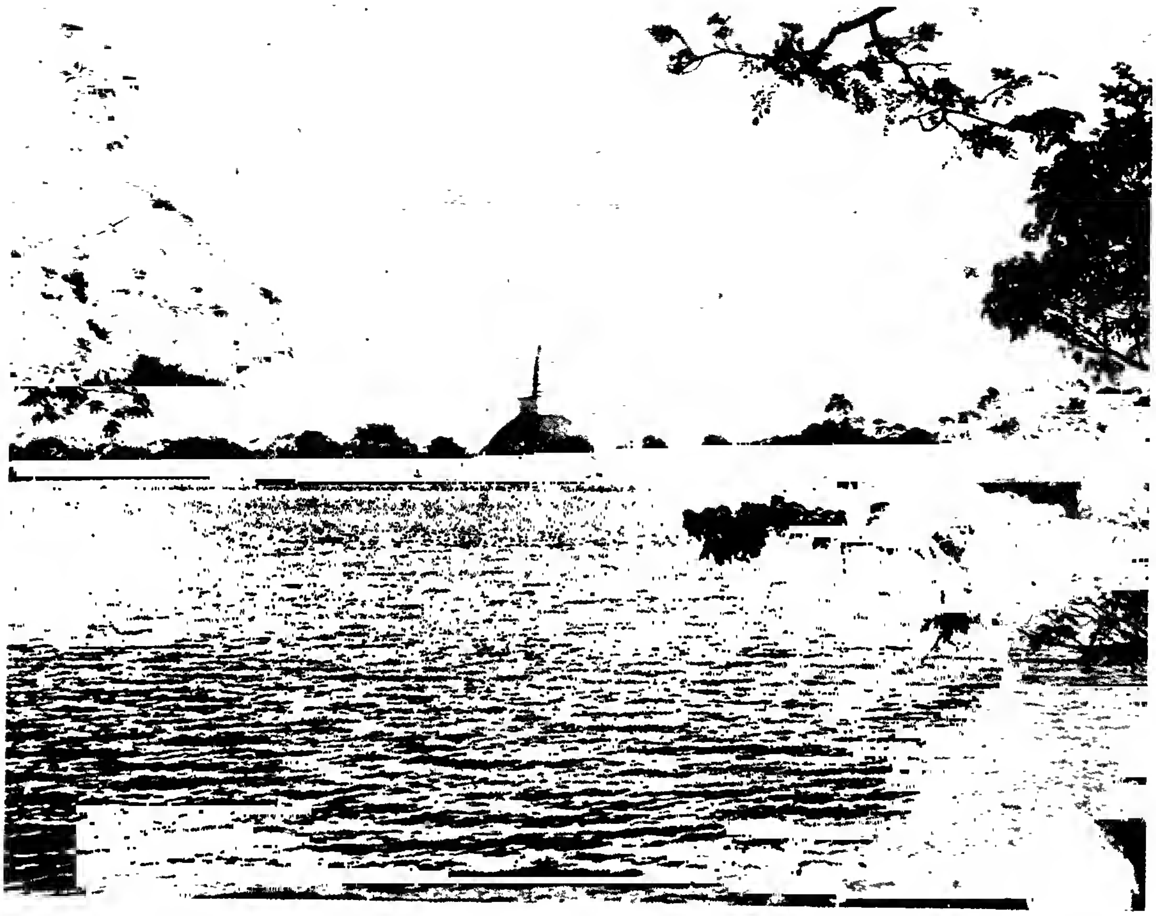

FIG 1 *View of Ruanveli-seya Across one of the Lakes at Anurādhapura*

to the monk was an expression of personal gratitude on the part of the king, but was looked upon with suspicion by the monks of the Mahāvihāra. Their collective prestige and authority threatened by the singling out of a royal favourite, the monks of the Mahāvihāra charged Mahātissa with a serious offence and expelled him from the community. A pupil of Mahātissa, Bahalamassu-Tissa, objected that the charge was not justifiable according to the Vinaya and was himself made subject to severe discipline. Thereupon, the monk, together with a large number who disagreed with the judgment of the theras, left the Mahāvihāra and took up residence at the Abhayagiri.[5]

In the beginning, there was probably no doctrinal difference between the Buddhists of the Mahāvihāra and those of the Abhayagiri. But shortly after the split, a company of Indian monks, disciples of a teacher called Dhammaruci, arrived in Anurādhapura.[6] The foreign bhikkhus were members of the Vajjiputra[7] sect with whose religious philosophy the monks of the Mahāvihāra had some quarrel. They were not welcomed at the Mahāvihāra and took up residence with the dissenting monks at the Abhayagiri where they expounded their teachings and established the Dhammaruci sect.[8]

The monks of the rival fraternities were again engaged in public dispute during the reign of Bhātikābhaya (38–66 A.D.). The point of controversy centred around variant interpretations of a rule in the Vinaya. A minister of the king, the brāhmin[9] Dīghakārāyana, a man "wise

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and versed in 'other' languages," was appointed to decide the case.[10] We may infer from this record that the monks of the Abhayagiri were already using texts of the Vinaya written in Sanskrit[11] and that the controversy issued from a linguistic difficulty which the brahmin minister, skilled in both Sanskrit and Pali, could easily straighten out. But the use of Sanskrit rather than Pali by the monks of the Abhayagiri fixed yet another distinction between them and their rivals of the Mahāvihāra.

In the *Mahāvaṃsa* account of the reign of Vohārikatissa (269–291 A.D.), among his various meritorious deeds is listed the suppression of the "Vetulya-doctrine" and the control of heretics[12] through the instrument of his minister, Kapila.[13] The *Nikāyasaṅgraha* elaborates on this account and explains that the *Vetulya Piṭaka,* an heretical text, was presented at this time by the monks of the Abhayagiri as the true teaching of the Buddha.[14] The monks of the Mahāvihāra examined the new text, compared it with the "authentic" texts, and rejected the new work as contrary to the Dharma. The matter was probably appealed to the king, who appointed his minister, Kapila, to judge the case. Kapila's verdict was that the *Vetulya Piṭaka* was not the teaching of the Buddha; the books were then burned and the bhikkhus who accepted the teaching were dishonoured.[15]

This incident is generally accepted as the earliest clear indication of Mahāyāna in Ceylon.[16] Kern has shown that the term *Vetulya (vetulla)* is the equivalent of *Vaipulya,* a classificatory name for certain Mahāyāna scriptures,[17] and Mironov has pointed out that *Vaitulya* is a variant and earlier spelling of the term *Vaipulya.*[18] This evidence, together with the retelling of the incident in the *Nikāyasaṅgraha* would seem to suggest that what Vohārika-tissa's minister rooted out was indeed a Mahāyāna heresy and that that form of Buddhism must have become sufficiently strong in Ceylon to warrant purging.

But the term *Vetulya* means literally "differing" or "dissident,"[19] and it is in this sense that it becomes an apt label for the views of the monks of the Abhayagiri. There is no reason for it to imply differences of a doctrinal or theological variety although it may do that also.

During the reign of Gothābhaya (309–322 A.D.) the bhikkhus of the Abhayagiri once again put forward the claim that the *Vetulya Piṭaka* was the teaching of the Buddha,[20] and, this time, the king expelled sixty of the offenders and banished them to India where they took up residence at an ancient monastery in Kāveripattinam.[12] A Chola thera, the poet Saṅghamitra, became enamoured of their cause and made his way to Anurādhapura "embittered against the bhikkhus of the Mahāvihāra."[22] Saṅghamitra worked his way into the king's favour and became the tutor for the king's sons and successors. When Mahāsena came to the throne in 334 A.D., Saṅghamitra performed the ceremonies of consecration and persuaded the king that the monks of the Mahāvihāra did not teach the true Vinaya and that those of the Abhayagiri did teach the true Vinaya. The king, therefore, issued a decree prohibiting the giving of alms to bhikkhus living in the Mahāvihāra. The monks of the Mahāvihāra were forced to quit Anurādhapura and their monastery was destroyed, with many of its treasures and buildings being carried to the Abhayagiri-vihāra.[23]

Disputes between the two Schools

The pillaging of the Mahāvihāra, under the direction of the monk Saṅghamitra and the king's minister, Sona, represents a major triumph for the Abhayagiri monks over their rivals and it marks a significant climax to nearly 400 years of sometimes bitter competition. But there is no real reason to assume that the mutual antagonism of the two fraternities was the function of dramatic doctrinal or theological differences. The text of the *Mahāvaṃsa* refers

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clearly to Vinaya.[24] or discipline, as the point of controversy. And the *Dīpavaṃsa*[25] version of the arrival of Saṅghamitra and the destruction of the Mahāvihāra states that the "heretical views" taught by Saṅghamitra were that "computing the twenty years required for the Upasampadā ordination from conception (which has been admitted by the Buddha in the story about Kumārakassapa) was not allowable, and that the practice of wearing ivory fans (which has not been admitted by the Buddha in the story about Chabbaggiyas) was allowable."

The dispute between the monks of the Abhayagiri and those of the Mahāvihāra, which led to the violent suppression of the Mahāvihāra bhikkhus, was most certainly an argument over monastic regulations and was not doctrinal or theological in nature.[26] The term *Vetulya-piṭaka* was used in the *Mahāvaṃsa* to distinguish the views on discipline held by the Abhayagiriyakas as dissident views, new ideas contrary to the accepted or traditional practices.[27]

The desperate confrontation of the rival monastic groups which ended in the devastation and plundering of the Mahāvihāra, throws into dramatic relief the historic opposition of these major factions within the Saṅgha of Ceylon.

The Mahāvihāra was the original and premier centre of Buddhism in Ceylon. It was established by Mahendra, the son of Aśoka, and its monks styled themselves adherents of the Theravāda, the "teachings of the Elder." They were proud of the authority of their vihāra and zealously kept its ancient traditions. They were rigidly conservative and sought to preserve the purity of the Buddha's religion in the form as received during the reign of Devānampiyatissa.[28]

Abhayagiri Accepted New Ideas from India

The Abhayagiri-vihāra, on the other hand, was identified with dissent, with changes in the old order, and with speculation about traditional meanings and practices. Its monks were liberal to the degree that they were open to new ideas coming from India and were probably ready to frame new ideas as challenges to the authority and prestige of the Mahāvihāra.

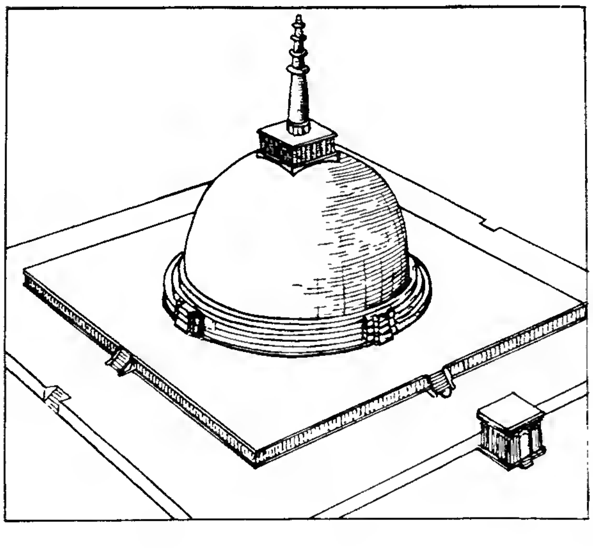

FIG 2 *View of the Ruwanwaeli Dagaba at Anurādhapura*

Political Reasons of Separation

For the opposition of the two factions was, at bottom, a political one; it issued from the political function of the Saṅgha in its relation to the State. The rivalry between the two vihāras was in proportion to the rivalry between the whole Saṅgha and the State.

Doctrinal Reasons of Faction

It was the king's duty to protect the faith and support the Saṅgha; it was the Saṅgha's privilege to legitimate the king's rule. The split in the Saṅgha made this balance of powers extraordinarily complex. Factionalism in the Church could at one time work in the king's favour, and at another, against him. For the factions within the Sangha, it meant constantly vying with each other for the privilege of exerting pressure on the throne. The sometimes inexplicable behaviour of kings toward or against one of the vihāras

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may more clearly reflect political necessity than dogmatic prejudice. The often equalitarian benefactions of kings to all religious fraternities may be understood as attempts to keep manageable the political power of the whole Saṅgha.

In the same way, the jealous care with which the Mahāvihāra monks resisted innovation may represent their desire to maintain the prestige of historical precedence over their rivals of the Abhayagiri. And the peculiar receptivity of the monks of the Abhayagiri to new ideas may indicate an intention to forge *new* bases for precedence and prestige.[29]

It means that the early divisions of the Saṅgha in Ceylon issued from factors of a psychological nature not directly related to theological convictions. And the issues which kept the Saṅgha divided, after theological distinctions arose and developed, were not always, not even primarily, of a religious character.

We cannot, therefore, interpret every notice of friction among the Saṅgha as evidence of "heresy" in the theological sense. The designation "*vetulya*," in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, for the opponents of the Mahāvihāra monks cannot be taken as the equivalent for "Mahāyāna."[30]

Nor may we regard every ritual purification of the Saṅgha by the king as an indication of corruption and heresy in its ranks.[31] The kings of Ceylon repeatedly "purified" the Church through a regulative act in order to underscore, in each case, the legitimacy of the reign, and to maintain, or re-establish, the proper balance of power between the Church and the State.

From the time of Mahāsena until the great oecumenical reforms of Parākrambāhu I (1153–1186 A.D.) the factions within the Saṅgha multiplied, but the over-riding division faithfully reflects the initial schism.[32] Two major groups vie for dominance: the orthodox and conservative, represented by the monks of the Mahāvihāra, and the heterodox and progressive, represented by those of the Abhayagiri-vihāra. And it is with the "progressive" monks of the Abhayagiri-vihāra that the doctrines of the Mahāyāna find a hearing.[33]

Foreign Travellers to Ceylon

We cannot fix the date of the introduction of Mahāyāna into the Buddhism of Ceylon any more precisely than we can determine its beginnings in India proper. It is worth noting that the Chinese pilgrim, Fa-hsien, who visited Anurādhapura in the first decade of the fifth century A.D., recorded no theological distinctions between the monks of the Abhayagiri-vihāra and those of the Mahāvihāra.[34] The single distinction he wished to make was one of size; he wrote that there were 5,000 monks resident at the Abhayagiri and 3,000 at the Mahāvihāra.[35]

Buddhaghoṣa at Anurādhapura

But Buddhaghoṣa,[36] who came to Anurādhapura a little later than Fa-hsien, made a very clear theological distinction when he labelled the doctrine of the Vetulyakas of Abhayagiri, Mahāśūnyatāvāda.[37] He further noted that these sectarians held the belief that the Buddha is eternal, that he was not born in the world of men, that what appeared among men in time was a created phantasmal form, and that this phantasmal form, not the Buddha, preached the Law.[38] This view differs in kind from the beliefs of the Theravādins concerning the nature of the Buddha. They held steadfastly to the concept of the Buddha as an historical personage who, through rigorous self-control and world-renunciation, attained omniscence. They attributed to him superhuman powers and regarded him as superior to all beings, sometimes applying the epithet, *devātideva*.

The view ascribed to the Abhayagiri monks by Buddhaghoṣa corresponds in kind to the concepts of the Mahāsaṁghikas, who regarded the Buddha as eternal and transcendent.

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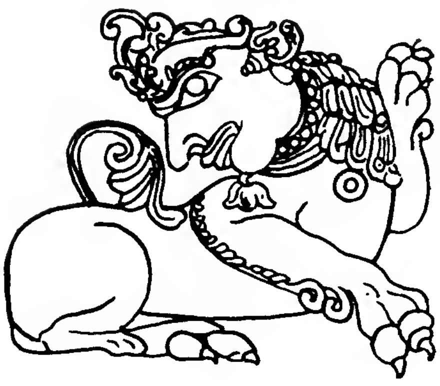

FIG. 3 *Vyāla Figure, Ceylon*

Moreover, it predicated a double existence for the Buddha: one which was eternal and transmundane, and the other, temporal and phenomenal.

Difference of Ideals

By the first quarter of the fifth century, then, significant changes were manifest in the "doctrine" of the Vetulyakas of the Abhayagiri, which had developed from concern with questions of discipline and practical ethics to speculation on those of "being." And these changes set in motion an historical process which could be tempered by the Theravāda basis of Vetulyaka thought but not reversed by it, and which was given perpetual impetus by the need to rival successfully the monks of the Mahāvihāra. In this way, the development of the Buddhism of the Abhayagiri monks echoes that of early Indian Buddhism generally, though the chronology of changes may not correspond exactly.[39]

Once the monks of the Abhayagiri entertained the notion of the transmundane character of the Buddha, their religious philosophy and practice was open to transformation by whatever compatible Mahāyāna doctrines evolved from that single premise. The next five centuries witness the incorporation into Vetulyavāda religion, in varying degrees, of the salient features of the Mahāyāna of India.

Hsüan-tsang's Observation

It is telling, indeed, that Hsüan-tsang described the religion of Ceylon as "the teaching of the Buddha, according to the dharma of the Sthavira school of the Mahāyāna sect."[40] He was careful to note the division of the one school into two and recorded the opposition of the Mahāvihāra monks to the Great Vehicle. The monks of the Abhayagiri, according to the information given him,[41] studied both vehicles and widely diffused the Tripiṭaka.[42] Of the Sinhalese monks resident at Bodh Gayā, the Chinese pilgrim wrote that they were "all Mahāyānists of the Sthavira school and were perfect in Vinaya observances."[43]

Hsüan-tsang used the term "Mayāyānists of the Sthavira school" to distinguish certain monks, in various places over Buddhist India, from orthodox Hīnayānists on the one hand, and orthodox Mahāyānists on the other.[44] What this phrase seems to suggest is a religious practice which incorporates Mahāyāna features within the Theravāda tradition based on the Pali Tripiṭaka. The religious practices of the Abhayagiri monks, in the seventh century, may be so characterised.

The Mahāyāna features which find a place in the mixed Buddhism of the Abhayagiri fraternity are the most general, striking and obvious ones: worship of the Bodhisattvas and the Buddhas who are preternatural and innumerable; belief in Buddhahood as the ultimate destiny of all sentient beings who win their way to universal salvation by faith and through grace; belief in the transfer of merit, earned through the performance of pious deeds, to others in order to awaken the Bodhi in their hearts; and reliance upon the magical efficacy of word-charms, diagrams and other contrivances.[45]

I-tsing's Observation

I-tsing, in his "record" of the Buddhist religion, defined Mahāyānists as those who worshipped the Bodhisattvas and studied the Mahāyāna sūtras.[46] By this definition, the monks of the Abhayagiri-vihāra (who studied both vehicles) may be regarded as followers of the Mahāyāna, or pseudo-Mahāyāna.[47]

For there is sufficient, if not abundant, archaeological evidence for a flourishing cult of the Bodhisattvas from the seventh through the tenth centuries and for the study and veneration of the textbooks of Mahāyāna doctrine. And the transformation of the Buddha cult, which takes place under the pressure of Mahāyāna thought, survived even the reformations of the twelfth century and the ultimate victory of the Theravādins over the Abhayagiri.

Historical Perspective of the Ceylonese Civilisation

The civilisations of India and Ceylon followed lines of historical development which were both interdependent and resonant. The historical mythology of Ceylon frames its culture-heroes in the mould and after the pattern of those of India. Before and after the spiritual, that is Buddhist, conquest of the island of Laṅkā by Aśoka Maurya, Ceylon's sovereignty was repeatedly threatened by the imperialistic ambitions of her south Indian neighbours. And more than once, an expansionist fever gripped the hearts and minds of Sinhalese kings who sent their armies charging into mainland territories. Moreover, the motherland of Buddhism was almost never without a community of Sinhalese religions who comprised an efficacious tie between the island kingdom and its mainland neighbours.

But Ceylon's awareness of her neighbours was never more important than during the nearly four hundred years following the flight of the Sinhalese prince Mānavamma, from Ceylon to political asylum in Kāñcī at the court of Pallava Narasiṃhavarman I.[48]

It was usual for Sinhalese nationals in trouble to flee to havens on the mainland. So when the family of Prince Mānavamma, son of Kassapa II, was overthrown by a rival faction, he found refuge in the kingdom of the Pallavas and entered the service of the first Narasiṃhavarman. He accompanied that greatest monarch of the south in battle against the Chālukyas of Bādāmī,[49] and was there, in A.D. 642, when Chālukya Puḷakeśin II was defeated and slain.[50] Sometime afterwards,[51] Mānavamma, drawing upon the military and naval resources of the Pallava court, made an abortive invasion of Ceylon in his first attempt to seize the throne.[52] This took place during the reign of Dāthopatissa II (657–666 A.D.). About twenty years later,[53] and during the regime of the Tamul usurper, Potthakuttha, Mānavamma returned to Ceylon with the Pallava army.[54] He slew his enemies and captured Anurādhapura in the year 684.[55]

Mānavamma reigned for about thirty-five years[56] and was succeeded by his sons Aggabodhi V (718–724 A.D.), Kassapa III (724–730 A.D.), and Mahinda I (730–733 A.D.). The sons of Mānavamma not only shared his exile at the Pallava court, but were born there.[57] And Pallava influence at the Sinhalese court was, quite naturally, strong.

The reign of Mānavamma inaugurated a new era in the history of Laṅkā and was the fountain head for a continuity of dynastic control which was longer and more splendid than any other. The *Mahāvaṃsa* reflects the "newness" of this era by breaking the rhythmic regularity of its account at the beginning of Mānavamma's rule.[58] In addition, it invests the account of his origins with an air of auspicious mystery.[59] And the same chronicle, in tracing the geneology of a later hero, Vijayabāhu I (1059–1114 A.D.),[60] begins with Mānavamma, from whose "pure race" issued the "first among princely dynasties," sovereigns of equal birth who held legitimate sway in Laṅkā.[61]

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In marked contrast to the period immediately preceding the accession of Mānavamma to power, his reign and that of his successors, until the middle of the ninth century, witnessed an unparalleled prosperity and freedom from internecine strife.[62] The gradual elaboration of the king's administration, patterned more after the Pallava model, and the consequent effective exercise of political power by the State, invested it with an authority seldom realised before. And the political stability of the State allowed it to assume the character of sanctity, even unimpeachability, more properly an attribute of the Saṅgha. More and more, the kings of Ceylon, "Defenders of the Bowl and Robe," were styled "Bodhisattvas,"[63] an assumption which issued as much from the desire to free their legitimacy from the mediation of the Saṅgha, as it did from response to personal or public faith.[64]

Ceylonese as Great Allies of the Pallavas

The point is, that both the stability and prestige of the governments of Mānavamma and his successors are directly related to the unbroken alliance of Ceylon and the Empire of the Pallavas.[65] This international alliance lasted from the days of Mānavamma's exile until the extinction of Pallava power in the last years of the ninth century. During all that time, the enemies of the Pallavas were the enemies of the Sinhalas, and the princes and people of Laṅkā benefited from the formidable might of the armies of Kāñcī.[66]

When the might of the Pallava armies was on the wane, their hereditary enemies, the Pāṇḍyas, invaded Ceylon, ravaged the northern province, occupied and sacked Anurādhapura.[67] The Pāṇḥya conqueror, Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha,[68] after having ravished Ceylon of her treasures, concluded a treaty with King Sena I (835–853 A.D.), and withdrew his armies from the island.

FIG 4 *Samādhi Buddha Statue at Anurādhapura, Ceylon.*

Sena II, (853–887 A.D.) nephew and successor to his namesake, avenged his country with a counter-attack upon the Pāṇḍyas.[69] Allied with the Pallavas and with a pretender to the Pāṇḍya throne, his armies waged war against Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha, invaded and pillaged Madurai, killed the enemy king, and recovered the treasures taken from Ceylon. Sena II and Pallava Nṛpatuṅga placed their own claimant, Varaguṇavarman II, on the Pāṇḍya throne in the year 862 A.D.[70]

In the year 897, the Pallavas were destroyed in the battle of Śrīpurambiyam, by the armies of Āditya I, a Chola prince who owed feudal allegiance to Kāñcī but who entertained imperial ambitions of his own.[71] The Cholas conquered Tondaimandalam and replaced the most powerful Pallavas as the single dominant power in the whole of South India.

Ceylonese Relations During Chola Period

When the Cholas, in sequence, tried to claim the Pallava suzerainty over Pāṇḍya country, Pāṇḍya Rājasiṃha II appealed to Kassapa V of Ceylon (914–923 A.D.) for help[72]. The combined armies of the Pāṇḍyas and the Sinhalese were helpless against the might of Chola Parāntaka and were defeated.[73] Pāṇḍya Rājasiṃha II surrendered, or deserted, his country and sought asylum first in Anurādhapura, where he left the crown jewels and royal insignia, and then in Kerala, the home of his mother.[74]

Parāntaka Chola, who had annexed the Pāṇḍya kingdom, made an unsuccessful attempt, in the reign of Udaya IV (946–954 A.D.) to capture the insignia of the Pāṇḍya royal house.[75] He intended to gain the Pāṇḍyan crown jewels so that he might legalize his sovereignty over that conquered country by proper coronation in Madurai. The Chola armies probably occupied Anurādhapura, but had to give up the Ceylon campaign, when Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III invaded South India, defeated the Cholas at Takkolam, and temporarily arrested their imperialist expansion.[76]

Chola princes repeatedly invaded Ceylon, in consequence of her alliance with the Pāṇḍyas, until Rājarāja I destroyed Anurādhapura in 992–3 A.D. and annexed the northern part of Laṅkā as a province of the Chola empire.[77] In 1017 A.D., Rājendra I completed the conquest of Ceylon, took possession of the Pāṇḍya crown jewels and those of Ceylon, and carried the captive king, Mahinda V, to live out the rest of his years in Chola territory.[78]

From the time of Mānavamma's exile up to the destruction of Anurādhapura in 992 A.D., the political destinies of Laṅkā had been identical with those of the great Pallava sovereigns. And long after the crushing defeat of Pallava Aparājita at Śrīpurambiyam, the fruits of Pallava policy, diplomatic and military, were harvested by the Sinhalese descendants of Mānavamma. The devastation of Ceylon, by Rājendra I, was but the finale of the Chola rebellion against Pallava domination.

The intermeshing of the political fortunes of the kings of Ceylon from the seventh through the tenth centuries, with those of the south Indian rivals for imperial power and domination, gives some indication of the cultural inter-dependence of Ceylon and the south Indian dominions at this time, and suggests the extent to which Ceylon participated in the brilliant civilisational accomplishments of the era.[79] The artistic and archaeological remains, found in Ceylon, complete the picture.

Among the Buddhist communities, as well as in court circles, internationalism was the dominant factor during the period under discussion. The monasteries in Ceylon had, from the beginning, enjoyed close contact with the sister and mother institutions in various parts of India. In times of trouble at home, Sinhalese bhikkhus habitually sought sanctuary there.

Visit to Indian Vihāras considered Sacred

Ceylon pilgrims, like those from other Buddhist countries, made the rounds of the holy places in Magadha. Bodh Gayā, the site of the Buddha's enlightenment, bore such heavy traffic of this sort, that a king of Ceylon had built there a large saṅghārāma to accommodate visiting Sinhalese monks.[80] A special vihāra for Sinhalese clergy was established at Nagarjunakonda and donative inscriptions there and at other sites in the Vengi region testify to the closeness of relationship that existed between the Buddhists of that region and those of Ceylon.[81] Moreover, Buddha images in a style common to Amaravati and Anurādhapura, some dating as late as the ninth century, have been found at various places all over South-east Asia.[82]

Sinhalese missionaries and image-makers found their way repeatedly to China[83] and,

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toward the end of the eighth century, a branch monastery of the Abhayagiri was established in Central Java.[84]

Religious Missions from India

Foreigners found their way to Anurādhapura, also, for it lay on one of the southern routes travelled by pilgrims going from India to China.[85] The *Mahāvaṃsa* frequently mentions the coming of Indian monks[86] to Ceylon and records that the queen of Udaya I (797–801 A.D.) had built on Mihintale a vihāra which she granted to the Tamil bhikkhu community.[87]

Anurādhapura, by the fifth century, had become a chief centre for Buddhological study since there, as Fa-hsien was careful to point out, the early canonical texts had been committed to writing.[88] And the fame of Buddhaghoṣa Ācārya, who had come there to translate the Pali and Sinhalese books, added to the luster of its reputation.

In or around 718 A.D., Vajrabodhi, a princely monk from Nālandā and tutor for Pallava Narasiṃhavarman II, came to Ceylon and was sent shortly afterward by the king of Ceylon, Aggabodhi V, on a mission to the emperor of China.[89] His mission was to present a copy of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra* and other objects to the T'ang court, to propagate the mystic doctrines of the Tantrayāna and to translate some of its scriptures. His disciple, Amoghavajra, accompanied him to China, returned to Ceylon in 736 A.D., and went again to China ten years later with five hundred texts.[90]

Importance of Kāñcī

Kāñcī had become early the most important centre of Buddhism in south India.[91] Together with Kāveripaṭṭinam and Madurai, it was hallowed in legend through its association with Mahendra, the son of Aśoka and illuminator of Laṅkā. The vihāras of these three south Indian cities were strongholds of Theravāda Buddhism in the fifth century.[92] But by the time of Hsüan-tsang's visit, the pseudo-Mahāyāna had taken hold and the Buddhists of these monasteries were categorised, along with the monks of the Abhayagiri, as "Sthaviras of the Mahāyāna sect."[93]

By the eighth century, the Buddhists of Kāñcī were following full-fledged Mahāyāna,[94] and some espoused the secret and mystical beliefs of the esoteric and exoteric sub-sects of the Great Vehicle.[95] Recent excavations[96] have shown that Tantrism was well established at other centres of "Southern" Buddhism during the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries.[97]

The heterodox monks of the Abhayagiri-vihāra in Anurādhapura moved in the same direction. In doing so, they were acting in concert with their fellows on the mainland.

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1. The Pali chronicles provide the most important information upon which we may base our understanding of the ancient history of Ceylon. The earliest extant example is the *Dīpavaṃsa*, which was compiled in the fifth century and brought together the oral traditions, historical records and legends of the Mahāvihāra, and the regnal records of the kings. Its style is spare and unembellished and it is thought to have kept close to its sources. In the sixth century, a monk of the Mahāvihāra, composed an expanded version, the *Mahāvaṃsa*, completed in thirty-seven chapters, which brought the history of the island to the end of the reign of Mahāsena. The expansion had altered the material of the record through a different balance and emphasis of the details, but it became the model for the continuation of the history of the island The second section of the *Mahāvamsa* was composed shortly after the death of Parākramabāhu I (1153–1186 A.D) by a monk named Dhammakitti, who made use of whatever records and traditions existed and continued the chronicle to the end of the reign of Parākrama-

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bāhu I The historical record was added to, in successive stages, until it was brought to the year 1815 A D when the British conquered the kingdom of Kandy The section which will concern us primarily is the one which was set down in writing at the end of the twelfth century The history of Buddhism in the island of Lankā is given in a Sinhalese work of the end of the fourteenth century, the *Nikāyasangraha* The express purpose of this book was to tell of the victories of the Mahāvihāra monks over their rivals of the other fraternities until the year 1385 A D Its point of view is, if anything, more biased than that of the other chronicles

2 I have condensed the narrative of the chronicles The account in the *Mahāvamsa* extends from Chapter 13 through Chapter 20

3 *EZ*, I, p 237; W Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1956, p 66

4 *Mv* 33 81 83

5 *Ibid* , 33 95 97

6 The episode is not given in the *Mahāvamsa* Cf *Nks* p 12

7 The same as the Vatsīputrīyas, a branch of the Theravāda, cf T N Ramachandran *The Nāgapattinam and Other Buddhist Bronzes in the Madras Museum*, Madras, 1954, p 133, A Bareau, *Les Sectes Bouddhiques du Petit Vehicule*, Saigon, 1955, pp 114 120

8 For a lucid account of the Dhammaruci sect, cf Bareau, *op cit* , pp 241 243

9 It is interesting that an unbeliever, and a foreigner, should have been asked to settle a matter of religious dispute There would be no reason to ask a Brahmin to settle a point of *theological* controversy

10 This event is mentioned in the *Samantapāsādikā* 3, 582 3, and is summarised in E W Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1946, p 88

11 The linguistic distinction is important. Sanskrit became the special ecclesiastical language of the Mahāyāna sect

12 What Geiger translates as "heresy" in the *Mahāvamsa* account is given as "frivolous views" in *Dv* 22 43 And the *Dīpavamsa* calls the sectarians who came to Ceylon at this time by the name Vitandāvādin (*Dv* 32 41, 42) The followers of the Vitandāvāda were dissenting Buddhists who accepted the same authorities as the Theravādins and named the sūtras of the Tripitaka in order to support their position, but differed in their interpretation of the texts cf Adikaram, *op cit* p 95

13 *Mv* 36 41

14 *Nks* , p 12 The false teaching is presented as the word of the Buddha By so describing the event, the author of the *Nikāyasangraha* casts the Abhayagiri monks in a stereotyped Mahāyānist role It refers to the typical Mahāyānist tendency to legitimate the new texts by having the Buddha narrate them

15 *Nks* p 12 The *Vetulya Pitaka* is here described as a text, composed in the time of Aśoka by certain infidel Brahmins in order to destroy the religion

16 S Paranavitana, Mahayanism in Ceylon, *CJS G* II, p 36, Rahula, *op cit* , p 87, Adikaram, *op cit* , p 90, W Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon in Medieval Times*, Wiesbaden 1960, p 208

17 H Kern Vaitulya, Vettulla, Vetulyaka, *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koniklijk Akademie von Wetenschappen, Letterk* 4 R , D. VIII, Amsterdam 1907, pp 312 319

18 N.D. Mironov, Avalokiteśvara-Kuan-yin, *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 241 ff.

19 Rahula, *op cit.*, p 90, n 1

20 *Mv* 36 111 112, *Nks* , p 13.

21 This name is mentioned in the *Nikāyasangraha* account Buddhism in Kāveripattinam also began as a result of Mahendra's missionary labours The historical association of the vihāras at this place and in Ceylon had been long and strong

22 *Mv* 36 113 A more elaborate and specific account is given in *Nks* , pp 13 15

23 *Mv* 37 6 16

24 Mv , 37 4

25 *Dv* 22 67 74

26 The ancient accounts give no indication of this It is the compiler of the *Nikāyasangraha* who invested a remembered story of the dispute with a theological flavour

27 *supra*, p 4, n 19 Even today a person in Ceylon who holds views which differ from accepted beliefs or practices is labelled a "Vaitulya " It is apparent that the author of the *Mahāvamsa* used the term only to identify dissent from established practice

28 The prestige of the Mahāvihāra monks depended completely upon their maintaining a strong and obvious historical connection with the earliest days of Buddhism in Ceylon

29 The institution of the cult of the Tooth Relic in the Abhayagiri vihāra is a stunning example of this The relic came to Anurādhapura in the ninth year of the reign of Sirimeghavana Cf *Mv* 37 97 The public annual exposure of the relic was held in the Abhayagiri vihāra And finally the Tooth Relic became the national palladium of the Sinhalese The association with the relic enhanced considerably the status of the Abhayagiri monks

30 Geiger, Karn, Paranavitana, Rahula, Adikaram and others were largely following the example of author of the *Nikāyasangraha* when they equated the two terms

31 Again, the general tendency has been to assume heresy or disorder every time the record shows a ritual reformation of the Sangha by the king Cf Geiger, *op cit* p 205

32 Though the Sangha split dramatically again during the reign of Mahāsena (*Mv* 32, 39, *Nks* , pp 15, 16) into three fraternities, the opposition was still between conservative and progressive elements within the Sangha Actually, long after more

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schisms had subdivided the Sangha, the formula "Three Fraternities" was still used in the chronicle to comprehend its entirety.

33 The international character of Ceylon Buddhism, especially that of the Abhayagiri-vihāra, will be discussed in the next section It is not difficult to see, that with continuing and intimate contact with Buddhists elsewhere, change in the Buddhism of Ceylon was inevitable.

34 S Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, new edition, Calcutta 1957, I, pp. 46 51

35 Since Fa-hsien was a Mahāyānist himself, we should imagine that he would have noticed if Mahāyāna practices were being observed. Elsewhere he noted that the eighteen sects of Buddhism were agreed in essentials and differed only in some minor details and with regard to private rules of conduct. *Ibid* I, p. 44.

36. Buddhaghoṣa's visit is recounted in *Mv* 37 215–246. The *Samantapāsādikā* was written while he was in residence in the edifice south of the Mahābodhi in Anurādhapura In the colophon to this work it is said that it was written during the twentieth and twentyfirst years of the reign of a king who had the epithet "Srīpāla." Paranavitana has shown that this was an epithet of Mahānāma (409–431 A.D), cf H C. Ray (ed), *History of Ceylon*, I, 1, p 390

37 Bareau, *op. cit* , p 254, reads the epithet as Mahāpunyavāda, the Doctrine of Great Worth And he describes the Vetullakas as "eclectic" Hīnayānists, who combined, syncretically, the views of the Andhakas, Mahisasakas, and Dharmaguptakas None of these sects was Mahāyānist, they were at best proto-Mahāyānist The Abhayagiri monks were, probably, at a corresponding plane in their pilgrimage to the full-fledged Mahāyāna On the other hand, there is the curious fact of Buddhaghoṣa's modelling of his treatise, *Vissudhimāgga*, on the *Vimuttimāgga* of a learned scholar from the Abhayagiri Cf. H C. Ray *loc* cit., P V. Bapat, Vimuttimāgga and Vissudhimāgga, *Indian Culture*, I, 3, 1935, pp 458–9; P V Bapat, *Vimuttimāgga and Vissudhimāgga*, Poona, 1937, Bareau, *op cit* , pp 254–255. The question arises whether the Vetullakas of the commentary have anything to do with the Vetulyakas of the Abhayagiri-vihāra All we can say is, that certain developments toward a docetic view of the Buddha-nature were manifest in India by the time of Buddhaghoṣa and that this view was entertained by Abhayagiri monks in Ceylon sometime before the end of the sixth century. A convenient date for the introduction of a docetic theology in Ceylon is the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth centuries

38 Rahula, *op cit* , p. 88, Bareau, *loc. cit.*

39. Paranavitana's correspondence of theological developments in Indian Buddhism to the growth of the Vetulya "heresy" in Ceylon is too pat. Besides, it attributes, incorrectly, theological and doctrinal characteristics to differerences which had only to do with the monastic discipline

40 Beal, *op. cit* , IV, p 442,

41 Hsüan-tsang did not actually visit Ceylon He was on his way there when he encountered, in Kāñcī, refugee Sinhalese monks who told him of famine in that land His report of Buddhism in Ceylon is based on hearsay *Ibid* , IV, p 430, n 123

42 *Ibid* , IV, p 443

43 *Ibid* , III, p. 358

44 In Kalinga, *ibid* , IV, p. 413, Bhārukachha, *ibid* , IV, p 452, Surāṣṭra, *ibid* , IV, p 459, Kāñcī, *ibid* , IV, p 429 Bareau has pointed out that these places lie on the main sea and land routes between Ceylon and Bodh Gayā *op cit* , pp 208–9

45, The goal of the Theravādin was to become an arhat Salvation, so conceived, was the fruit of a patient obedience to the Vinaya rules and of a literal imitation of the world-denial by means of which Śākyamuni attained Supreme Wisdom

46. J. Takakasu (tr.), *I-Tsing, A record of the Buddhist Religion*, Oxford, 1896, pp 39f

47. I say pseudo-Mahāyāna, because that is what I believe flourished among the Abhayagiri monks. But I will not labour the point by using the term throughout Also, this term does not include such aspects of the developed Mahāyāna which were practised, for a time, late in the Mediaeval Period.

48 A neat summary of this political dynasty is given in H C Ray, *op cit* , I, 1, pp 315 ff I shall give the references in the *Mahāvaṃsa* account. *Mv* 47.4 ff

49 *Mv*. 47.15

50, *Mv* 47.24

51, The chronicle is not clear on the space of time that lapses But it records that this first invasion took place sometime during the reign of Dathopatissa (657-666 A D),

52. *Mv* 47 32–43 The Pallava soldiers withdrew upon hearing of the illness of their king

53 *Mv* 47 43 The record states that he stayed in Kāñcī during the reign of four kings of Ceylon

54 *Mv* 47 44-62 The Pallava king must have been Parameśvaravarman I, although it is by no means certain who was ruling at this time, but it was not Narasimhavarman I Cf R C. Majumdar, *Ancient India*, Delhi, 1960, p 396, n. 1

55 H C. Ray, *op cit* , I, 1, p 317

56 W Geiger (tr), *Cūlavaṃsa* I, Colombo, 1953, p 109

57 *EZ* III, pp. 195–199 This is written in a land grant inscription of Kassapa III

58 *Mv*. 47 1 The chronicle breaks off here as though it had switched sources On the other hand, what it effects is a new beginning, perhaps partly due to historical imagination

59. The account of Mānavamma begins with questions about his origins. This advice is in distinct contrast to the declarative statements of relationship which begin the accounts of other reigns.

60. *Mv* 57 ff The descent of Vijayabāhu, who drove the Cholas out of Lankā, is traced from Mānavamma, on his father's side, and Dathopatissa I, on his mother's, thereby consolidating his claim to the throne by royal pedigree

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61 *Mv* 57 25
62 For an exception to this cf this cf H C Ray, *op cit*., I, I, p 320
63 Cf. *EZ* I, pp 234 237
64 Cf *supra*, section I
65 It seems that as long as there was peace and the threat of invasion from India was remote, the State was strong against the pressures from the Sangha
66 The armies of the Pallavas, although constantly engaged in battle with the Chālukyas and Pāṇḍyas, were strong, and the centre of the battle was always somewhere remote from Ceylon When Pallava military might waned, Ceylon became vulnerable once more
67 *Mv* 50 12–42
68 K A Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyas* pp 68–76.
69 *Mv* 51 22-43
70 Majumdar, *op cit*., p 399
71 *Ibid*., p 398
72 *Mv* 52 70-78
73 The Sinhalese king was apparently acting in claim of some kind of hegemony over the Pāndyas
74 *Mv* 53 5-10
75 *Mv* 53 41–47
76 Majumdar, *op cit*., p 368
77 The account is given in *Mv* 55, but the two campaings of the Cholas have been merged Cf Majumdar, *op cit* pp 405, 406
78 *Mv* 55 16 33
79 The rise to power, in the sixth century, of the Chālukyas, Pallavas, and Pāndyas, inaugurated the most splendid epoch in the history of south India and its culture It was in this era that a distinct and virile south Indian art developed which was to form the basis for the great productions of later times
80 Hsuan-tsang described the Sinhalese saṅghārāma at Bodh Gayā and told the story of its construction Beal, *op cit*., III, p 357 359 A similar account is given by the T'ang historian, Huang Hsüan-tze Cf B Barua, *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā* Calcutta, 1934, I, p 195 Barua also mentions that Sinhalese monks were in control of the Mahābodhi at least upto Pāla times Cf. *ibid*., I p 203.
81 Cf J. Ph Vogel, Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist Site at Nāgārjunakondā, *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, I, 1929, pp 9–10
82 These have been a puzzle to scholars for a long time. They are discussed in the following, where differing opinions, not immediately relevant to this study, have been expressed : G Coedes, *Les etats hindouises d'Indochine et d'Indonesie*, Histoire du Monde, VIII, Paris, 1948, pp. 37–39, M L D'Ancona, Amarāvati, Ceylon, and Three 'Imported Bronzes,' *Art Bulletin*, XXXIV, 1, 1952, pp 1 17, P Du Pont, Les Buddhas dits d'Amarāvati en Asie du Sud-Est, *BEFEO*, XLIX, 2, 1959, pp 631 636, R Le May, *A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam*, Cambridge, 1938, p 16, and *ABIA* 1933, VIII, p 35 The point I want to make is with respect to the community of a religious aesthetic shared by Amarāvatī and Anurādhapura, which survived the decline and subsequent renascence of Amarāvatī as Mahāyāna Buddhist centre
83 Cf A Soper, Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China I, Foreign Images and Artists, *Oriental Art* II, 1949, p 8; E Tennent, *Ceylon*, 4th edition, I, pp 476, 615, 620
84. D G E, Hall (ed), *Historians of South-East Asia*, London, 1961, pp 157, n 207, J G De Gasparis, New Evidence on Cultural Relations between Java and Ceylon in Ancient Times, *Artibus Asiae*, 24, 1961, pp 241–248
85 Cf P Pelliot, Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde, *BEFEO*, IV, 1904, pp 131-413
86 *Supra*, section I
87 *Mv* 49 24
88 Beal, *op cit*., pp 44, 55
89 R C Majumdar and A D Pusalker, *The History and Culture of the Indian People* (1951 54), III, p 621
90 It is not clear whether Amoghavajra was a Sinhalese disciple But the account of his return to Anurādhapura does suggest that scholarship in the Vajrayāna was at least known there
91 H C Ray, *op cit* p 273, A Aiyappan and P R Srinivasan, *Story of Buddhism with Special Reference to South India* Madras, 1960, p 70
92 *Ibid* p 54, Ramachandran, *op. cit*., pp 4, 5, 10, 11
93 Beal, *op cit*., IV, p 429
94 T A Gopinatha Rao, Bauddha Vestiges in Kāñcipuram, *Indian Antiquary*, XLIV, 1915, pp 127 129
95 *Ibid*., Ramachandran, *op cit* pp 8-10, Aiyappan and Srinivasan, *op cit*., p 55 For reference to the Tārācult in Kāñcī cf *Epigraphia Indica* III, pp 186 7, 200 201
96 Especially at Amarāvatī where Tantric shrines have been unearthed in the precinct of the great stūpa there Cf also Ramachandran, *op cit* pp 74 79
97 Aiyappan and Srinivasan, *op cit* pp 80–82 The earliest remains at Nagapatinam witness a developed Mahāyāna phase at that important monastic site

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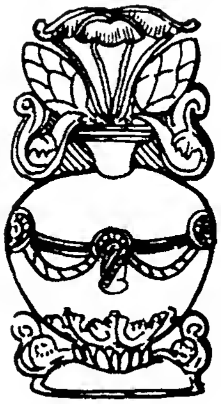
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABIA	Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology
BEFEO	Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient
CJS.G	Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G
Dv	The Dīpavaṃsa, edited and translated by B. C. Law, Peradeniya 1957–8
Ez	Epigraphia Zeylanica
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
Mv	The Mahāvamsa, W. Geiger (tr.) The Cūlavamsa, 2 vols (Colombo 1950–53)
Nks	The Nikāyasangraha, Tr. C.M. Fernando, Colombo, 1908



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A Historical Survey of the Elements of Hindu Culture in Burma

UPENDRA THAKUR

IN ANCIENT TIMES India's cultural contacts extended to a wide region all over Asia. Its beginnings go back a very long way in time and it is almost certain that the results seen today were, in the main, not achieved by military expeditions but by peaceful trading and religious teaching, and thereby all the more permanent.[1] The great cultural movement accompanied with political settlements in the beginning of the Christian era or even earlier, effected by the ancient Hindus in those far-off lands could be known to their descendants about eighteen hundred years later, i.e., in the beginning of the twentieth century and this in itself speaks of the complete lack of evidence in Indian sources regarding the marvellous achievements of their forefathers.

Burma approached both by Land and Sea Routes

Scholars are generally agreed that colonists from India began to cross the seas and enter those lands from the beginning of the Christian era and they followed atleast three different routes to reach those countries. The earliest settlers probably embarked at the port of Amarāvatī and landed at the port of Martaban in Burma. Some settled in the Thaton region of the Irawadi round about Pegu, while others pushed on southwards and finally found "a resting place in the fertile rice-plains of Siam." Compared with the local inhabitants, they possessed a decidedly much higher civilization and brought with them their own culture and religion.

Regular Trade Route through Burma

Apart from the sea-routes there was a regular trade-route by land between Eastern India and China through upper Burma and Yunnan. On the authority of the Chinese chronicles we know that the merchants used to travel from China across the whole of north India and Afghanistan to Bactria with their merchandise in the second century B.C. It was the land-route through which twenty Chinese priests came to India, and according to I-tsing, a certain Indian king built a temple for these travelling Chinese priests in the third or fourth century A.D. Along this route one could easily travel to Lower Burma and other parts of Indo-China from different points, and Kia Tan, a Chinese writer, also refers to a land-route between Annam and India.[2] The Burmese chronicles also refer to a more direct route between Eastern India and Burma through Arakan. Moreover, persons of Indian features are yet to be seen on the coast near Takur Pa, while colonies of Indian descent still survive on the coast of the Bay of Bandon and they trace the arrival of their ancestors from India by an overland route across the Malay Peninsula.[3]

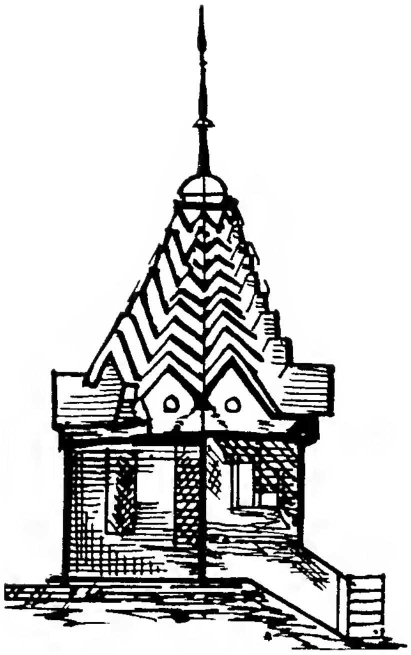

FIG 1 *Chingta Monastery, Sib Song Paama, Burma.*

Different waves of Hindu Immigrants to Burma

Thus, archaeological and literary accounts clearly confirm that the earliest Hindu settlers reached and settled in the different colonies, in the beginning of the Christian era, i.e., about second century A.D. and gradually implanted their own culture on the soil of the country of their adoptation.

It is now established beyond doubt that this unique civilization was an all-India affair and the adventurers both from north and south India had an equal hand in effecting this revolution. But their great leaders are still unknown to history though sometimes we do have stray reference to some of them in tradition and legends. It has been suggested that whenever there was a state of chaos and lawlessness in any region due to changed political situation the Hindu immigrants were quick to take advantage of it and consequently siezed royal power. These immigrants included all sorts of people—traders, brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, etc. following different arts and crafts. They came in different waves of immigration from India and exploited the situation whenever it afforded an opportunity to them. This suggestion, though purely imaginary, is evidently corroborated by local traditions. In fact, we have similar tradition relating to the establishment of the foundation of the Ligor kingdom in Malay Peninsula, Java, Champa, Burma, Borneo and other Hindu settlements in those days.[4]

Early Buddhism in Burma

The heart of Burma is now the home of the Burmese, a Tibeto-Burman race that has more or less absorbed the earlier races that flourised there.[5] These races included the Pyu, now extinct as an entity and the Mon who still survive though in inconsiderable numbers. The former are said to have belonged to a Tibetan stock and are now almost absorbed by the Burmese race. The latter are, however, now known as Talaing in Burma itself and are popularly believed to have come from Telingana (Kaliṅga) on the east coast of India.[6] Besides, the ruling caste of the Pyu themselves is said to have been probably Indian or semi-Indians who possessed primitive conceptions of town-building. Speaking of their burial system Harvey suggests that the writing on large urns, for the ashes of the dead, indicates at Old Prome, in the early eighth century, the existence of a dynasty named Vikrama who was probably a chief of the Indian blood.[7] This is further corroborated by one of the earliest finds at a place called Maunggan near Hmawza consisting of gold plates containing Buddhist texts in Pali, the script of which is like the Kadamba script of south India of the fifth century A.D. This further suggests that the Pyu were already practising Theravāda by the sixth century A.D. As far as Burma is concerned we can not go back further than the fifth century A.D. in the present state of our knowledge. Supposing that even though Aśoka's missionaries found but little response in the third century B.C., it is reasonably certain that Buddhism, including Hinduism, had taken a hold in Burma long before the fifth century A.D. An inscription engraved on a beautiful stone extant from Hmawza, written in chaste Sanskrit, further supports the above-mentioned contention.

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Hinduism also Practised in Burma

In addition to Buddhist remains found in large numbers in various parts of Burma, Hindu images have also been discovered over a wide area, including Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa and Brahmā at Hmawza; Viṣṇu, Garuḍa and Hanumān at Mergui, and Sūrya, Durgā and Viṣṇu in Arakan as well as symbolical coins and terracotta tablets with Hindu objects upon them. Again, in the village of Kalagangon nearby, were found the remains of a liṅga $\frac{1}{4}$ inch high, showing that Śaivism existed side by side with Buddhism. In another mound at Hmawza were discovered Bodhisattvas in Pāla style which are later in date but similar to those well known from Bodhgaya of the ninth-tenth century A.D. Thus, it is clear that from the fifth to the eighth or ninth century A.D. all the three types of religion were practised in Burma and both Buddhism and Hinduism existed peacefully side by side.

That the elements of Hindu culture had almost penetrated into the different walks of Burmese life can be judged by the fact that in India, the old kingdom of Pyu was called Śrīkṣetra which is the sacred name of the famous city of Puri and the old Indian name Pegu was *Ussa*, derived from Orissa.[8]

Early Inscriptions in the Southern Alphabet of India

The ancient name for the Mon Kingdom of Thaton was Ramaññadeśa or more populary Rahman in lower Burma whose principal cities were Pegu and Thaton, which we know from discoveries made in Siam. The script of the oldest inscription in Mon on a pillar found at Lopburi in Central Siam is based on a Pallava script of the fifth century A.D.[9] Other fragments of inscriptions found so far also point to a southern Indian origin of the script. The religious terms found in their inscriptions are Sanskrit rather Pali and this suggests direct communication with India and the great influence of Hindu religion.

Burmese Localities named after Indian namesakes

The countries which have received Hindu culture fall into two classes (i) those to which it came as a result of religious missions or of peaceful international intercourse, and (ii) those where it was established after conquest or at least colonization. In the first class the religion introduced was Buddhism mixed with Śaivism or Vaiṣṇavism or both as in Tibet and other countries while in second but smaller class, which included Java, Kambuja and Campā, the

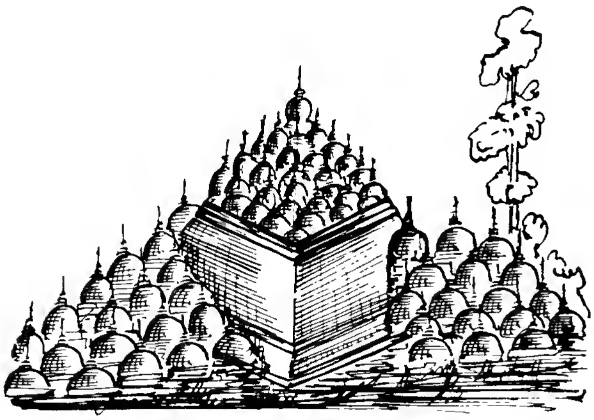

FIG 2 *That Binnyu Temple, Pagan, Burma.*

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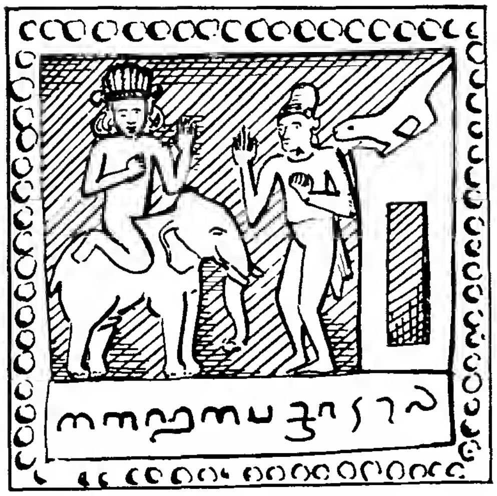

FIG 3 *The Case of Chameleon.*

Hindu immigrants brought Hinduism along with Buddhism. It is interesting to note that the two systems were often declared to be the same and the result was Hinduism mixed with Buddhism. Formerly in Burma, as at the courts of Siam and Kambuja, we are told, there were Brāhmaṇas who performed state ceremonies and acted as astrologers.[10] Though they had little to do with the religion of the people, their presence explained the predominance of Hindu influence at the court.

In spite of strong Indian influence, it is surprising to find that the Burmese have preserved such a sharp individuality in art, institutions and everyday life that "one cannot pass from Burma into India without feeling that he has entered a new country."[11] This can be explained by the fact that the mountains separate it from Eastern Bengal and run right down to the sea and form a barrier still sufficient to prevent communication by road. Nevertheless the Hindu immigrants and ideas have found their way both by land and sea. The Burmese chroniclers declare that Tagung was founded by one Hindu prince Abhirāja in the ninth century B.C. and the first ruler of Arakan was an ancient prince of Vārāṇasī.[12] These legends may not have much historical value, but they do show that the Burmese knew of India and wished to connect themselves with it. This spirit was so widely prevalent that it gradually led not only to the invention of further legends but also to the application of Hindu names to Burmese localities. For instance, Aparāntaka, a district of Western India, is identified with Upper Burma by native scholars. So also Prome is called Śrīkṣetra and the name Irawaddy represents Irāvatī (the modern Rāvī). The ancient town of Śrāvastī or Sāvatthī is said to reappear in three forms, Tharawaddy, Tharawaw and Thawatti. Tapussa and the Bhallika, the two merchants who were the first to salute the Buddha after enlightenment, are said to have come from Ukkala which is usually identified with Orissa. The Burmese tradition, however, locates it in Burma. The Buddha himself is supposed to have visited Burma as well as Ceylon[13] and imparted some of his power to the celebrated image now in the Arakan Pagoda at Mandalay. The Simhalese story about the evangelization of Lower Burma by Aśoka's missionaries, the story of Soma and Uttara in the *Dīpavaṃsa*[14] and the identification of Suvarṇabhūmi with Ramaññadeśa (district of Thaton), probably a corruption of Saddhammapura,[15] etc. show how a system of mythological geography influenced by Hinduism arose.

Popularity of Viṣṇu Cult

From the above survey the conclusion seems irresistible that in the early centuries of the Christian era Lower Burma had the reputation of being a

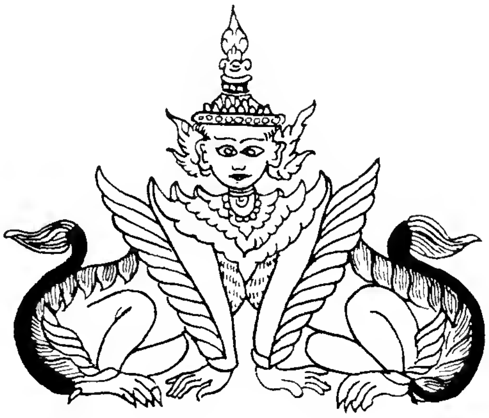

FIG 4 *Ornamental motif from a Buddhist Building*

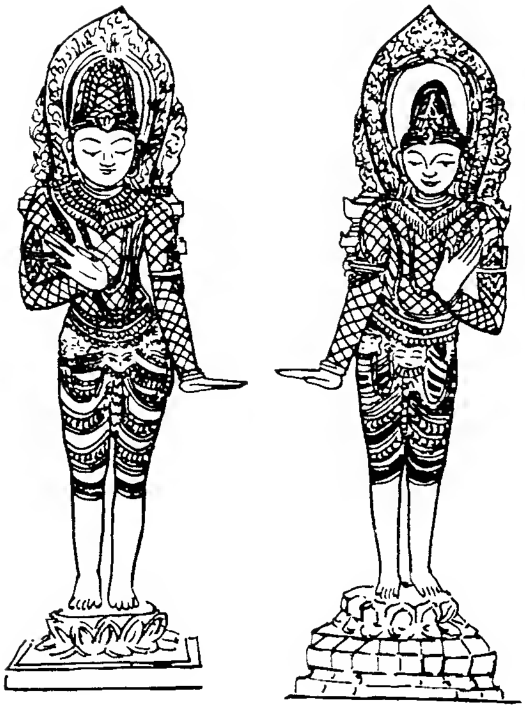

FIG 5 *Dvārapālas, Ānanda Temple, Pagan, Burma*

Buddhist country and in the eleventh century with the rise of Anavrata, who conquered Talaingas (Thaton), Buddhism emerged as a very strong religious force. Intercourse with the rest of India was natural which is confirmed by the presence of Sanskrit words in old Talaing and also the information about south India in Talaing records, in which the city of Conjeevaram, the great commentator Dharmapāla and other men of learning are often mentioned.[16] Forchhammer has traced analogies between the architecture of Pagan and southern India,[17] and he further suggests that the earliest Talaing alphabet is identical with the Vengi alphabet of the fourth century A.D.[18] The communication by sea brought not only Hīnayāna Buddhism but also Mahāyāna and Tantric Buddhism as well as Hinduism from Orissa and Bengal, whose influences can of course very easily be detected in the ancient buildings, monuments and sculptures of the country.[19]

It is, however, interesting to note that whereas in Kambuja and Champa Śaivism, especially Liṅga worship, was long the official and popular cult and penetrated into Siam, few Śaivite emblems but numerous statues of Vaiṣṇavite deities have hitherto been discovered in Burma. In a village near Pagan some Tantric frescoes are preserved which represent Bodhisattvas with their Śaktis. In one temple we have an inscription dated 1248 which requires the people to supply the priests morning and evening with rice, betel, etc. It is not clear who these priests were but there is no doubt that they professed an extreme form of Buddhist Śaktism.[20].

Pagan the Burmese Nalanda

From about 1060 A.D. until the later decade of the thirteenth century Pagan formed a great centre of Buddhist culture not only for Burma but for the whole east, renowned alike for its architecture and its scholarship. The magnificent pagodas still constitute a testimony to the former (Refer to Plates 69–70). Anavrata made attempts to obtain relics from China and Ceylon and commenced the construction of the Shwe Zigon pagoda which was, however, completed by his successors who also constructed about a thousand other temples amongst which is the most celebrated Ānanda temple erected by king Kyansithā.[21]

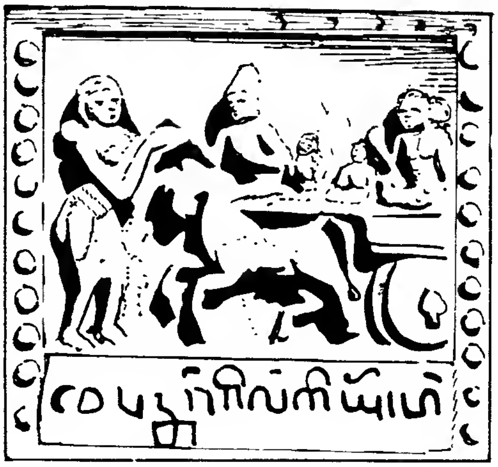

FIG 6 *Vessentara hands over the Ornaments*

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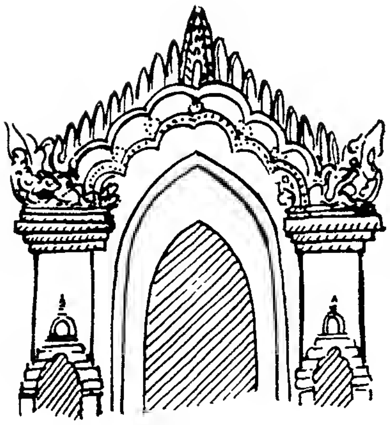

FIG. 7 *South Porch, Ānanda Temple, Pagan.*

The little grammatical treatise known as *Kārikā* marks the beginning of Pali literature in Burma. The book was composed in 1064 A.D. by monk Dhammasenāpati who lived in the monastery attached to the Ānanda temple. Of these mention may be made of the most celebrated work *Saddanīti* of Aggavaṃsa (1154 A.D.), a treatise on the language of the *Tripiṭaka* which became a classic not only in Burma but also in Ceylon. Linguistic studies got further impetus during the reign of Kyocvā (c. 1230 A.D.) and even women are said to have been distinguished for the skill and ardour which they displayed in mastering Pali grammar. Besides the works mentioned above, some more works on *Abhidhamma* were also composed.

Manusmṛti The Guide for The Local law-givers

It is interesting to note that the Burmese law-books or *Dhammathats*[22] which are still recognised as legal authority regulating inheritance and other domestic matters are Hindu in origin and do not betray any trace of Simhalese influence "although since 1750 there has been a decided tendency to bring them into connection with authorities accepted by Buddhism."[23] The earliest of these codes are those of Dhammavilāsa (1174 A.D.) and of Waguru, king of Martaban in 1280 A.D. They are based on the authority of Manu, and in matters of purely legal topics correspond pretty closely to the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* or *Manusmṛti*. But in all these, the prescriptions involving Hindu religious observances such as penance and sacrifice have been completely omitted. The theory of punishment is also different and inspired by the doctrine of Karma, that is evil deed must bring its retribution. Thus, the Burmese codes ordain for every crime not penalties to be suffered by the criminal but merely the payment of compensation to the aggrieved party, proportionate to the damage suffered. Scholars generally believe that "the law-books, on which these codes are generally based, were brought from the east coast of India and were of the same type as the Code of Nārada which, though of unquestioned Brahmanic orthodoxy, is almost purely legal and has little to say about religion"[24] Later on, a subsidiary literature grew up embodying local decisions, summarized by a Burmese nobleman, Kaingza in about 1640 A.D. in the *Mahārājadhammathat*. In recognition of his services and scholarship he was given the title of *Manurāja* by the king and the name of Manu was connected with his code. This code superseded all the older law-books and during the

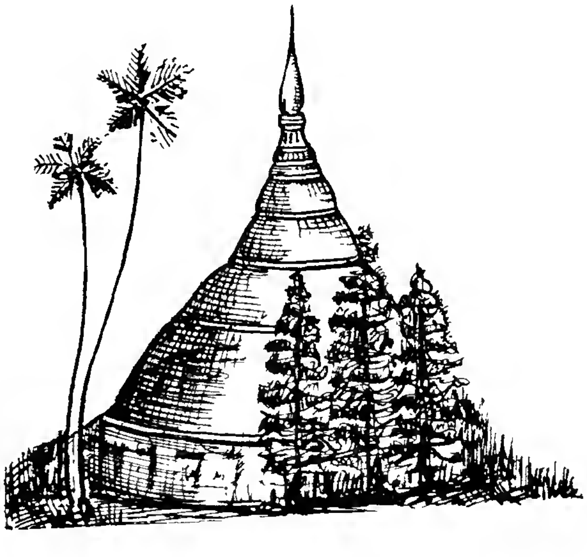

FIG 8 *Shwe Dagon, Rangoon.*

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reign of Alompra who remodelled his administration, several other codes were also completed, but these also preserve the name of Manu.[25]

Sanskrit Literature known to the People

Direct Hindu influence can be seen in another field also. The court astrologers, soothsayers and professors of kindred sciences were even in recent times Brāhmaṇas, known as Ponna and they were mostly from Manipur. A Pagan inscription dated 1442 mentions the gift of 295 books to the Saṅgha among which several have Sanskrit titles, and about 1600 A.D. we hear of Paṇḍitas, learned in the Vedaśāstras, "meaning not Vedic learning in the strict sense but combination of science and magic described as medicine, astronomy, Kāmaśāstra, etc.[26] They also included Tantric works of the Mahākālacakra type. Moreover Hindu tradition was sufficiently strong at the Burmese Court to make the presence of experts in the *Atharvaveda* seem desirable and "in the capital they were in quest for such services as drawing up horoscopes and invoking good luck at weddings whereas monks will not attend social gatherings."[27] Among usages borrowed from Hinduism mention may be made of the daily washing, with holy water, of the image in the Arakan temple at Mandalay. Formerly court festivities, such as the new year's feast and the festival of ploughing were performed by Ponnas, and with Hindu rites. On the other hand, the *Rāmāyaṇa* does not seem to have the same influence on art and literature that it had in Siam and Java though scenes from it are sometimes depicted.[28]

Popularity of The Worship of Nats

The prevalence of the worship of Nats (Skt. *Nātha?*) or spirits of various kinds in Burmese religion is the direct influence of Hinduism, though different views have been expressed about its origin. In spire of its wide-spread popularity the worship of Nats is a superstition, and on several occasions the king of Burma suppressed its manifestations when they became too conspicuous. The Nats are of atleast three classes : (1) the Nature-spirits inhabiting trees, rivers and mountains similar to those revered in Tibet, China and India ; (2) ghosts or ancestral spirits whose worship was widely prevalent in Northern Burma where there is a disposition (equally popular with Hindus) to believe that violent and uncanny persons and those who meet with a tragic death become powerful ghosts requiring powerful propitiation, and (3) the Nats who are atleast in part identified with the Hindu deities recognised by early Buddhism. Among the thirty-seven Nats[29] the chief is Thagyā, Śakra or Indra of Hindu mythology, but the others are heroes connected with five cycles of legends based on a popular and often inaccurate version of Burmese history. Besides Thagyā Nat we have other Hindu figures such as Man Nat (Māra) and Byammā Nat (Brahmā). Moreover, the spirits of Burma are marshalled and classified according to the Buddhist system as were the spirits connected with Hinduism some centuries before.

Indian Influence on Burmese Architecture

In the field of architecture in Burma we find that all the branches of it are exclusively devoted to religion with the single exception of the palace at Mandalay. The architectural forms bear analogy to those of Nepal and both preserve the common style for wooden buildings which was once prevalent in ancient India.

It is said that Manuha, the king of Thaton had built the temple of Nanpaya at the village of Myinkaba two miles south of Pagan, which is one of the few stone-built temples and conains some interesting bas-reliefs among which Hindu deities are prominent. This naturally leads one to conclude that the Thaton form of Buddhism was largely Hindu in spirit, though of

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late this had become a point of debate amongst scholars. But whatever be the fact, it is true that Buddhists of Siam and Burma often include Hindu figures, such as Indra, in their frescoes.

The only definitely Hindu temple recognizable at Pagan is the Nat Hḷaung Gyaung which is built in the form of a sanctuary tower and is reputed to be of the early tenth century A.D. It is dedicated to Lord Viṣṇu and is decorated with ten stone figures of his ten *avatāras*, the Buddha being the ninth in this case. That the Buddhists in Burma largely adopted the Hindu form and style of building need not surprise any one because "it must be remembered that we have now arrived at a relatively late period, after the decay of Buddhism in India, when Pallava and Chola ideas of building construction imported from southern India had long since reached and been adopted in the delta region of Burma even by people who professed Buddhism."[30] (See Plates 71–72).

The famous Ānanda temple at Pagan which was completed in 1090 A.D. has been rightly described as "a south Indian temple crowned by a north Indian śikhara". In fact, the Burmese kings showed their zeal for the new-found faith by the erection of buildings compounded of Indian forms whose meaning they imperfectly comprehended, and thus the "best art of Pagan cannot bear comparison with classical Indo-Javanese or Khmer art, which are each the expression of a living Indian tradition."[31] According to Harvey, to stand in this ancient refuge looking up at the great stone vault, is to regret the supersession of north Indian influence with its stone work and orderliness by the Talaing brick and shoddy which swamped Burma after the eleventh century.[32]

Thus, in eastern Asia the influence of Hinduism has been notable in extent, strength and duration. An impartial analysis of Hindu achievements would, however, convince a reader that their political exploits were remarkable for the distance, if not for the extent, of the territory occupied. For, there were Hindu kingdoms in Java and Kambuja and settlements in Campa, Sumatra, and even Borneo "an island about as far from India as is Persia from Rome".[33]

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A Temple of Viṣṇu in Burma

USHA R. BHISE

BURMA IS A professedly Buddhist country. Of the two schools of Buddhism, viz., the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna, the former had affinities with Hinduism in respect of ritual as well as the pantheon of gods and goddesses. But Burma accepted Hīnayāna which was fundamentally opposed to the gods and goddesses and exalted Buddha to the position of the Supreme God. Thus, Burmese atmosphere was not very congenial to the spread or survival of Hinduism, which failed to make a strong impression on its culture, as it did in the Mahāyāna countries like Java, Sumatra, Bali or Borneo. The history of Burma before the 11th century A.D. is shrouded in obscurity, the only source of information being the local chronicles which belong to a much later date. One such chronicle mentions the name of King Poonnareeka, who ascended the throne of the Pegu dominion in 746 A.D. The name seems to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word *puṇḍarīka*. This king has been described as the Brāhmaṇ-hearted king, indicating his inclinations towards Brahmanism. This is also evident from the fact that he built the city of Ramanago or the city of Rāma on the site of present Rangoon. A following period of 300 years (up to 1050 A.D.) envisaged the religious strife between Brāhmaṇists and Buddhists. There are also records of Hindu kings of India attacking the Burmese territories. The king of Vijayanagaram had launched one such attack in 590 A.D. which was repulsed by a Burmese prince. Two Indian dynasties, viz. Candra and Vikrama, dominated over Arakan and lower Burma respectively.

Hinduism Entered Burma Through Arakan

Geographically, the eastern part of India being nearer to Burma, exerted greater influence on this neighbouring country of Suvaṇṇabhūmi. Arakan had been more a part of Indian frontier than a Burmese territory and relations, mostly commercial, with Bengal, Assam and the provinces on the Coromandel coast had been more frequent than we can possibly imagine. Hinduism made its first entry into Burma, through Arakan. Hinduised Mahāyāna infiltrated into Pagan from the eastern parts of India. The architecture of the ancient monuments at Pagan bears the characteristics of Chalukyan sculpture. A notable example is the famous Ānanda temple. There is a possibility of Chalukyan artists being employed for its construction. This style reaches almost its perfection in the Chalukyan temples of the 11th and the 12th centuries.

Hindu Priests at the Courts of Buddhist Kings

Indian influences are also found in the Mon inscriptions of Burma which abound in

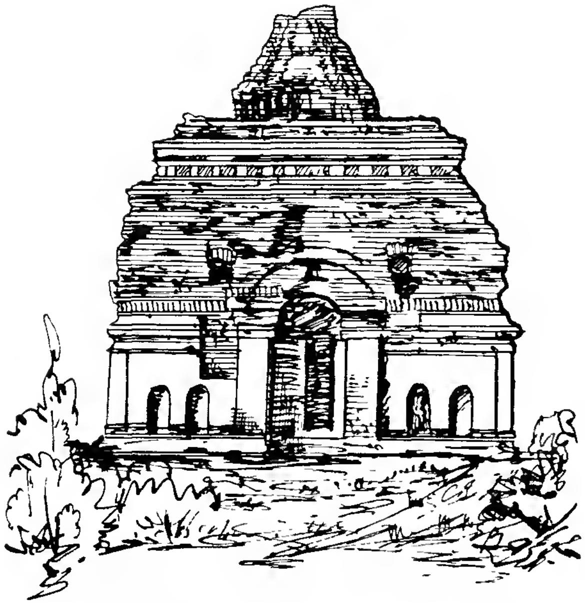

FIG 1. *Nat-hlaung Kyaung The only ancient Brahmanical temple extant in Burma*

Sanskrit terms. The Mons have also been known as the Talaings. This word shows affinity with the word *Telangana*. People from this part of India had established trade with Pegu. The people of Pegu in general, are known by the name Talaing; even though the name originally belonged to the foreign settlers, it came to be applied to the whole people in course of time. Even though countries of Southeast Asia accepted Buddhism, Hindu priests continued to hold important positions in the courts of Buddhist kings. Knowledge of astrology was an important factor which was responsible for the influential positions of Brahmins in the royal courts. They were also considered to be expert house-builders. They conducted the ceremonies of coronation or the foundations of important buildings according to Hindu customs using plantain decorations, holy water in conch-shells and vessels of gold and silver, *dūrvā* grass, etc. At each ceremony they are said to have worshipped *Nārāyaṇa*. Brahmanical influence is also felt in the names of ancient Burmese cities, e.g., Arimaddanapura for ancient Pagan, Bissunomyo,[1] or the city of *Viṣṇu* for old Prome[2] which has been identified with the modern town of Hmawza which had been also known in the ancient times as Sisit or *Śrīkṣetra*. The name *Śrīkṣetra* had been obviously given to the site after the sacred name of Puri on the opposite coast of the Bay of Bengal. The Burmese chronicle *Mahayazawin* records the tradition of the foundation of the city being laid by Viṣṇu with the assistance of his carrier Garuḍa, Caṇḍī and Parameśvara. The chronicle does not mention the name of Viṣṇu but refers to him as a *ṛṣi*. The name of the *ṛṣi* is supplied by the famous Shwezigon inscription.

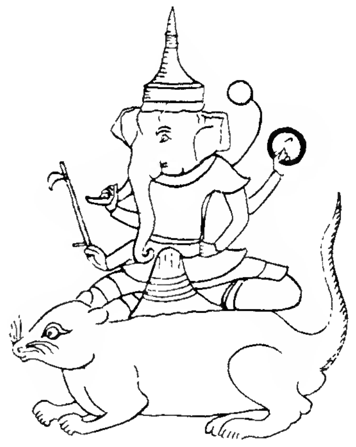

FIG. 2 *Ganesa on his Vāhana*

Viṣṇu adopted as a Ṛsi by Buddhists

Whereas the Puranic records hail Gautama Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, thus subordinating Buddha to Viṣṇu, the records of Buddhistic Burma invert the position by calling Viṣṇu a *ṛṣi* or a sage, who built a city called Sisit (Śrīkṣetra) and thereafter departed to Brahmaloka. Thence he came to be born as in the city of Arimaddanapura as a king who upheld the laws of Buddhism. The name of the king has been mentioned as *Śrī Tribhuvanāditya Dhammarāja* and is to be identified with Kyanzittha of Pagan, the son of Anawratha. Thus, sage Viṣṇu held a position inferior to that of Buddha. But one thing which strikes as important is the fact that the

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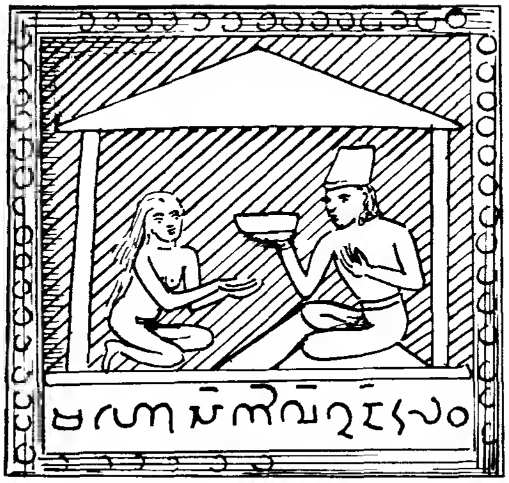

FIG. 3. *Mahauṣadha gives Amarā a loin cloth.*

name of Viṣṇu has been associated with the birth of *Śrīkṣetra*, and speaks for the Vaiṣṇava influence at the court of the Buddhist kings of Pagan. This fact has been corroborated by the finds of Vaiṣṇava images at Hmawza which stands on the ancient site of *Śrīkṣetra* and is known to be the site of old Prome. The most important of the finds is a Vaiṣṇava temple at Pagan known as Nathlaung Kyaung. The term Nat means a benificent nature spirit and indicates a being lower in status than the gods and revives the Burmese tradition which gives Viṣṇu the status of a *ṛṣi* and not of a god. This is the only Hindu temple, now extant in Burma. Tradition ascribes its foundation to King Taung Thugyi (931–964 A.D.). This date is too early for the architecture and ecen the style of sculpture. Epigraphical as well as historical evidence in favour of this tradition is lacking. A late Burmese manuscript assigns it to King Anawratha, who built it after his conquest of Thâtoñ in 1057 A.D. Even though the king and his successors were ardent followers of the Ceylonese form of Buddhism, they allowed religious freedom to the Hindu emigrants, who, however, could not win converts to their creed. Brahmins enjoyed prominent positions as court-astrologers and participated in rituals and ceremonies. As their community required a place of worship, it is not unlikely that Anawratha obliged them by building a temple of Viṣṇu. This king has been known for his building activity and has got many pagodas to his credit. After the conquest of Thâtoñ, he returned with sacred writings and relics as also a huge procession of Mon captives among whom were writers, artists and artisans, whose importation gave a powerful impetus to his building activity.

Viṣṇu Temple Recording Mukundamālā Verse

A valuable piece of evidence has been furnished by an inscription engraved on sandstone which was found at Myinpagan, standing a mile south of Pagan. At Myinpagan lived Manohāri or Manuha the last of Talaing kings who was taken a captive by King Anawratha. Among the subjects of Manohāri were colonists from south India. Since no Vaiṣṇava temple has been found at Myinpagan the inscription either belongs to the temple at Pagan or to some other temple of which no traces have been left. There are good reasons to believe that it refers to the temple at Pagan.

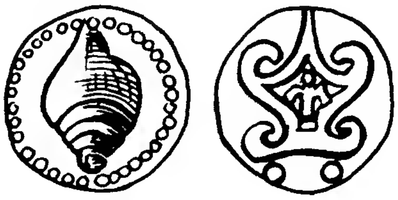

FIG 4 *Vaisnava Symbols*

The inscription opens with a Sanskrit verse in Grantha characters which is taken from the *Mukundamālā* 6 of the renowned saint-king Kulaśekhara. It reads :

नाम्था धर्मे न वसुनिचये नैव कामोपभोगे
यद् यद्भाव्य भवतु भगवन् पूर्वकर्मानुरूपम् ।
एतत्प्रार्थ्यं मम बहुनम जन्मजन्मान्तरेऽपि
त्वत्पादाम्भोरुहयुगगता निश्चला भक्तिरस्तु ॥

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The prose part which follows is in Tamil and the characters belong to the 13th century, thus setting the 13th century as the lower limit for the date of temple. The Tamil passage records the gift of a native of Malabar to the temple which is called *Nānādeśi Viṇṇagar*[3] and 'a temple of *Viṣṇu* belonging to those coming from various countries'. The donor, Irayiran Siriyan styles himself as a devotee (*nambi*) of the Vaiṣṇava saint Kulaśekhara, residing at Magodayarpattanam in Malaimaṇḍalam, i.e., Cranganore in Malabar. The Viṣṇu temple is said to be situated at Pukkam *alias* Arivattanapuram, i.e., Pugama *alias* Arimaddanapura of the Kalyani inscriptions, referring to modern Pagan. The gift consisted of a sacred *maṇḍapa*, a sacred door and a fixed lamp to burn constantly in the *maṇḍapa*. The gift of a *maṇḍapa* to the temple shows that the temple was already in existence in the 13th century and was so well-known as to receive a gift from a person in a far-off land. This may point out the 11th century to be the date of its construction.

Indian Impact on Burmese Architecture

The *maṇḍapa* itself is not in existence at present but traces of it can be found in the two large holes which are seen on either side of the entrance. The *maṇḍapa* or the porch rested on two large beams which were fixed in the two big holes, thus connecting it with the main structure. In course of time it collapsed or was pulled down—burying the steps under its débris. The foundation of the *maṇḍapa* can still be seen.

The door which faces the east forms the only entrance to the temple and must have been there since the temple was first built in 11th century, because it is difficult to imagine a temple without an entrance. Hence the gift of a sacred door referred to in the 13th century inscription needs some clarification. It may be conjectured that the sacred door refers only to the panels of the door which were fitted on to the entrance frame and, very likely had some sacred symbols engraved on its surface. But no traces of it have been left now.

Among the modern records, the first one to mention the temple is "Narrative of the Mission to the Court of Ava in 1855" by Col. Henry Yule. Here it has been described as a small ruined pagoda standing close to the Thappyinnyu temple in which are Hindu statues. It stands among a group of Buddhist pagodas to the south-eastern corner of the city wall of Pagan. Some of the pagodas are in ruins. Pagan fell to Kublai Khan in 1287. This event brought about a change in the fate of excellent temples and sculptures of Pagan. The Viṣṇu temple under discussion was no exception. The existing images show signs of deliberate defacement and disfiguration, the rest of them having been removed and destroyed by the iconoclasts.

The temple is almost square in plan, built of bricks. The plinth is raised 5' above the ground. The building consists of three parts, *viz.*, the base, the dome and the *śikhara*. The walls of the base are adorned on all the four sides by statues of divinities placed in ornamented niches. The dome consists of four superimposed roofs acting as false stories. It is surmounted by a *śikhara* ornamented with panels and having recessed corners.

In the centre is an enormous square obelisk which supports the dome and the *śikhara*. Around it is the usual perambulatory corridor. In the middle of the east face of the obelisk is a large deep niche which was the main sanctum. In the middle is to be seen the place where the central image was enshrined. There are also traces of two smaller figures on either side of the main idol. There are statues of standing divinities set against each face of the central pillar, which are sculptured in brick and coated with stucco and placed in niches adorned with pilasters. On either side of the sanctum, on the capitals of the two flanking pillars are two small niches of which, the one on proper left is empty, the other contains a small sculpture.

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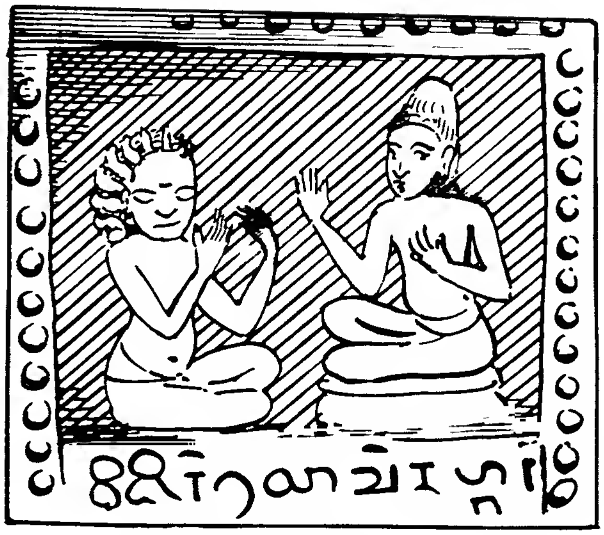

FIG. 5 *Vidhura tells Punnavakkha that he is ready to go with him*

2′ in height. The interior of the sanctuary is very dark. Only dormers and small narrow windows provide light. The inner walls bear unmistakable signs of frescoes representing Viṣṇu and his procession of worshippers and devas. They have been nearly obliterated, the walls being darkened with soot.

Restoration of the Main Shrine

The *avatāras* of Viṣṇu are represented by sandstone sculptures placed in niches arranged on the outer walls of the temple. There are ten niches in all, of which four are seen on the eastern or the front wall. Each of the remaining three sides having two niches. The only entrance in the east face of the temple is reached by means of a small flight of stairs and has a sandstone framing. The building seems to have been plastered both outside and inside. As the outside plaster peeled off, the bricks which were set in mud mortar fell away, in many places, from the upper part. This gave the temple a dilapidated look. The brick work, especially of the dome, was in every stage of decay. The *śikhara* was also in a bad condition. The pinnacle had broken off and there was a large crack in the east face of it. As it was intended only to preserve the monument and not restore it, the structure was strengthened by underpinning and made watertight by grouting. The crack in the *śikhara* was filled up and built flush with the original surface. The broken summit was made watertight. A large hole in the central obelisk made, perhaps, by treasure hunteres has been filled up by concrete thus strengthening the support of the dome and the *śikhara*. The broken lintel of the door which had a sandstone framing has been replaced by a beam of reinforced concrete, as no stone of the same variety was available. An approach road to the temple has also been constructed.

Iconographic Peculiarities of the Images of Nat-hlaung-Kyaung

When Col. Henry Yule first visited the Nat-hlaung-kyaung, he came across two stone images which were lying on the floor of the corridor. One of them was standing and the other seated. The standing one is an image of Śiva now placed in the Ananda Museum, Pagan. The seated one is that of Viṣṇu riding on Garuḍa. It is 4′ in height and has found its way to Berlin Museum. This may be identified with the central image of the temple. It represents Viṣṇu seated on a lotus throne resting on Garuḍa. The god is seated in the *padmāsana* pose. Garuḍa shows a short stunted human bust resting on heavy rounded feet and poses itself as if it were about to fly. Both the God and his *vāhana* have been profusely ornamented. Viṣṇu is crowned by beautiful *kirīṭa* flanked by fluttering scarves on two sides. In his upper hands he holds the disc and the conch respectively. The palm of the lower right hand raised up to the chest is mutilated and the attribute can hardly be recognised. The position of the hand leads us to conjecture that it was *bilva* or the *mātuliṅga* fruit in keeping with the Burmese convention. The lower left hand holds the club, grasping the middle of it. On the whole the sculpture bears Indian characteristics.

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Above the central figure there are two niches over the capitals of two flanking pillars. Of these the one on the right contains a small sculpture which respresents Viṣṇu in the *padmāsana* posture on a lotus-seat resting on Garuḍa, whose figure is very badly mutilated. The ornaments are simple but heavy. Instead of the *kirīṭa*, there is a simple head-dress resembling that of most of the Burmese Buddha images; the dress is plain and resembles that of a Buddhist monk. It bears the stamp of Burmese iconography. The Garuḍa, the disc held in the upper right hand and club held in the lower left hand resting on the knee leave no doubt that the figure represents the Buddha *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.

Depiction of Viṣṇu's āyudha-puruṣas

On the remaining sides of the obelisk, i.e., the northern, western and southern faces, there are figures of three standing deities cut out in relief in brick within a niche flanked with pilasters. They are very badly mutilated and the attributes have nearly disappeared. The three figures are replicas of one another. One of the three, which is comparatively better preserved, gives an idea of what the figures were. The lower right arm is missing, the upper right arm holds what remains of broken object, probably the disc. The lower left arm rests on a club of which outlines can be traced and the upper left holds the conch, of which outlines are clearly seen. The graceful limbs are adorned richly with ornaments. The slender, well-proportioned figures show affinity with the mediaeval sculptural art of Eastern India. The images have been identified as those of Viṣṇu by several archaeologists; but one fails to see the purpose behind having four images of the same deity within a single temple. The very purpose of idol-worship, viz., concentrating and meditating on one single image for spiritual satisfaction is lost with the conception of the existence of several images of the same god. A probable solution to the problem lies in the supposition of the three identical figures being attendants of Viṣṇu—either the door-keepers or the traditional *āyudha-puruṣas*.[4] According to the iconographical convention these attendants have the same attributes as those of Viṣṇu. Usually the number of door-keepers or the *āyudha-puruṣas* viz. the *śaṅkha* and the *cakra* is two. Here it is increased to three to suit the number of the faces of the central obelisk. But anyway they are subordinate to the main divinity of the temple.

Representation of Viṣṇu's Incarnations

As for the ten niches on the outer walls, only seven still retain their images. Of the four niches on the eastern wall, three are empty. The niche to the proper left of the entrance contains a figure which cannot be identified either with Viṣṇu or his incarnations. It is a two-handed figure standing on a lotus, wearing a crown. Each hand holds a lotus bud on a level with the shoulders. Thus it bears all the marks of a representation of Sūrya of the south Indian type.

The niches on the southern side contain the Varāha and the Nṛsiṃha incarnations of Viṣṇu. The boar-head of the Varāha avatāra and the figure of Bhūdevī seated on its left shoulder have been badly defaced. The hands have mostly broken off, only the mace in the lower left hand and the lotus throne are clearly visible.

The Nṛsiṁha *avatāra* has a clearly visible face of a lion and at least six hands. The lower hands hold the body of Hiraṇyakaśipu on its lap but the figure on the lap has completely vanished.

The Rāmacandra *avatāra* has been crowned with the usual head-dress, flanked by fluttering scarves on two sides. It has got two hands, the right one holding the arrow, and the left one holding the bow. But the face is mutilated.

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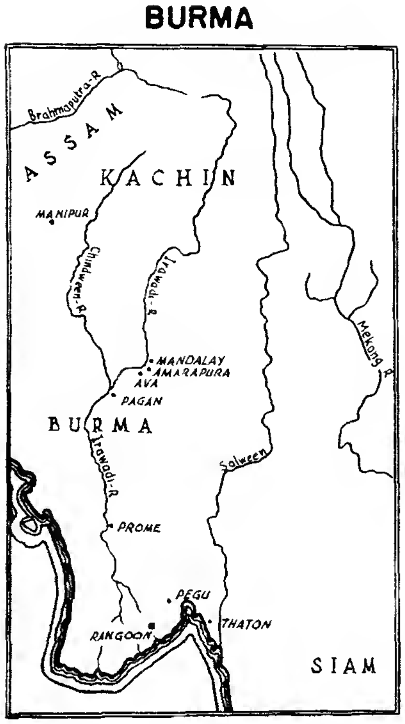

FIG. 6. *Map showing Burma.*

The Paraśurāma *avatāra* stands erect on a lotus throne, crowned by the usual head-dress and wearing the usual ornaments. It has got two hands. The left hand holds the *paraśu* or the axe which rests on the left shoulder and the right one holds a staff-like object, perhaps a *khaḍga* or a sword which is raised up.

The figure of Vāmana *avatāra* is badly mutilated. It stands on a full-blown lotus and has two hands. The right hand holds a *kamaṇḍalu* and the left one a staff-like object perhaps the *daṇḍa* of a *brahmacārin*. The tuft of hair is tied up in knot. The god is wearing only a *kaupīna* or the loin cloth and *mekhalā* or the waist-band.

The remaining figure may most probably be the representation of the Kalki *avatāra*. It has two hands. The right one holds a *khaḍga* or the sword, the left one holds an undistinguishable object—perhaps a shield. It has the usual head-dress and heavy ornaments and wears a loin-cloth. It surely does not represent Matsya, Kūrma and Kṛṣṇa *avatāras*. The six *avatāras* viz. Buddha, Varāha, Nṛsiṁha, Rāmacandra, Paraśurāma and Vāmana have already been identified. By the method of elimination it may be said to represent the Kalki incarnation, the statement being supported by the slender evidence of the sword, which is a distinguishing mark of this incarnation.

We may also conjecture that the three empty niches contained the figures of the Matsya, Kūrma and Kṛṣṇa *avatāras*; but there are little hopes of these statues being recovered.

The Hindu triad of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, symbolises the cosmic aspects of Creation, Preservation and Destruction respectively. To a devout mind it may not mean a wonder that the Nat-hlaung temple of the great Preserver has been preserved through several centuries under varying turns of fortune.

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REFERENCE

1. Bissuno being a corruption of Visṇu
2. The derivation of Prome may be traced as Brahma—Brohm—Prohm—Prome.
3. Corrupted form of *Viṣṇvāgāra = Viṣṇu + āgāra*, house of Viṣṇu.
4. Personifications of the weapons.

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Indian Influence in Siam

C.B. PANDEY

INDIAN INTERCOURSE WITH further India is hinted at in the Jātakas. Simhalese traditions connect Buddhist activities in Siam (modern Thailand) with the missionaries of Aśoka. Whether such antiquity of Indian influence in Siam could be upheld requires still positive evidence for support. In the first centuries of the Christian era, however, Buddhism was firmly established in Siam and probably entirely transformed the character of the people. Unfortunately no details of immigration and the history of the people of this period are known.

Political Background

It will not be out of place to give in brief the political background which gave impetus to various influences in Siam in different periods.

The actual history of importance begins in Siam with the Mon influence. By the end of 7th–8th century A.D. almost the whole of the northern part of Siam came under Mon influence and the southern part under the kingdom of Kambuja which at its greatest extent included almost the whole of the country and it was only after the decline of this mighty empire in thirteenth century that Siam could become an independent political entity, that too not by the sons of the soil but by a new race—the Thais who dominated the history of Indo-China for nearly five centuries and overthrew the kingdoms of Kambuja and Campā. The Thais came from Yunnan in south China called Nān-Chāo by the Chinese but known as Gandhāra by Indo-Chinese, one part of which was called Videharājya with its capital at Mithilā. It may be noted that the Thais of Yunnan had imbibed Hindu culture and civilization in their own mother country to a very large extent.[1] The extinction of this great Thai State in Non-Chāo in 1253 A.D. by the Mongol chief Kublai Khan probably accounts for the general movement of the Thais whose one branch, the Ahoms, proceeded north and conquered Assam the second, the Shans, conquered Burma and the third branch came south and gradually conquered the whole of Siam and also Laos.

The Paramount Kings of Sukhodaya Kingdom

The first important Thai kingdom was that of Sukhodaya. It was then the seat of the Kambuja governor in Siam. When a revolt broke out two Thai Chiefs occupied the town. One of them Bang Khan was consecrated as king with the Hindu title Indrāditya. During his reign waves of Thai immigrants flooded the country. Probably strengthened by the reinforcement of the immigrant Thais coupled with the delapidating Kambuja. Indrāditya was able to extend his dominions on all sides. His son Rāma Kāmheng whose known dates are

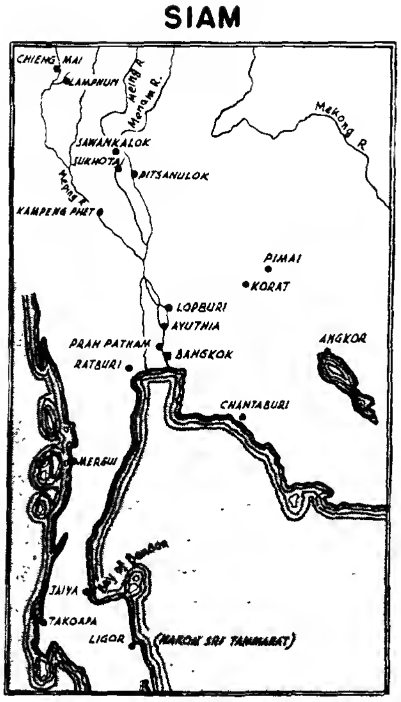

FIG. 1 *Map.*

1283 and 1292 A.D. also extended the dominion so that the newly founded kingdom reached its widest extent. Probably after the fall of Kambuja, a number of small states came into existence in Siam but all acknowledged the suzerainty of Rāma Kāmheng. His influence was felt in Burma, Malaya, and even regions round Angkor. He claims to have introduced the art of writing among his people. The script, which came to be known after his name, was derived from a cursive form of the Khmer script of Kambuja. The grandson of Rāma Kāmheng assumed a pompous name SūryaVaṃsa Rāma Mahārājādhirāja. He was a pious, devout Buddhist and studied Tripiṭakas, though as a ruler he was not successful.

The Ayodhyā Kingdom Established

Soon the centre of Thai political activities changed. Though there is no unanimity of date and character of this event, it appears that in 1350 A.D. a Siamese prince, a descendant of the ancient line of Thai princes founded Ayuthia (Ayodhyā) and assumed the name Rāmādhipati. Ayuthia became the rival to Sukhodaya. Its site was not new but the same which was long known as *Dvārāvatī*. Soon Ayuthia became the leading state and the rulers of Sukhodaya became at first vassal chiefs and then merely hereditary governors. The kingdom of Ayuthia extended its influence and authority over Laos and considerable part of Kambuja, but suffered reverses occasionally at the hands of Burmese kings. Ayuthia was captured by the Burmese king in 1568 and the king was made prisoner. But soon the Siamese recovered and by the end of the century, the country reached its highest point and their foreign relations were extensive. The *Mahāvaṃsa* tells us that the king of Ceylon sent to Ayuthia for monks in 1750 because the religion there was believed to be very much pure and nay even undefiled.

Ayuthia continued to be the capital until in 1767 (1769 A.D. according to some) it was laid into ruins by the Burmese who, though Buddhist, did not scruple to destroy or deface the temples and statues. But the collapse of the Siamese was temporary and only local. Phāya Tāk Sin, a leader of Chinese origin rallied forces and cleared the Burmese out of the country and removed his capital to Bangkok which still occupies the dignified position. Phāya Tāk Sin was deposed probably because of his too zealous reformation of Buddhism.

A new dynasty was founded in 1782 by Chāo Phāya Chakkri. It is this dynasty which brought rival to Siam.

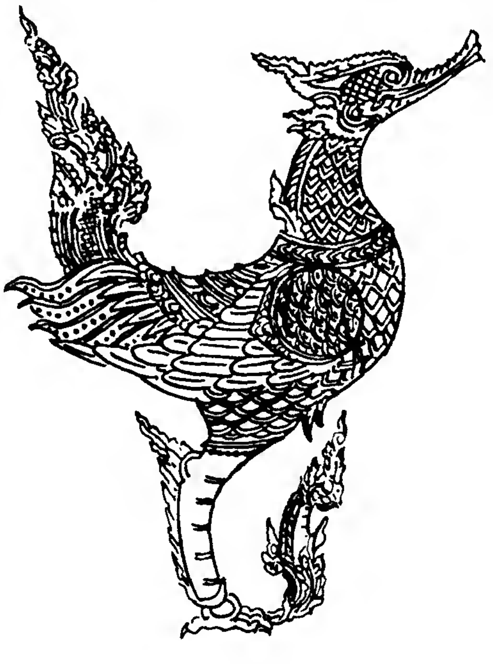

FIG. 2. *The Haṃsa in Siam*

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Waves of Indian Immigration in Siam

Dr. H.G.Q. Wales[2] seems to be right when he thinks of successive waves of Indian immigrants in Siam. As already pointed out Indian intercourse with Siam started much earlier and by the second-third century they were fully established to influence in matters of religion. This he regards as the first wave. He remarks : 'with the possible exception of Vo-Chanh inscription (Champā) all the evidences point to the Indian influence, brought by this wave, was exclusively Buddhist of Hīnayāna school. The isolated Buddhist images of Amaravati style are purely Indian in style, nay, the works of Indian craftsmen'. In this context it is not out of place to make mention of the ship type of coins of Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi which tell their own importance.[3] The story of Guṇāḍhya who lived in Pratiṣṭhāna, the Sātavāhana capital (Paithana of Ptolemy) supports our suggestion. One scholar[4] believes in the brisk traffic with the eastern islands. The second wave of colonization established a firmer hold in the countries of Further India. The Gupta characteristics succeeded those of Amaravati in sculpture. Vaiṣṇavism paced side by side with Hīnayāna Buddhism and Śaivism made definite appearance. Its duration was from fourth to the middle of the sixth century. There was a marked slackening of the Indian intercourse probably due to the piracy, to which Fa-hsien hints, in the narrow straits of Malacca and which flourished at the expense of Indian traders. It particularly led to the opening of Tākuap-C'āiya transpeninsular route which functioned progressively until towards the end of the eighth century, when the Śailendras once more made all the sea-routes safe. The culture of the kingdom of Dvārāvatī is to be considered as a stylised form of the second wave which seems largely to have penetrated *via* Burma and Three Pagodas Pass.

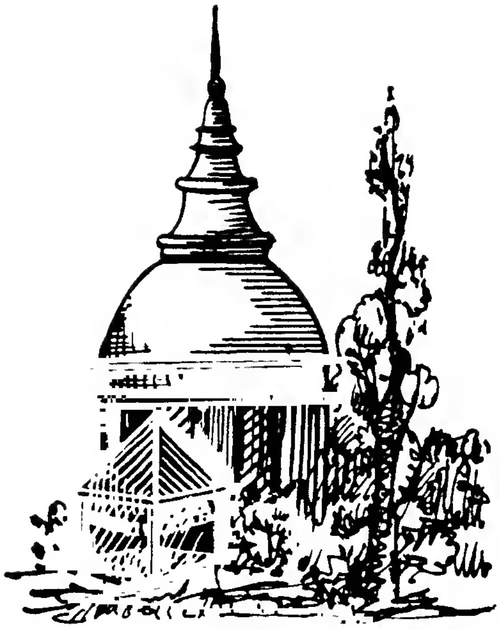
FIG 3 *Cheng Mai Pagoda, Lampun, Thialand.*

The duration of the third wave of Indian settlers was from the middle of the sixth to the middle of the eighth century corresponding to the dominance of the Pallavas in India. This wave followed almost exclusively the transpeninsular route from Tā-Kuap to the Bay of Bandon where itself a development of Gupta era has left such remains as Viṣṇu and Śiva of Wieng Sra,[5] the Viṣṇu of C'āiya and such buildings as Wat Keu and Wat P'ra Th'at and C'āiya (employing smaller and better bricks than the earlier structures). For some time this wave did not touch central Siam where the influence of the second wave of Indian settlers appears to have continued for a long time.

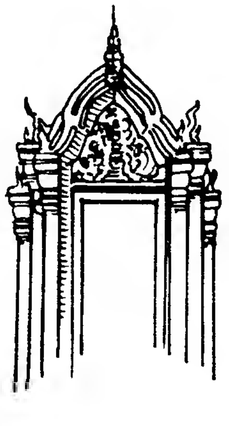
FIG. 4 *Temple Porch Type 1. Vat Raja-bophit Bangkok.*

The fourth wave started from the second half of the eighth century (though in Sumatra it started earlier in

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7th century A.D.). This was a Mahāyāna wave which came to the Bay of Bandon by the same transpeninsular route and brought Pāla art influence which modified the Indian colonial art produced there by the earlier waves of Indian immigrants and resulted into the Śailendra art of which magnificent examples have been found at C'āiya.[6] As regards the Indian territory from which these colonisers went to Further India specially Siam as also the circumstances which obliged them have not yet been satisfactorily explained. Scholars have gone to the extent of ascribing the enterprise to south India alone.[7]

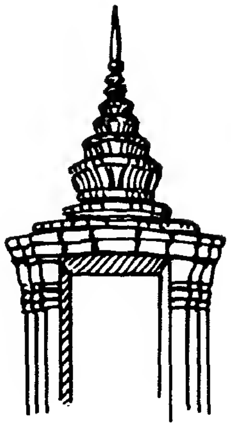

FIG. 5 *Temple Porch Type 2, Vat Chetuphon, Bangkok.*

Religion

The Cult of Agastya

Agastya the legendary forefather of all the cultural immigrants has found much honourable place, quite like south India in the tradition, folklore, and sculptural representations in South-East Asia. In Siam there is a stone with Sanskrit inscription[8] in the Pallava-Grantha characters, of six lines from Sri Tēp (Śri Deva), described as a linga, though erroneously as pointed out by M. Coedès.[9] It is called Lok Mū'ang i.e. the foundation stone of the city of Śrī Deva though the present inscription has nothing to confirm it. The mention in it of कानीनर्षिम्नास्य कृत ..... points to the Brahmanical nature of the record, Sanskrit learning, the use of Sanskrit metres like *Indravajrā*, and *anuṣṭubh* and above all the cult of Agastya.[10]

Buddhism

If Suvarṇabhūmi is to be identified with Siam as some scholars are inclined to do so and if any reliance is to be placed on the Simhalese chronicles according to which Buddhism was preached in Suvarṇabhūmi by the missionaries of Aśoka, then definitely the history of Buddhism in Siam will go back to third century B.C. But unfortunately there is nothing to corroborate either of the above two. But there are evidences on the basis of which it can be said with some amount of certainty that Buddhism reached these parts of Further India sometime about the beginning of the Christian era. The aniconic representation of the Buddha such as Dharmacakra, rather than a human figure and the crouching deer excavated at Pra Pathom reminds the turning of the wheel of law (*Dharmacakrapravartana* in the deer park *Mrgadāva i.e.* Sarnath). It may be noted that Pra Pathom is one of the early sites of Siam. The discovery of the images of the Buddha in the Amaravati style in Thailand and also in Annam (Campā), Sumatra, Java, and Celebes, bronze images from another early site Pong Tuk in Amaravati style datable to the second century A.D. show that Buddhism had its stronghold in this period.

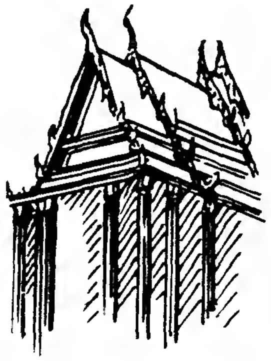

FIG 6 *Temple Porch Type 3, Vat Prakeo, Bangkok*

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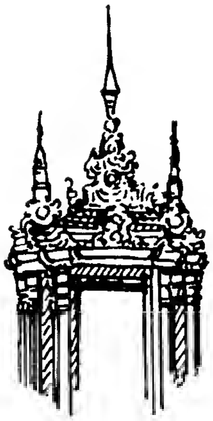

FIG 7 *Temple Porch Type 4, Vat Anong, Bangkok*

On the basis of these facts mentioned above R.C. Majumdar argues[11] 'Aniconic representations of Buddha and Amaravati style of Bronze images of Buddha in Thailand lend support, if not conclusively, that there is some grain of truth in the Simhalese tradition'. As regards the people who brought Buddhism in Siam, it has not and possibly 'cannot' to quote Reginald le May[12] 'definitely prove whether the Indian immigrants formed just isolated settlements as traders or missionaries' or whether they established permanent sovereignity over the people of this country, who according to Coedès, were probably tribes belonging to Mon-Khmer family.

"Buddhist images of the Gupta style both earlier and later have also been discovered. As the inscriptions engraved on the later may be referred to the fifth century A.D., those of the earlier type probably belong to the fourth century A.D.[13] From this early period onward an uninterrupted history of Hīnayāna Buddhism in Siam may be traced, of course, not so much on the evidence of literature as on the basis of whatever less numerous inscriptions, but mainly on the rich and varied styles of Siamese sculpture a discussion thereof has been detailed elsewhere in this paper.

The Thai conquest of the land in the thirteenth century gave Buddhism a further impetus. The Thai rulers were ardent followers of Hīnayāna Buddhism. Rām Kāmheng who is said to have founded the Thai dynasty and the city of Sukhodaya speaks of religion in an inscription,[14] composed probably about 1300 A.D. that "the court and the inhabitants of Sukhodaya were devout Buddhists, they observed the season of Vassa and celebrated the festival of Kaṭhina with processions, concerts and reading of scriptures. In the city were to be seen statues of the Buddha and the scenes carved in relief, as well as large monastery, presented to a distinguished elder who came from Śrī Dharmarāja and had studied the entire *Tripiṭaka*." The form of Buddhism described in this epigraph in which stress is laid on the worship of the spirits and the Devas on which the prosperity of the kingdom is said to have depended is a little different from Hīnayāna Buddhism found in Siam today. Elliot[15] ascribed these peculiarities of Hīnayāna Buddhism of the period of Rāma Kāmheng to the Thai's acquaintance of Chinese Buddhism, Burmese influence in eighth century and also Śaivite influence from Cambodia, and possibly also of Mahāyāna Sanskrit Buddhism. Bradley[16] ascribes Pali Buddhism to have come from Kambuja. Elliot[17] rightly denies it saying that "we know a good deal about the religion of Kambuja and there is no trace of Pali Buddhism there until it was imported from Siam." There is, however, no denying that Buddhism in Siam was definitely influenced by Mahāyāna of Cambodia. A little later Burmese influence at least after the reign of Anawrata also came. Thus Siamese Buddhism at the close of the millennium was affected by divergent influences each adding its share to it. Later on the Siamese invited an instructor to come from Ceylon.

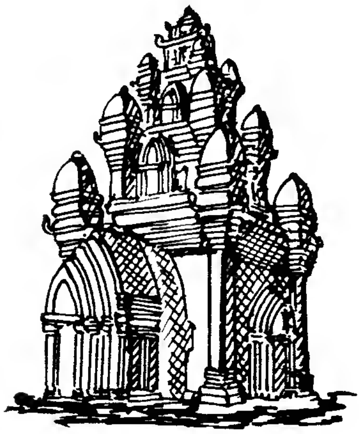

FIG 8 *Po Klaun Garai*

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Religious Rivalry Prevailed

In an inscription[18] (c. 1361 A.D.) Śrī Sūryavaṃśa Rāma is said to have studied the *Tripiṭaka, Veda, Śāstrāgama,* and installed images of Maheśvara, Viṣṇu and the Buddha. In 1361 he sent a messenger to Ceylon charged with the task of bringing back one head of the Saṁgha learned in *Piṭakas*." This inscription is an evidence of how other elements of Vaiṣṇava, Śaivite and Mahāyāna Buddhism were finely fused in Hīnayāna Buddhism. But Buddhism steered its way through. In the same inscription Śrī Sūryavaṃśa Rāma is said to have dedicated a golden image of the Buddha, and then entered the Saṃgha declaring solemnly his hope that the merit thus acquired, might make him in future lives not an Emperor, an Indra or Brahmā, but a Buddha, able to save humanity. According to two other inscriptions[19] a cutting of the Bo-tree was brought from Ceylon and certain relics were also installed in his reign. It may specially be noted that to this very epoch are referred a series of engravings on stone found in the Vat-si-jum at Sukhodaya.[20] Identifications[21] of these 100 Jātakas have been made; but apart from the thematic study of these engravings, studies on stylistic basis showing various influences are still wanting. Still later one peculiar inscription engraved by the order of Dharmāśokarāja (the identification of this king is uncertain)[22] states that the merit acquired by devotion to the Buddha can be transferred. The king refers that a woman named Bunrak had transferred all her merits to the queen and that the king himself had transferred all his merits to his teacher, his relatives, and all beings in the miserable state of existence. The idea of transferring merit is really strange and in fact cut at the very root of the philosophy of *Pratītyasamutpāda* of Pali Buddhism. The atrocities of the Burmese, though Buddhists, in their attack in 1767 A.D. destroying the Buddhist statues aroused pro-Buddhist emotions in the people. The Burmese were soon cleared out of the country. But the fact that the leader of the anti-Burmese revolt was deposed for his too zealous reformation of Buddhism probably shows the roots of religious rivalries and prevalence of anti-Buddhist trends.

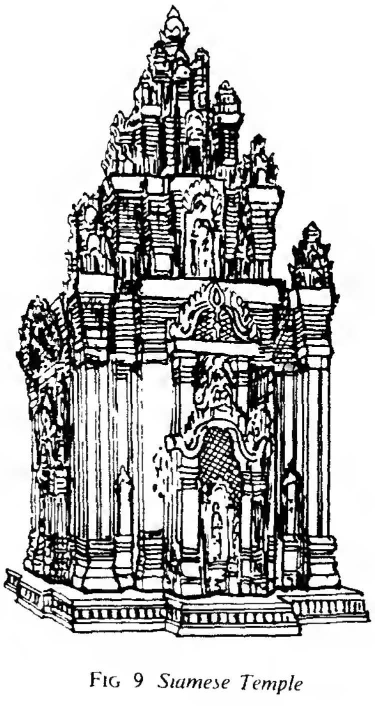

Fig 9 *Siamese Temple*

Attempts at Religious Rapprochement

The change of the centre of the Thai empire and the founding of a new city Ayuthia as a rival to Sukhodaya did not affect the esteem in which Buddhism was held. The remnants of the Wat Samarokot having the gigantic bronze image of Buddha, Wat Chien lying at some distance having another gigantic image and numerous other images of the Buddha tell of the continuance of Pali Buddhism. Even in this period, as in the earlier ones, attempts were made to arrive at a religious reproachment. According to an inscription[23] engraved on an image of Śiva found at Sukhodaya the identity of Buddhism and Hinduism has been asserted. But the popular feeling was in favour of Buddhism.[24] At Lopburi ancient shrines originally constructed for the use of Hindu cults were adopted to Buddhist uses. But at Ayuthia all the temples were exclusively Buddhist, a fact which bespeaks the particular favour Buddhism enjoyed in this epoch.

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Buddhism the Present Siamese National Religion

One of the very first acts of the founder of the new dynasty Chāo Phāya Chakkri was to convoke a council for the revision of the *Tripiṭakas* and to build a special hall in which the text thus agreed upon was preserved. Of his two grandsons one, Mongkut, remained in a monastery strictly observing the vows of a monk, and then he became king and during his reign Siam is said to have passed from the middle ages to modern times. Elliot observes: "It is a tribute to the excellence of Buddhist discipline that a prince who spent twenty-six years as a monk should have emerged as neither a bigot nor an impractical mystic but as an active, enlightened and progressive monarch".[25] Even as a monk he founded a sect which aimed at reviving the practices of the Buddha. As king he publically received petitions on every Uposatha day. He himself was a good Pali scholar. His son and successor Chulalonkorn (1868–1911) published an edition of the *Tripiṭakas* in book style printed in Siamese type, whereas Cambodian characters were previously employed for religious works.

It is because of the efforts of these kings of special Buddhist leanings that today Siam is a Buddhist country and the national religion of the country is Buddhism.

Art

The task of presenting a study of Indian influence on Siamese art is arduous unlike that on Javanese or Cambodian, because in Java and Cambodia, the population after the Indian advent did not undergo noteworthy change, and art followed a comparatively regular "evolution". But Siam has risen on the ruins of several Hinduised kingdoms. Before their conquest and absorption by the Siamese in the thirteenth century, those states had ample time to evolve and develop their own artistic traditions (which later shared in the formation of Siamese artistic ideals) and to produce works whose remains co-exist within the limits of Siamese borders with purely Siamese monuments.

Reginald le May while surveying the sculpture in Siam points to no less than nine schools: (1) Pure Indian, (2) Mon-Indian, (3) Hindu-Javanese, (4) Khmer and Mon-Khmer, (5) Khmer-Thai transitions, (U'Tong) (6) Thai (Lopburi), (7) Thai (Sukhodaya), (8) Thai (northern), and (9) Thai (Ayuthia).

(1) *Pure Indian.* There is almost unanimity regarding the earliest forms of sculptures found in Siam which are probably the small images dug up at Pong Tuk. These images[26] undoubtedly belong to the famous Amaravati school of Indian sculpture. Their affinity with Amaravati sculptures is so close that it has been a matter of doubt whether these images were brought from India or were made in Siam by Indian craftsmen. Reginald le May[27] is inclined to champion their Indian craftsmanship. According to A.K. Coomaraswamy the wheels are not without anology with representations of the sun-discs in Kushan art. If this comparison is correct these sculptures would not be older than second century A.D. but Coedès[28] is rightly inclined to think that "they were probably the representations of an older artistic and iconographic tradition, that is to say, that Indian Buddhism reached the shores of the gulf of Siam at a time when the figure of Buddha was still a taboo in Indian iconography." In confirmation of this, he adds:[29] "We may point to the many wheels of law and other symbolic figures of the Buddha carved in the stones which have been found in the neighbourhood of P'ra Pathom, the oldest known Indian settlement of any importance in Siam." Typical is the stone wheel of law and stone deer both from P'ra Pathom[30] (now both in National Museum, Bangkok) probably representing *Dharmacakrapravartana* in *Mṛgadāva* (or Sarnath).

(2) *Mon-Indian.* Very little is known of the history of Dvārāvatī kingdom, "but it is

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clear that the sculpture of the period while showing the influence of Gupta art which was contemporaneous, quickly came to show a strong Mon-influence on the figure of the Buddha that it portrayed."[31] To this period which begins in fourth century A.D. may be referred the gigantic figure of the Buddha some thirty feet[32] high sitting in European fashion and cut out of a high coloured quartz in five pieces, fitting in sockets. Another is a small head of the Buddha in quartz. Reginald le May refers to the suggestion given to him by Mr. Bedford that this quartz, was not carved in the ordinary way with a chisel but "rubbed with special instruments after it had been cut to shape just as jade is rubbed after being prepared with a ruby dust. If this suggestion is to be believed, it must have involved a very difficult process and it is no wonder that the Siamese sculptors soon switched over to a new material i.e. blue limestone which is found in large quantities in the hills of Ratburi and Kanburi. Of this material reference may be made to a head of the Buddha[33] neatly chiselled with characteristic Mon features but definitely imbued with Indian feelings, the mask of the Buddha[34] in stucco from P'ra Pathom. The Mon were not successful in the treatment of the bronze figures probably due to the scarcity of the materials. "A noticeable feature of the Mon Indian bronze figures is that the legs are not straight but are drawn inwards towards the body to form a curve. This curve is also noticeable in Khmer bronze figures but disappears with the advent of the Thai."[35] In the niches of the exterior of the Wat Benchamabopit (constructed in the present century) notable standing images of the Mon-period are placed.

(3) *Hindu-Javanese.* The style in the sculptural history of Siam was the outcome of many influences. The main factor was that in the eighth century A.D. onward, in Malay Peninsula a change took place when the Java and Sumatra (both Indianised kingdoms) alternately took possessions. From the regions round Jaya and Nakon Śrī T'ammarat have been found figures of Bodhisattva and Lokeśvara[36] hinting at Mahāyāna influence. The figures of Viṣṇu and Ardhanārīśvara, Yakṣa, and Dvārapāla have also been found in eastern Siam and Malay Peninsula. It has been taken[37] that the incursion of Java and Sumatra is only incidental as far as the main artistic forms of Siam are concerned. He also regards as incidental the Hindu figures which are merely attributable to the influence of Funnan, because they all have been discovered in that ancient kingdom in considerable number. Reginald le May accounts these statues by postulating two theories. He says: "To account for them two alternative theories are possible. Either the people of Dvārāvatī turned to Brahmanism at some period of their career or the kingdom of Funnan extended its influence over Eastern Siam and parts of Malay Peninsula."[38] Whatever, the channel of influence the Buddhistic figures betray stylistically definitely Pāla influence. As regards the Brahmanical figures like standing Viṣṇu, marked influence of Pallava style is seen. It seems that the people of Siam, vitally in touch with the main artistic trends of Indian sculptures, Pāla and Pallava, never refrained from taking good theme and plasticity in expression from other sources also. Reginald le May is inclined to say that "Some were made locally and some were brought from India."[39]

(4) *Khmer and Mon-Khmer.* This school of sculptures presents a difficulty from the point of view of style as well as historical background. It is alleged that a prince came from Nakon Śrī T'ammarat at the end of the tenth century and having conquered the lower Menam valley with its capital Lopburi, started to overthrow the reigning dynasty of Cambodia and annexed that kingdom as well. Khmer art and culture became firmly established only from this time in Menam valley and afterwards spread northward to Sawank'alok. But now arise certain questions which are yet unsolved and puzzling. Why this prince at all introduced Khmer ideals and art in Siam? Why did he not introduce his own unless he were a Cambodian? The presump-

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tion of Reginald le May[40] is that he came from Java or Sumatra. But at any rate he had leanings towards Mahāyāna.

The sculptural evidence from Lopburi shows a gradual transition from the Mon to the Khmer. To elucidate Reginald le May has illustrated a Mon-Khmer bronze statue of a seated Buddha.[41] Mon influence in this figure is traceable in the treatment of the hair, the face, and the leg as compared to Khmer figures. The Khmer art of Lopburi differs from the parent art of Cambodia itself since there was no Mon influence in that country. And it has been rightly presumed that there must have been a long founded local school of art in Central Siam.[42]

As a whole the Buddhist sculpture of this period gives the appearance of a long, cruel, ruthless being which if satisfying artistically still does exactly fulfil the condition for a representation of the Buddha. In the treatment of the images of the Buddha this school—known also as the School of Lopburi—succeeded in evolving its conception of an ideal form of some higher being than themselves. The Khmer gave way to a truly human form—a marked deviation from the abstraction of the form. It will not be out of place to mention in this very context that after expulsion of the Khmer by the Thais, once more the abstract conception of form took the place of human form, that is, there is more abstract conception of an ideal being and that is why there is more spiritual affinity between Mon-Indian and Thai schools of sculpture than between Khmer and Thai." Most of the statues approach in certain way to an idealised form and the features are far more serene and spiritual than is usually found in the Khmer school of Siam."[43]

(5) *Khmer Thai Transition (U'tong)*. The school of U'Tong, from a purely artistic point of view, is one of the most pleasing of all the schools found in Siam. It is very difficult to say when this change from Khmer to Thai began in the districts of Lopburi, Supan and U'Tong. The possibility is the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century A.D. It seems that Thais had been doing their artistic activities in what now forms part of northern Siam where Khmer influence never penetrated. The sculptures of this school are almost entirely modelled in bronze—the stone images of the period are rare—in their composition of the metal.[44] Khmer influence continued in some form or the other which can be seen in the treatment of the forehead, eyebrows and the eyes of the figures, generally illustrated as Khmer Thai examples[45] in which it must be noted, the general effect produced is not Khmer but Thai.

(6) *Thai (Lopburi)*. Used in its broader sense, the school of Lopburi must not denote any particular period. As a matter of fact, this great centre of Siamese cultural and artistic activities remained active for over a thousand years always changing in style with the predominating race but remaining unbroken, uptil the seventeenth century A.D. In Lopburi the Khmer tradition lasted a long time and the temples (and now also the local museums) are full of the attempts made by the Thais to copy the Khmer artists in sandstone.[46] These attempts nearly always depict the Buddha sitting on the seven-hooded Nāga king.

(7) *Thai (Sukhodaya)*. There came a break in the Khmer tradition probably in the fifteenth century. Reginald le May has illustrated a Buddha head in bronze,[47] which he says "marks a complete break with the Khmer art that instead of the strong square man's face we have an idealised conception of High Being almost feminine in feeling ... The whole conception is one of another race with other ideals and other veins of life." This is a separate school of art, the school of Sukhodaya and is taken to be the forefather of all the Siamese schools of art developed later in other centres. The school of art in northern Siam having claims to be the parent Thai school was itself influenced by the Sukhodaya school in the 14th century and also played a significant role in the development of sculptural art in Siam. The rise of this school is ascribed to the influence of Ceylon which had contacts from the beginning of Sukhodaya period.

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(8) *Chieng-Sen School.* Some scholars deny the existence of any school of Buddhist art in northern Siam before the advent of the Sukhodaya period. No doubt, the possible origin and other problems connected with it are shrouded in mystery. One scholar is inclined to trace as many as three stages (or schools) of its development. The most distinctive features[48] of the first stage are the treatment of the slightly arched eyebrows, pointed and thin (but not hooked), nose unlike that in the school of Sukhodaya, the face more roundish than oval. The probable date of the origin cannot be defined with any precision. But the influence of Sukhodaya school is obvious in the later part of the 15th century A.D. This is the second period of Reginald le May. The third stage is represented by the silver image of the Buddha which Reginald le May dug from Chien-Sen in January 1914 which according to him acquired the influence of the Sukhodaya school in full.

(9) *Thai (Ayuthia).* This school arose when Ayuthia was founded as the capital of Siam in 1350 A.D. In this school all the earlier currents of art coalesced and came together to form a National School of Siam. From the close of the sixteenth century a decay begins to set in. In this connection a reference to a dated crowned Buddha[49] is very important for the chronology of Thai sculpture; because it is the only known crowned image of either Sukhodaya or Ayuthia school for which a precise date is known.

From the above brief discussion, it is now clear that in spite of various schools of art arising out of various historical circumstances, the Indian theme, nay, the Indian schools of art like Amaravati, Pallava, and Pāla permeate the sculptures of Siam. Sometimes craftsmen were Indian but at times images carved in India were taken there by enthusiastic people of Siam.

Architecture

Beginnings of Hindu Architecture in Siam

Benjamin Rowland has remarked that the "Siamese architecture in its development exactly parallels what has been revealed by the analysis of sculpture in the historical periods; we find, as is to be expected, a kind of Indian colonial architecture in the early periods, succeeded by structures, first in a purely Khmer, and later a Burmese style of Building; the final development of Siamese architecture, like that of sculpture, is in the direction of Rococo richness of detail and a decorative rather than functional consideration of structure".[50] Nothing is practically known of the architecture of the earliest period of Indian colonisation. M. Coedès[51] observed : "Of the architecture of that time we know practically nothing unless P'ra Pathom sculpture belong to the same period. On the other hand, the remains dug up at P'ong Tuk, twenty miles to the west seem to be very old. These are small buildings made of laterite and bricks faced with stucco decoration. Unfortunately with a single exception the upper structures of all have completely collapsed and only the basements have been unearthed. The best preserved of them is the rectangular terrace standing to the height of six feet above the original ground level with a flight of six steps on the southern face. On the top of the terrace some portions of a colonnade still *in situ* resemble with Anurādhapuram in Ceylon." While describing the results of his excavations at P'ong Tuk, he has put[52] sixth century A.D. as the approximate period at which this settlement flourished and showed that it was a city of a Buddhist kingdom located at that time between Cambodia and Burma and provisionally referred to by him under the name Dvārāvatī. H.G. Quaritch Wales[53] excavated a vihāra measuring 20'.6"x 36', its long axis oriented towards the north-west at which end was found a doorway in the centre of the wall before which was a doorstep made of shaped bricks though quite unornamental. This vihāra was unmistakably of the Dvārāvatī period, a conclusion rightly reached by Wales

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on the basis of the presence of a number of small fragments of the limbs of images in blue lime-stone characteristic of the Dvārāvatī period. A stūpa[54] about 65′ away from the vihāra was also excavated. This structure also dates from about the sixth century A.D. It is of interest because it is the *first* stūpa of the Dvārāvatī period of which anything more than the base remains and it serves to give some idea of the original form of the great stūpa at P'ra Pathom. It is also significant that beneath the centre of the building, at a depth of 4′ 3″ below the ground level was found a small silver casket containing a cremated human skull.

Architecture of Pre-khmer Period

As regards the pre-Khmer architecture, the temples of Śrī Deva[55] which are comparable to those at Wat Keu, C'āiya, Nākon Śrī T'ammarat can be seen as survivals of an early Indian type of colonial architecture combining in itself the basic features of other styles also. What is particularly noteworthy is the discovery at Śrī Deva of a purely Indian brick building of a period so early and a form so simple that it could well represent the type from which, allowing for the complementary influences, the various schools of Indo-Chinese architecture could have evolved. It is not the point whether earliest Indian colonists were building in bricks or only in wood as pointed out by M. Parmentier,[56] but the point is that in the fifth or early sixth century A.D. Indian colonists in Indo-China who must still have been in close touch with their mother country are now proved to have been building specialised Indian brick temples, making Indian sculptures, and writing in a purely Indian script, all of which are manifestations of such a type, that they must be placed at the base of Indo-Chinese cultural evolution.[57] The brick temples are not rare in Indian architectural remains from the Gupta period. Reference may be made to at least two such brick temples—one at Tinduli[58] and another at Nibiakhera[59] (Kanpur) resembling the architectural background of the Śrī Deva temple.

Benjamin Rowland[60] regards these earliest sanctuaries in Siam like the temples of Śrī Deva as the exact equivalents of the sixth and seventh century buildings in Funnan. He seems to agree with Wales[61] that the form of *Śikhara* tower and the employment of the role cornice and protome window, are like the pre-Khmer spires at Sambor, at once reminiscent of the Pallava style.

Town Planning Typically Indian

The town planning of the city of Śrī Deva is typically Indian.[62] The extension of a new city is subsidiary. The method of extending an Indian city by building a large ward or *mohalla* on the one side of the existing city was technically known in architectural treatises as *damada*. The city of Puri in India supplies us with an example of this type.[63]

Architecture of Khmer Period

As regards the Indian architecture of Khmer influence, the two Khmer temples are Wat Mahā-Tāt and P'ra Prāng Samyot (the temple of three stūpas), both restored by the Royal Institute of Siam. Wat Mahā Tāt presents a particularly imposing effect and its affinity to the architecture of Angkor is obvious. It is of the usual plan of a sanctuary having a *śikhara* with *maṇḍapa* attached, the whole being a walled enclosure. Constructed in diminishing storeys, the division into horizontal rings is not present like that in the great Khmer sanctuary. "Plainly derived from the Khmer prototypes are the richly carved lintels and flame-shaped pediments."[64] The temple has, no doubt, likeness to a Hindu sanctuary but it seems to have been always used for Buddhist worship. From the fact that Mon images of the Buddha of the Dvārāvatī period

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have also been excavated here, it is almost certain that a Khmer temple was erected on the site of a more ancient one.[65]

The temple of P'ra Prāng Samyot[66] standing on a rising ground presents difficulty. Though the temple contained a sandstone image of the Buddha seated on a Nāga king it can well be presumed that it must have been quite long in use as a Buddhist temple. But as pointed out that "the design is certainly not Buddhist, and the three towers ranged alongside one another, inevitably bring to the mind the Hindu trinity of Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu. Non-Buddhist figures, too, have been found on the towers—bearded figures with their hands resting on clubs—which also points to originally Brahmanical constitution."[67] The French archaeologist Claeys[68] attributed the building of this temple to probably Tai . . . *'main d'oeuvre'*. Reginald le May[69] while rejecting this claim regards that there is absolutely nothing Thai about the building and indeed it is quite foreign to Thai ideas. The shape of the towers, the figures of the Ṛṣis on the door-jambs, to say nothing of the style of vaulting and framing of the doorways, all point to its being typically Khmer and have nothing in common with Thai architecture.

The temple of Panom Rung[70] is situated on a hill 500 feet above the surrounding plain. Though much in ruins, the portions still remaining are sufficient to show that it is one of the most perfect of its kind as far as its execution and decoration are concerned. All the best means of Khmer ornamental art are employed here.

According to Lunet de Lajonquière it was a Buddhist shrine or a palace. Reginald le May on the other hand contradicting both these assertions thinks it to be a Hindu building, of course, on the evidence of the representations of Hindu gods on the lintels.

The temple at Pimai[71] is Buddhist probably of Mahāyāna order. Considerable remains of this temple still standing are enclosed within a rectangular wall. Mouldings are admirably decorative.

Architecture of Sukhodaya and Ayuthia Periods

An interesting, rather puzzling, monument of Siamese temple architecture is Wat Kukut[72] at Lamp'un erected by the Mon king Dittarāja (1120–50). The terraced pyramid type of its tower reminds us of Sat Mahal Prāsat at Polonnaruwa. There is no direct relation between these two, although of course, a common derivation from the simplest Khmer temple *śikhara* has been suggested by a few. The images of the Buddha in the niches speak of the revival of the Dvārāvatī style.

Of Thai architecture of the Sukhodaya period at Chiengmai, probably the earliest is the temple founded by devout Buddhist Meng Rai in 1292 whose remains still stand in the most northern part of the old palace of Chiengmai city. There is another temple, namely Wat Chetyot, on the outskirts of Chiengmai attributed to Meng Rai, and regarded as a copy of the Mahābodhi temple at Pagan, built early in thirteenth century A.D. The Mahābodhi temple itself is an imitation of the famous temple at Bodhgaya. In fact this great temple at Bodhgaya 'was the most copied edifice in the Buddhist world, but its replicas in Burma, Siam, and in the Far East are always in a sense original creations.[73]

The great temple of Mahā-Tāt[74] at Sukhodaya comprised no less than one hundred and eighty-nine different structures in the centre being a Thai stūpa with annexes in the Khmer style *(vihāra)* 50 meters long. The columns are made of cylindrical laterite blocks encased in cement. The temple of Śrī Chum[75] made in stucco and brick, is assigned to a later date and ascribed to the reign of Dharmarāja I of Sukhodaya, the grandson of Rāma Kāmheng in the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. It is regarded that the frescoes connected with this century

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are influenced by those in Ceylon which are in their turn influenced by the frescoes in Cave I and XVII at Ajanta dating between 500 and 650 A.D.

The temple of Mahā-Tāt outside the old city of Sawank'ālok[76] has much to say about the Indian influence on its plinth, its various mouldings as also the *Śikhara*. (fig. 3, cf. also fig. 4).

From the above example one thing can be undeniably deduced that Sukhodaya was rather a centre where Khmer architecture and Thai contributions brought from the north met and finely fused together into true Thai architecture, a detailed study of which has not yet been done. The Sukhodaya period is undoubtedly the most important from the Thai point of view because the 'form' created in this period represents the 'ideal' in the eyes of the Siamese.

The Ayuthia period presents many examples of characteristic Siamese development of stūpa intended as shrines for the ashes of Buddhist holy men and kings, which are round in plan 'with a series of diminishing rings leading up to the bell-shaped dome from which rises a taper onion-like finial.' But these pieces of architecture were composed of a variety of borrowings from Burma and Ceylon and not from India. As a matter of fact the period of creative Indian influence came to a stop afterwards.

Language

The Thai language has 18 vowels and 23 consonants, specially in Northern Thai. This is exactly what is found in the Ahom language of Assam. It is not surprising because Ahom and Thai both came from the same common stock, common land and common Indian cultural influence in Yunnan in South China called *Gandhāra* by the Indo-Chinese. The Thai language has only seven consonantal endings *viz*. k.t.p.m.n., etc. The Thai people read the conjunct consonants with their members pronounced separately and fully one after the other.

Indian cultural impact in Siam has left a deep-rooted influence on the language of the country. "Any one visiting Bangkok today," says S.R. Sehgal,[77] "would be amazed by the multitude of words in every-day speech which are derivatives from Sanskrit". Any one listening to the radio broadcasts of these countries will be struck by the frequent occurrence of these words. There are no synonyms of these words both in Thai and Lao languages to express these ideas. It is in the Thai language that we have more of Sanskrit elements. The Sanskrit words have undergone such phonetic changes that at times it is rather difficult to notice their Sanskrit origin.

A few examples of Sanskrit words will not be out of place. A popular word for greeting in Thailand is *Sabayadi Khap* which has its origin in Sanskrit word *svasti* which finds mention as early as the Ṛgveda. The word *velā* is used in the same sense of time as in India. The leader of the Buddhist monks blesses the devotees with the words *Sukhi Hotu* 'may you be happy'. The word for wedding in Thailand and Laos is *vivāha*. The illustrations can be multiplied. Thus, we see that there are thousands of Sanskrit words which are adopted by the Thai people without any phonetic modifications.

But the percentage of Indian words which have undergone phonetic changes in Siamese is numerous. The system of these changes has been studied to some extent[78] though more work still remains to be done in this direction.

KA VARGA : *ga* and *gha* of Sanskrit words are changed into *kha* in Siamese pronunciation. For example—*gantha* > *khantha*, *gupta* > *khupta*, *go* > *kho*, *saṁgīti* > *saṁkhīti*, *saṁgha* > *saṁkha*.

CA VARGA : The examples of *ca* changing into *ja* are: *candra* > *janthara*, *catura* > *jathura*, *cakra* > *jakara*. The Mahāprāṇa *cha* changes into *ca* : Pāli *vinicchaya* (Sanskrit *vini-*

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ścaya) > *vinicaya*. The change of *ja* into *cha* can be seen as : *jīva* > *chip*, *jaya* > *chaya*, *jambu* > *champhu*.

ṬA VARGA : The *ṭa* of Sanskrit words is changed into *ḍa*. For example—*piṭaka* > *pidok*. The letter *ḍa* of Sanskrit words becomes invariably *ḍha* in Siamese. The example of *maṇḍapa* > *mondhop* can be cited.

TA VARGA : The *ta* of Sanskrit words changes into *da*. Such example are : *ṛtu* > *radu*, *tūrya* > *duriya*, *tuṣita* > *dusit*. But *da* changes into *tha*, for example—*deśa* > *thet*, *dukha* > *thuk*, *deva* > *thep*, *dāsa* > *thasa*. It may be noted in this connection that there are also words in which *da* changes into *ta*. For example—*Śri Deva* the famous town of the second wave of Indian colonists is call *Sri Tep*. The letter *dha* of Sanskrit has the tendency of changing to *tha*. e.g. *dhanuṣa* > *thanu*, *dharma* (Pāli *dhamma*) > *thamma*, *dhāraṇī* > *tharaṇī*, *Dhanapuri* > *thonburi*, *dhātu* > *thatu*, *Ayodhyā* > *Ayuthua*.

The latter *na* changes into *la* and *vice-versa*, for example—*Nagara* > *Lokhon*, *vana* > *vala*, *Hanumāna* > *Holomana*.

PA VARGA : *pa* changes into *ba*. Examples are not rare. A few of them are : *apsarā* > *absona*, *puṣpa* > *butsa*, *Pāli* > *Bali*, *bhūpa* > *phuba*, *upāsikā* > *bāsika*, *Lavapuri* > *Lopburi* *Ba* changes into *pha*. e.g. *Buddha* > *Phut*, *brāhmaṇa* > *phrām* or *prām*.

The following words may be taken as illustrations of letter *bha* changing into *pha*. e.g. *bhava* > *phab*, *bhūpa* > *phuba* *bhaga* > *phak*, *bhaya* > *phai*.

ANTAHSTHA LETTERS : The Sanskrit later *ra* and *la* change into *na* in Siamese. Earlier the change of *na* into *la* has already been pointed out in discussing *tavarga*. But here it must be noted that *la* also changes into *na*. In fact both *na* and *la* are interchangeable. According to Sanskrit grammar there is practically no difference between *ra* and la *ralayorabhedaḥ* and both the letters have the tendency to interchange in Sanskrit words. There is no surprise, therefore, that both *ra* and *la* of Sanskrit words change into *na* in Siamese. A few examples will illustrate this point : *vihāra* > *vihana*, *sāgara* > *sakhon*, *nagara* > *nakhon*, *Māra* > *Mana*, *ākāra* > *akana*. A few examples of *la* changing into *na* are as follows : *śūla* > *suen*, *pāla* > *van*, *Sila* > *Sin*, *yugala* > *yukon*, etc.

The letter *va* changes into *pha*. e.g. *Viṣṇu* > *phisanu*, *vara* > *phra*, *vṛkṣa* > *phuk*, *vinaya* > *phinai*, *svayambara* > *sayamphon*.

The dental *sa* changes into *ta*. e.g. *rasa* > *rot*. In Siamese Sanskrit *ṛ* has been preserved as *ru* : *vṛkṣa* > *phruk* = *phuk*, *vanamṛga* > *valamoruk*.

Thus it is clear that Indian influence in Siam was wide, varied and deep. Much requires still to be studied. Explorations and excavations by Indian universities and the Archaeological Survey of India is a necessity now.

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5 For illustration see *Ars Asiatica* XII pl X
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15 Elliot *Hinduism and Buddhism* vol iii pp 81 82
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18 Coedes in *BEFEO* 1917 no 2 cf also Fournereau pp 157 ff
19 Elliot refers to it in his *Buddhism and Hinduism* vol iii, pp 83 84
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26 Reginald le May, *Marg* IX Sept 1956, p 42 figs 1 3
27 Reginald le May, *Indian Art & Letter* vol iv, no 2, p 83
28 *Marg* ix Sept 1956, p 34
29 Coedės, *loc cit*
30 *Marg* IX, Sept 1956 fig 4 (wheel), fig 5 (deer)
31 *Ibid* IX, Sept 1956, p 42
32 *Ibid* IX, Sept 1956, fig 8, cf also *Indian Art and Letter* IV, no 2, p 85 fig 2 It may be of special interest that Reginald le May gives the height of this image as some twenty feet in the former and some thirty feet in latter
33 *Indian Art and Letter* IV, No 2 fig 86, p 84
34 *Indian Art and Letter* IV, no 2, p. 86, fig 4
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70. *Ibid*., p 147, figs 142, 143.
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The Rāmāyaṇa in Thailand

H.H. PRINCE DHANINIVAT

THE KHŌN, OR masked play, is always performed on the subject of the Rāmakien. This is not, as is often stated by scholars and others, a Siamese version of the Sanskrit epic of the Rāmāyana by Vālmīki; but the classical dance-drama written by His Majesty King Rāma I and completed in 1798 was on the subject of the identical hero Rāma of Ayodhyā in India. The story, no doubt, had an Indian origin; but has been handed down through the Śrīvijaya Kingdom and greatly added to by local interpolations.

Rāmakien is the Thai Version of Indian Rāma Kathā

The Siamese Rāmakien, though obviously written for performance, is not divided into acts and scenes as the drama modelled upon the classical Indian or Greek types. It is one long story without division though accompanied throughout by stage directions. For the sake of clarity we may treat the long story as composed roughly of three parts: (1) an introductory part, dealing with the origins of the three races inhabiting the world of the time adopted for the drama, namely: the human, the demoniac and the simian, tracing origins mostly from the Hindu heavens as accepted in Buddhist literature; (2) a narrative of the story of Rāma following in main details the gist of the world-renowned Sanskrit literature though not included in the classical epic of the Rāmāyaṇa with an additional episode of the wandering of Rāma in the forest to relieve his mental agony in losing again his beloved Sīdā, remarkably told with geographical locales reminiscent of the valleys of the Čaoprayā and the Mekhong.

The Daśāvatāras Included

Before going on to the main plot which we have arbitrarily partitioned into a second part, it is but tempting to add that the initial episodes of the preceding section seem to testify to a knowledge of the Sanskrit Purāṇa. There are of course prose works in Siamese known as the Nārāi Sibpāṅ, i.e., the Ten Incarnations of Viṣṇu, which might have been the basis of our Rāmakien, though here shorn of its sacred nature.

The Story of Rāmāyaṇa as told in the Thai Land

Considerable divergence of opinion exists as to where the plot begins. The murals in the galleries of the Chapel Royal of the Emerald Buddha commence with the discovery in the bowels of the earth of Sīdā. Versions of our neighbours, such as the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki, the Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin and the Cambodian Rāmker, commence with the reign of Daśaratha, Rāma's father, prior to the birth of his four sons. The bas-reliefs of Prambanan begin their story with the circumstances leading to the birth of Rāma and his brothers, tracing it back to the invitation of the gods extended to Viṣṇu to reincarnate in the world to exterminate the evil race of demons. We have decided consequently to begin our narration with the birth of the hero and his brothers as well as that of Sīdā from Mont'ō, Queen of Lonkā. The baby-girl's horoscope indicates disaster for her father and his family of demons. T'ośakanth has her thrown into the waters; but she is picked up by Janok, King of Mithilā, who had doffed kingly robes to assume the life of a hermit in the forest. Feeling the impropriety of a hermit celibate living along with a female even though she is a mere baby, he buries her in the ground, praying to heaven to take care of her till she grows up and able to take care of herself. Meanwhile the young sons to T'ośaroth of Ayudhyā (Ayodhyā) grow up under a training destined for royalty. Rāma is then sent with Lak (Lakṣmaṇa) to the forests to the rescue of hermits who have been molested by the demon crow and her inhuman ruffians, whom he succeeds in exterminating. Wandering forth further with their preceptor they come into Mithilā where King Janok is holding a tournament to lift an ancient bow the prize of which is to be the hands of his daughter, Sīdā, now restored to her father's court and grown to be a beautiful damsel. When all the contestants had failed in the tournament, Lak is sent in by Rāma, and though he is able to lift it he does not consummate the effort, leaving it to his brother, who of course lifts the bow and wins the hand of the princess.

We are then told about the intrigue of King T'ośaroth's young queen in extracting the promise of the throne from her ailing husband for her own son Prot (Bharata) to be coupled with the exile for 14 years of the rightful heir Rāma. Rāma insists upon observing his father's promise to the latter and leaves with his consort Sīdā and his favourite brother Lak for the forest. The ailing King, T'ośaroth, is heartbroken and dies. The claim of the young queen for the throne on behalf of her son Prot is rejected by all including Prot himself who is too loyal to his brother to accept the high honour. He heads a deputation to discover Rāma in his exile in the forest to invite him back to reign in accordance with his right. Rāma however refuses to break his father's promise and at the insistence of Prot gives the straw sandals he is wearing to Prot to place on the throne to signify his personal rule.

Rāma with his wife and brother Lak goes further into the forests and meets with a series of adventures. First of all they meet a young demon maiden, a sister of King T'ośakanth of Lonkā, named Sammanakhā (Śūrpaṇakhā), wandering about in the wilds in search of males. She makes love to both brothers and threatens Sīdā. Lak is furious and drives her away after cutting off her nose to defame her looks. She hurries to report the wrong done to her brothers, Tūt, King of Čārik and a brother of T'ośakanth, who goes out indignantly to avenge the dishonour rendered to his sister but is killed in the battle. Another brother Khorn meets Rāma and is duly killed in battle. Yet another Trīsian, meets a similar fate.

Sammanakhā now goes to T'ośakanth and succeeds in persuading him to try to abduct Sīdā from their hermitage. Mārīč, a relative of the King of Lonkā, disguising himself as a golden deer walks past the hermitage and arouses Sīdā's wish to possess the beautiful golden animal. She begs her husband to go and catch it Though at first reluctant to leave her and rather suspecting that deer, Rāma cannot resist his wife's desire and, leaving her in the charge of his brother Lak follows the deer and shoots at it in the suspicion of something foul. The demon cries out in Rāma's voice for help : and Sīdā sends Lak much against his good sense to rescue Rāma. T'ośakanth now appears in the guise of a hermit, abducts Sīdā on his flying chariot and speeds away. Rāma returns to meet Lak and both hurrying back to their hermitage find that Sīdā has disappeared. T'ośakanth on his aerial flight meets with the King of

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birds, Sadāyu, who tries to bar his way but is killed, though not before meeting Rāma and Lak to whom he relates what happened.

Another incident of their peregination is the meeting with the monkey Hanumān who turns out to be Rāma's most valuable officer. The latter is instrumental in effecting an alliance between Rāma and Sukrīb King of the simian kingdon of Khīdkhin, who places his simian army at the disposal of Rāma for the recovery of Sīdā. This force is augmented by another simian army of Jompū.

A reconnaissance party led by Hanumān, Jomp'ūp'ān and Oṅkod is now despatched; and, meeting with the eagle Sadāyu's brother, is taken on the bird's back to obtain an aerial view of the enemy terrain. Coming back to the eagle's nest, Hanumān jumps across the ocean to Loṅkā, and discovers Sīdā confined to the royal park. She is desolate and just about to commit suicide by hanging. Delivering Rāma's message he offers to take her back; but Sīdā refuses on the ground that it would seem improper to be carried about first by a demon (T'ośakanth) when he abducted her and then carried back by a monkey. She sends back, however, a message urging Rāma to hurry up rescuing her from the demons by coming at the head of an army and heroically vanquishing the enemy, in a wanton mood for revenge Hanumān wrecks the park. Successive forces are sent to catch him; but do not succeed till the redoubtable Indrajit, champion of demons, comes out and brings him by force into King T'ośakanth's presence. Every imaginable method is used to kill the monkey warrior without avail till, answer to T'ośakanth's enquiry, Hanumān suggests clogging by fire. This done personally by the Demon-King, Hanumān jumps about setting fire to every corner of the palace and escapes. On his return to Rāma's camp he is rebuked for thus destroying buildings even though they belong to the enemy.

Rāma now moves his camp to the sea-shore opposite the enemy's citadel in Loṅkā.

Meanwhile in Loṅkā P'ip'ek, T'ośakanth's brother, urges his brother to be fair and restore Sīdā to her husband. He is banished for this advice. Being an astrologer, he sees doom threatening the race of demons, an incarnation of Viṣṇu being already on earth in the shape of Rāma to work out their extermination. In the hope of lightening the national tragedy he goes straight into the camp of Rāma; and, on being caught, offers his service on condition that he should not have to inform against his relatives except when asked by Rāma.

T'ośakanth now resorts to a ruse by which his niece, P'p'ek's daughter Banyakāi, is disguised as Sīdā floating in the waters as if dead past Rāma's camp in the morning. Rāma, coming down to the sea-shore, is deceived; but Hanumān, ever clever, suggests and arranges for a cremation of the dead lady, who of course rises into the air to escape and is caught by the monkey general. She confesses and after some punishment is set free.

Rāma, then orders bridging of the channel of sea. The monkey leaders Hanumān and Nilap'at head the workers but quarrel and come to blows. The latter is sent back to Khīdkhin by way of punishment. Hanumān is in sole charge. Finding that stones thrown into the sea disappear for no apparent reason he dives below only to find a queen-fish leading her fishes carry away the stones. She is caught by Hanumān; the two fall in love; a promise is made by the queen-fish to cease the obstruction. The queen-fish duly gives birth to a son in the shape of a monkey with a fish-tail, who in later years becomes one of the leaders of Rāma's brother's army fighting later demon enemies. Rāma now crosses over the causeway and sets up camp on the island of Loṅkā.

In order to be correct in etiquette Rāma sends an official envoy, Oṅkod, into the citadel of Loṅkā to offer terms of peace. The mission is a prominent feature in most versions of the

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epic and is believed to have served as one of the early drastic episodes for the Indian shadow play.

To satisfy his curiosity of the strength of the enemy, T'ośakanth sets up his gigantic canopy over the citadel on which he and his court go up. Sukrib is sent up to destroy this contrivance with the result that T'ośakanth and his party fall headlong to the ground, which indignity is highly resented by the demon-king.

The war in Loṅkā may now be said to commence from this point, and instead of following the detailed narrative we need only give just a summary of the battles since the successive demon leaders who take part in the battles provide many artistic marks.

1. The campaign of Maiyarāb, the Magician, with its fanciful account of obstacles set up by him down to his citadel in the bowels of the earth. Maiyarāb is finally killed by Hanumān.
2. The campaign of Kumbhakarṇ, brother of the demon-king, in four episodes; but is finally killed in battle by Rāma.
3. The campaign of Indrajit, son and heir of T'ośakanth, who values him as the most redoubtable of his commanders. After causing a lot of trouble he is killed in the fifth battle.
4. Maṅkarakanth fighting a delaying battle during Indrajit's sacrifices loses his life also in battle.
5. The death of Indrajit brings out T'ośakanth to battle without result.
6. Next comes Sahassadeja, a gigantic ally distinguished for his lack of intelligence; followed by demon leaders, namely: the former's brother Mūlaphalam, Seṅ-ātit, nephew of T'ośakanth, Sataluṅ and Trīmegh, the latter also a nephew of T'ośakanth, all four distinguished for valour, take their turns but are finally killed.

The king of Loṅkā now comes out to battle without any result.

Just before this last battle T'ośakanth holds a great sacrifice underground to attain invulnerability but is foiled in the attempt by three simian generals. He summons therefore an old ally Satthāsūra and another nephew Virunčambaṅ to his aid. The former has a short battle and is killed; the latter an expert spearman and a redoubtable horseman who can disappear at will with mount gives some trouble but escapes to the ocean hiding himself in seafoam. He is tracked and killed by Hanumān.

T'ośakanth appeals to the Brāhmaṇa-ancestor of the demon world, Mālivan, who comes down to earth to try to effect reconciliation. Holding a trial at which the King of Loṅkā is plaintiff and Rāma is defendant he gives judgment in favour of the latter on the strength of the evidence of witnesses; and thus enrages the demon-king who decides to hold another sacrifice with the object of demolishing heaven where the denizens have been witnesses in favour of Rāma. In order to prevent the planned Götterdämmerung the god Śiva summons P'āli, now a *deva*, to foil the sacrifice for at the sight of him the valiant T'ośakanth recoils quickly.

As on former occasions of disappoinment the King of Loṅkā gives battle and this time succeeds in wounding very seriously Prince Lak brother of Rāma. He is however revived after a difficult search by Hanumān for rare medicaments. Other relatives—a brother T'apanāsūra and two sons by an elephant mother—are sent into battle and lose their lives. T'ośakanth is finally killed on the field of battle after Hanumān and Oṅkod have secured his physical heart and crushed it in sight of the owner, T'ośakanth.

Though here we should have reached the climax, the romance goes considerably further.

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On the march back home after crowning P'ip'ek as King of Loṅkā and the famous ordeal of fire insisted on by Sīdā to prove her innocence during her confinement at the demon court, Rāma is caught up by Asakarn, an ally of T'ośakanth, who is killed by Rāma. A son of the demon-king, Banlaiyakalp, who has been brought up in the court of his maternal grandfather the king of the Nāga-world, tracks the army of Rāma and is met by Hanumān who succeeds in putting an end to him.

There is yet a considerable amount of material concerning further wars and Rāma's domestic trouble which we have taken the liberty for convenience's sake to designate as the third section of the whole story. The narrative commences with the rule of P'iP'ek in Loṅkā, where the learned king, lacking in military experience, faces a revolution and is only saved by Rāma sending Hanumān to put things in order. The affair is aggravated by the interference of Čakravat, King of the demon state of Malivan out of his sense of loyalty to his friend, T'ośakanth. Deeming it unwise to leave things as they are even though the revolution has been successfully put down, Rāma carries war into the Malivan territory with his brother P'rot in command. The description of this war is but a parallel of the one in Loṅkā. In place of Rāma and Lak, we have P'rot and Satrud (Bharata and Śatrughna); the army of Khidkhin accompnies the princes but instead of Hanumān as champion, even though he is in that army, we have his rival, Nīlapat. On the demon side we also have parallels : because in place of T'ośakanth there is King Čakravat with his three sons who take the places of Khumbhakarn, Indrajit and Maṅkarakarn. The gigantic Sahassadeja is replaced by King Vayatāl. After details of fighting which is considerable though not as lengthy as in the case of the war of Loṅkā Čakravat is killed and the war ended.

We are now told of a court intrigue. In an absence for the day by Rāma, a maid becomes possessed by the spirit of a rākṣasī bent on vengeance and implores Sīdā to draw a picture of the demon-king of Loṅkā. As soon as the drawing is finished Rāma returns. Fearing the anger or jealousy of her husband Sīdā pushes the drawing under her lord's bed. Its magic spell makes Rāma restless and unwell. Searching for the cause of his indisposition Rāma discovers the drawing which Sīdā admits having drawn for the curiosity of her mind. Jealousy is aroused to such an extent that Rāma orders his brother Lak to deliver a severed penalty by killing his belowed consort. Lak accompanies his sister-in-law out of town and leaves her in the forest intead of killing her. Sīdā eventually takes refuge with the hermits. She eventually gives birth to a son who is named But. One day she goes out to gather fruits for daily sustenance leaving her baby in the care of the old hermit but later comes back to fetch it. The hermit in his meditation does not notice Sīdā coming back; but later opens his eyes to find that there is no baby left. Alarmed at having lost his charge he creates by magic another baby to take its place. On Sīdā's return she is delighted to find another baby Lob and the two are brought up together as twin brothers. As the boys grow up they are taught the letters as well as martial prowess as becoming to royal children. Their archery practices stir up atmospheric commotions to such an extent that it is heard in the capital of Ayudhyā. Rāma sends Hanumān to find out what it is all about by following a royal horse-mount labelled as such with the law quoted that whoever mounts it commits an act of treason. As it wanders into the forest it comes near the hermitage and the boys catch the horse and ride on it for pleasure with the remark that we dont care or know what treason is. Hanumān advances to catch the boys whom he has no means of recognising; and is caught and bound up by the boys. Prince P'rot, following with soldiers, tries to rescue Hanumān and is forced to use his bow against the boys eventually succeeding in caputuring the elder of the two, who is brought into town and exposed for punishment

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in the middle of it. However. he finally escapes back to the hermitage. Rāma now comes out to catch the boys and has to use his weapon though without avail. Upon enquiry Rāma discovers that they are his sons. He tries to tell them but they would not believe him and escape to the inner room of the hermitage. Meeting Sīdā here Rāma apologises for his treatment of her and tries to persuade her to return which the princess refuses, though allows the children to return with their father. Every means for the restitution of their normal relationship failing, Rāma sends Hanumān to bring Sīdā back to a feigned cremation of himself. On discovering the fake she uses her right of returning to Mother Earth by a magical submergence into the ground to take refuge with the King of the Nāga-world, who has a separate palace built for her.

The last part of this third section describes how desolate and worried Rāma becomes that he invites P'ip'ek to Ayudhyā to advise him about his trouble. The latter recommends a year's exile which Rāma carries out. The exile is to be towards 'the East where malignant spirits still abound' . Lak and Hanumān are to go with him and P'rot, Satrud and the two sons remain to take charge of state affairs.

The exile to the East is accopanied by a few adventures. First a gigantic demon eagle seizes Rāma and his brother from which Hanumān and Sukrīb manage to rescue them. The simian leaders who have by now joined Rāma carry on the fighting till the eagle is killed.

In his wandering in exile Rāma with his simian army trespasses into the part of King Unārāj, a demon chief, who at once engages Rāma. He is finally vanquished and sent flying by force of the hero's grass-arrow to a cave wherein he is doomed to remain in punishment for some 100,000,000,000 years, stuck to the ground by the grass-arrow.

Having concluded his term of one year's exile Rāma returns to his capital. Śiva in heaven learns now how desolate Rāma is owing to the refusal of Sīdā to be reconciled; summons both parties and effects a reconciliation.

There remains yet another expedition to be carried out. The King of the demicelestial 'kondhan' (gandharva), represented in Thai are as demoniac people, tours the forest and comes to molest hermits who have come out for solitude and meditation and advances to the city of Kaiyakes, the King of which is related to the House of Ayudhyā. The latter appeals to Rāma for help. Rāma sends a combined army of his own men of Ayudhyā, and an army from the simian state of Khidkhin under the command of P'rot, Satrud and his own sons. The aged monkey general, Jāmpūvarāj is delegated as envoy to warn the enemy. This being ignored hostilities commence with the result that the two sons of Rāma kill the gandharva king and his son. The four princes then enter Kaiyakes and later go out to seek the aged monarch of that state, the maternal grandfather of P'rot; and restore him to his throne. The princes return to report to Rāma who in turn sends his two brothers, P'rot and Satrud back to Kaiyakes to assist the old king. Here all ends happily.

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Campā—An Outpost of Indian Culture

M.N. DESHPANDE

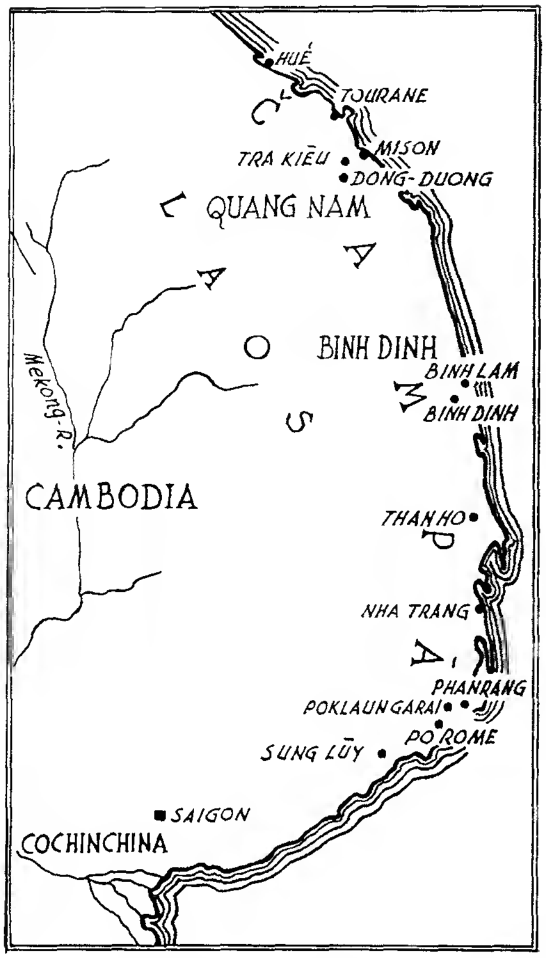
FROM ALMOST THE beginning of the Christian era. India has played a unique role in the socio-religious and cultural life of the whole of Asia. She has been responsible for weaving a variegated fabric to clothe the Asian countries with a garment which is distinctive for each region yet bearing an indelible imprint of Indian culture. This process called 'colonisation' by some was in essence a spontaneous and peaceful process of sharing her spiritual and material attainments with her near and distant neighbours. Thus, it would be seen that there was, at no stage, a design to overrun South-East Asia with a view to establishing political hegemony or to disturb the established social order of any region. Bernard Groslier[1], the learned author of 'Indo-China' in the 'Art of World Series', has made a very significant observation about Indian expansion in Indo-China. To quote: "It was one of the most important civilising movements of ancient times, worthy to compare with the Hellenisation of the Mediterranean world. And India can be justly proud to have spread the light of her understanding over such distant lands, lands which without her might have remained in darkness." Among the many countries that came under the spell of Indian influence was Campā of that part of the present day, war-torn Vietnam, which is known as Annam. The ancient name of this region as Campa[2] occurs in many Sanskrit inscriptions of that country as *Campādeśa* while the kings are mentioned as *Campeśvara*, *Campākṣoṇīśvara*, or *Campāpuraparameśvara*.

It can be said without doubt that Campā first felt the impact of Indian culture as early as the second century A.D. It is a matter of common knowledge that the prosperous trade with the Far East which began about this time attracted a large number of enterprising Indian merchants and princes to migrate to these regions and establish themselves as pioneers in the field. Before long they identified themselves with these developing countries and soon came to the forefront as political and economic stabilisers of the region *Periplus*[3] mentions trade-routes from three harbours on the eastern coast near Masulipatam across the Bay of Bengal to the Eastern Peninsula.

Resumé of Previous Work

It was not possible to present a very clear picture of such a continuous cultural contact between India and Campā[4] till the discovery of the numerous Sanskrit inscriptions and other researches in the art and archaeology of that region. The inscriptions were originally published in French in the last decade of the preceding century. This work was further supplemented by Parmentier who carried out large-scale excavations on the sites of the Buddhist monastery at Dong-doung (Indrapura) and the Hindu temple establishments at Mi-son

CAMPĀ



and Po-nagar and published his first volume dealing with Cham monuments *(Inventaire descriptif des monuments Cams de l' Annam)* in 1909. G. Maspero published in 1928 a monograph called 'The Kingdom of Champa' *(le Royaume du Champa)* tracing the history of the kingdom from the earliest times till its conquest by Annamites in 1471 A.D. The art of Campā was further studied by Parmentier and the results of his researches are contained in '*Inventaire archaeologique de l'Indo-Chine II, Monuments Chams de l'Annam* (Texte: tomes I-II, Planches: 2 albums, 1918–19). P. Stern in his book 'The Art of Champa and its evolution' *(L'art du Champa ancient Annam et son evolution,* Toulouse, 1942), reclassified the monuments of Campā and its sculptures and presented a new chronology based on the study of decorative motifs. The latest work on this subject is by J. Boisselier *(La Statuaire du Champa,* Paris, 1963).

Principal Centres of Indian Influence

The ancient Indo-Cham kingdom of Campā whose inhabitants spoke a language of Indonesian group came into existence towards the close of the second century A.D. near the Vietnamese city of Hue situated almost in the centre of the eastern coast-line. The kingdom extended over the entire length of the Indo-Chinese peninsula from the mountainous area known as the Annam-portal in the north to the Mekong delta in the south, its centres being: (1) Amarāvatī corresponding to the Vietnamese province of Quang-nam; (2) Vijaya corresponding to Binh-dinh province; (3) Kauthara corresponding to the province of Nhatrang; and (4) Pāṇḍuraṅga corresponding to Phan-rang. These places were successive centres of political authority and it would be interesting to refer to the monumental remains and other antiquities found at these centres and in their vicinity especially with a view to studying very briefly, the archaeological wealth of Campā so as to trace their cultural inspiration from India.

The oldest Sanskrit inscription of Campā is attributed to a king who called himself the delight of the family of Śrī-Māra *(Śrimāra. . .rāja-kula-nandana)*. The record which is partly in a developed *kāvya* style and in the ornate Sanskrit metre *vasantatilakā* is attributed to about the third or fourth century A.D. Found at Vo-Canh, its contents are not very clear, but it appears to be a donation to a Buddhist establishment.

Amarāvatī (Quang-nam)

Belonging to almost the same period as the inscription mentioned above is a fine statue of Buddha in bronze (vide Fig. 1) found at Dong-Duong (ancient Indrapura) and measuring

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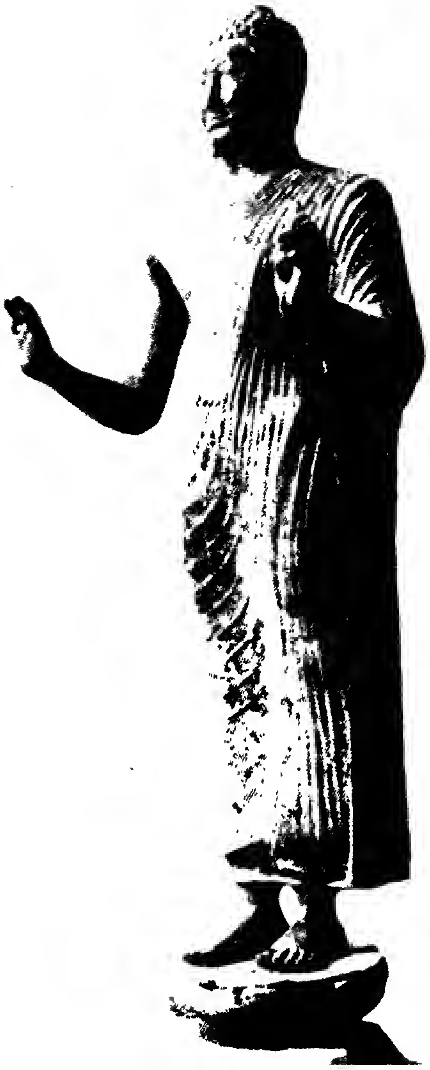

FIG. 1. *Buddha (bronze) from Dong-Duong.*

1.08 metres in height. This remarkable image has unmistakable affinities with Amarāvatī sculpture which has also influenced the plastic art of Ceylon. The symmetrical disposition of the folds of the *uttarīya* bespeak of an art tradition practised at the Buddhist School of Amarāvatī in Andhra Pradesh. The presence of *ūrṇā,* the curly hair and general stance of the image would suggest an Indian origin. In fact, the image is symbolic of the contact between India and Campā in as much as the first centre of political authority was called Amarāvatī after the Buddhist centre of that name in Andhra Pradesh.

In the region of Amarāvatī (Quang-nam) is noticed the rise of the first historical monarch of Campā by name Bhadravarman (beginning of fifth century A.D.). In one of his inscriptions (Mi-son no-2) he is styled as *Dharma-mahārāja-śrī-Bhadravarman.* Another inscription describes him as having dedicated a temple to Śiva under the name Bhadreśvarasvāmī in an area girted by mountains on three sides, a river on the fourth. The site of the temple is indentified with Mi-son, but unfortunately nothing of this earliest temple survives to this day as it was burnt more than once. There are inscriptional references to the successive reconstructions of the temple and the extant remains of a temple of a later date indicate that the temple of Bhadreśvara was the national sanctuary of the Chams.

Early sixth century witnessed the rise of a new dynasty of which the king called Rudravarman (530-572 A.D.) is said to have belonged to *Brāhma-kṣatriya* family. It was during his reign that the famous temple of Bhadreśvarasvāmī was burnt by fire. His successor Śambhūvarman (572-629) is credited to have re-established the temple and re-named it as Śambhū-Bhadreśvara thus adding his own name to that of the original founder.

The first examples of Cham Temple art which are preserved in the Museum of Tourane, however, belong to the reign of Prakāśadharma (653 to about 686 A.D.) who, during his long reign embellished Mi-son to a great extent. He is stated to have established a temple called Śrī Prabhāseśvara and also erected a temple dedicated to Kubera, the god of wealth.

The temple site of Mi-son contains ruins of over seventy small and big buildings constructed from time to time by the kings of Campā. The group E-I situated in north-east, on the right bank of a stream is the oldest (seventh-eighth century) and the principal temple was meant to enshrine a large sculptured pedestal to support a liṅga.[5] The sculptures undoubtedly betray post-Gupta influence.

In one of the Mi-son sanctuaries near a Śiva-liṅga shrine was discovered a standing image of Gaṇeśa belonging to *circa* 8th century. The four-armed figure of Gaṇeśa (Fig. 2), standing

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erect, is a magnificent example of Cham art. Wearing a decorated *graiveyaka* and a cobra in place of *yajñopavīta*, the image by its heaviness and the manner in which the *dhotī* is tied by means of a broad *kaṭibandha* reminds one of the early traditions of fashioning *yakṣa* images in India. The image is almost 0.94 metres in height and is attributed to Mi-son E-5 group of temples. There is no evidence whether Gaṇeśa was worshipped in Śiva temple as an attendant on Śiva or there was a special cult for his worship as an independent deity. However, a 9th-10th century inscription of Harivarman I from Po-Nagar mentions that a separate temple was dedicated to Vināyaka when the king replaced the image of Bhagavatī in the temple. The image of Gaṇeśa in question is now exhibited in the Museum of Tourane.

Belonging almost to the same period is another fine stone image of Skanda standing on *mayūra* with the plumage forming an oval shaped *prabhāvalī*. It is also housed in the Tourane Museum.

The popularity of Śiva together with Gaṇeśa and Skanda is worthy of note. While Śiva was worshipped in his phallic form and the kings of Campā vied with each other in earning religious merit by installing and consecrating new liṅga-images, there are representations of Śiva in human form. Among such images mention may be made of the Śiva image of *circa* 10th century. The image exemplifies serenity and majesty and is indeed a very fine representation of Śiva. The ornate *mukuṭa* enclosing the *jaṭābhāra*, the *karṇa-kuṇḍalas*, the bejewelled *hāra*, the decorated armlets add to its grandeur. It may also be mentioned that Śiva is also presented as dancing the *tāṇḍava* dance in the Po Klaung Garai temple where it is fixed over the entrance door-way as in some of the Indian temples. Naṭarāja Śiva with sixteen hands is also represented and the panel from Phong-le preserved in the Tourane Museum reminds one of the Naṭarāja panel in Rāmeśvara cave at Ellora. The panel would belong to *circa* 9th century A.D. The representation of Rāvaṇānugraha-mūrti-Śiva similar to the magnificent panel in Kailāsa at Ellora is also to be seen at Mi-son.

In the tenth century were erected a number of temple at Mi-son on the left bank of the stream. Of these, monuments belonging to group B-1 are well preserved. The old site of the sanctuary of Bhadreśvara liṅga is marked by two towers, the principal of which is designated A-1. It dates from the beginning of the tenth century and is the largest at Mi-son. Around the main temple are six small temples (three each to its north and south). The temples usually were built in brick though stone was also used in some cases.

The temples B-5 and D-1 (Figs. 3 and 4) belong to the 10th century A.D. The standing figures of deities with folded hands between slender pilasters and framed within vertical floral relief decorations

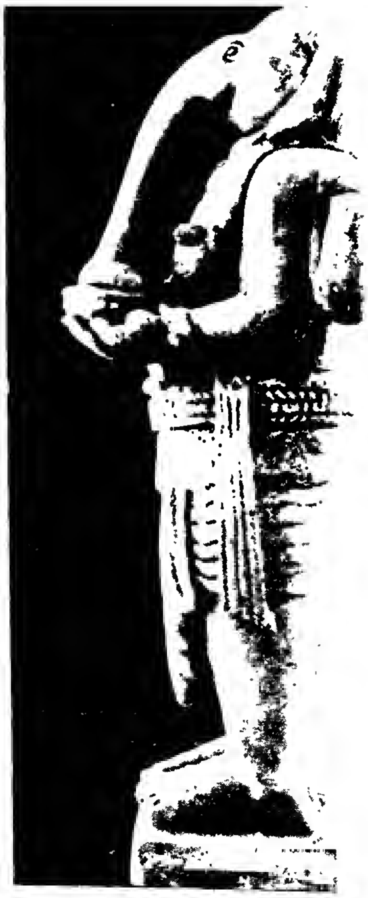

FIG 3 *Gaṇeśa (stone) from Mi-son*

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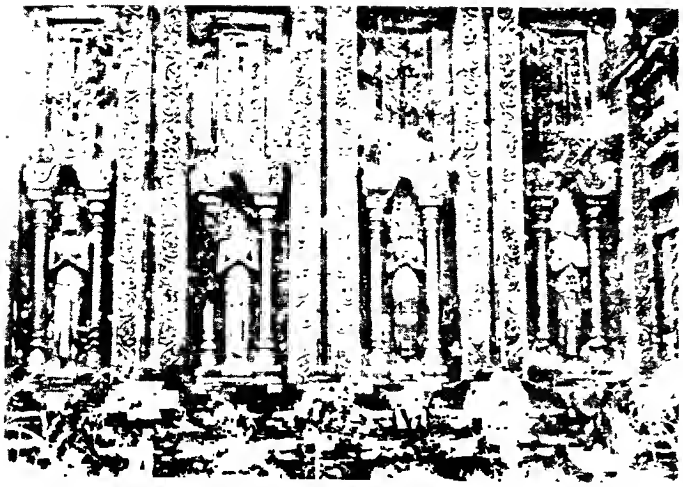

FIG 3 *Mi-son B. 5, Temple Facade (North).*

characterize this phase which is in fact a decadent phase of Cham art when the centre of political power was shifted southward to Vijaya (Binh-dinh) in about 982 A.D.

Belonging, however, to the reign of Amarāvatī (Quang-nam) two other centres merit attention. First is the Buddhist monastery of Dong-duang belonging to the last quarter of 9th century. About this time a new dynasty was reigning over Campā from the capital of Indrapura (modern Dong-duang) situated to the south-east of Mi-son. This dynasty was established by Indravarman II (875-898 A.D.) who was a devout Buddhist. The Dong-duong stelae inscription of Indravarman starts with salutation to Lakṣmīndra Lokeśvara and mentions that the vihāra was founded for the sake of *dharma* and for the residence of the *bhikṣu-saṅgha*. The excavations undertaken at this place brought to light the remains of a Buddhist temple far greater in dimension than the largest Hindu temple in Campā. Many images of Buddha have been discovered amongst which mention may be made of friezes on the pedestal of sanctuary illustrating the life of Siddhārtha starting with the episode of his departure on Kaṇṭhaka horse and subsequent episode such as cutting his hair-locks and giving away of his clothes and ornaments (Figs. 5 and 6). The crowding of human figures and exuberance of decoration characterized this period.

The second centre was Tra-kieu situated about 35 kms. south of Tourane. The city is identified with ancient Siṃhapura and was fortified by brick-walls. Remains of eight Hindu temples have been brought to light, of which the principal one belongs to about 10th century. The brick-terrace exposed in the excavations was decorated with sandstone bas-relief depicting male and female dancers in various attitudes together with lions and elephants. The contorted forms of the female dancers are reminiscent of contemporary depiction on the Coḷa and Cāḷukyan monuments and are indeed remarkable examples of the plastic art of Campā.

A pedestal of a Śivaliṅga from this place (Fig. 7) preserved in the museum of Tourane is decorated with a very fine frieze going alround the basement with the corners supported by grotesque figures having *kīrtimukha* face. The running panel depicts the story of Kṛṣṇa.

Vijaya (Binh-Dinh)

A reference has already been

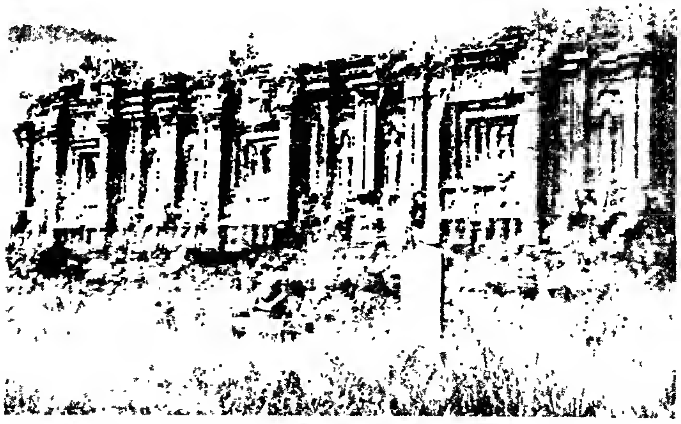

FIG 4 *Mi-son D 1. Temple Facade (North)*

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made to the shifting of the capital of Cham rulers southwards at Vijaya in the 10th century. King Harivarman II (982-998) consolidated his power but the kingdom was destined to suffer due to external aggression and internal troubles, till ultimately the capital was destroyed in 1069 A.D. by the Annamite Emperor Ly Thanh Ton. It was, however, under Jaya Harivarman I (1147-1166) that Campā regained its independence and the later temples at Mi-son and Po-Nagar attest such a revival inspired by the architectural style of Angkor Vat. Subsequent struggle for power between the two Indianised States of Thailand and Vietnam resulted in the weakening of both the powers and Campā could not survive long till in 1471 A.D., Vijaya, the capital town, was captured and this marked the end of the glory that was Campā.

At Binh-dinh are found the remains of a temple, square on plan within the north-east corner of the enclosure wall of the citadel. The spire of the temple is three-storeyed *(tritala)*, corners of which are adorned by miniature shrines like the *kūṭas* in the Dravidian temples. Each storey, as also the central portion of the outer-wall of the sanctuary, has a niche surmounted by exuberantly decorated arch like the *śukanāsikā* of the Dravidian temple. This temple belongs to *circa* eleventh century.

At Cha-ban, the old capital of Vijaya, there is a thirteenth century temple known as 'Copper tower'.

Kauthara (Nha-Trang)

The Po-nagar group at Nha-trang consists of about eight buildings of which four are still standing. The inscriptions discovered at Po-nagar mention the construction of a wooden temple enshrining a *mukhaliṅga* by a mythical king Vicitrasāgara. It further mentions that this temple was destroyed and king Satyavarman who built another temple in its place installed a new *mukhaliṅga* together with an image of Bhagavatī and Gaṇeśa.[8] It is, however, not possible to identify the temple with the extant ruins.

Among the extant buildings mention may be made of the principal temple which is fairly well preserved and exemplifies the characteristics of temples of Campā. The temple has a three storeyed *śikhara* recalling late Caḷukyan style.

Pāṇḍuraṅga (Phan-Rang)

The last centre from where the Cham kings ruled is Phan-rang (Pāṇḍuraṅga). The founder of this dynasty is mentioned as Pṛthivīndravarman who ruled from 758 to 773 A.D. Among the line of kings, Harivarman (800-820 A.D.) is mentioned as *rājādhirāja campāpura-parameśvara*. The

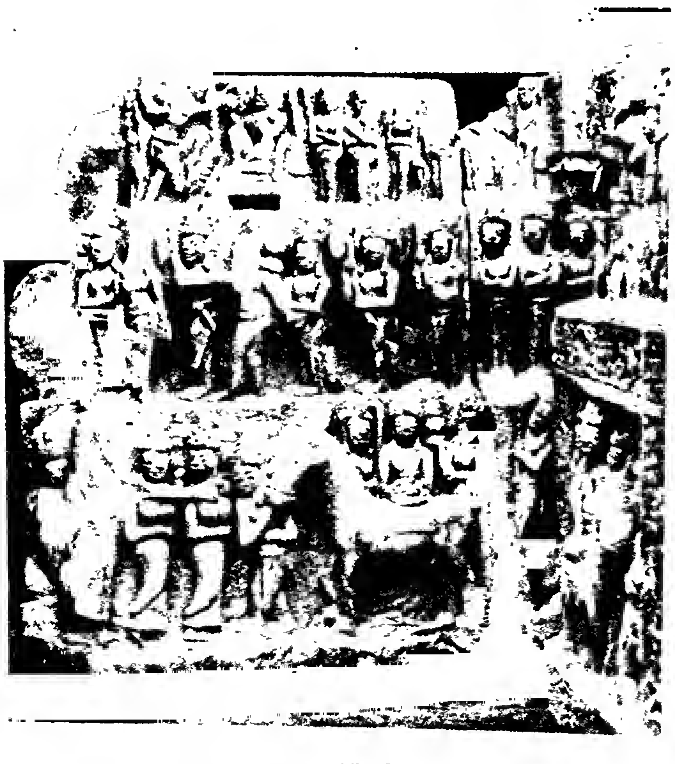

FIG 5. *Departure of Buddha from D'ong-duong*

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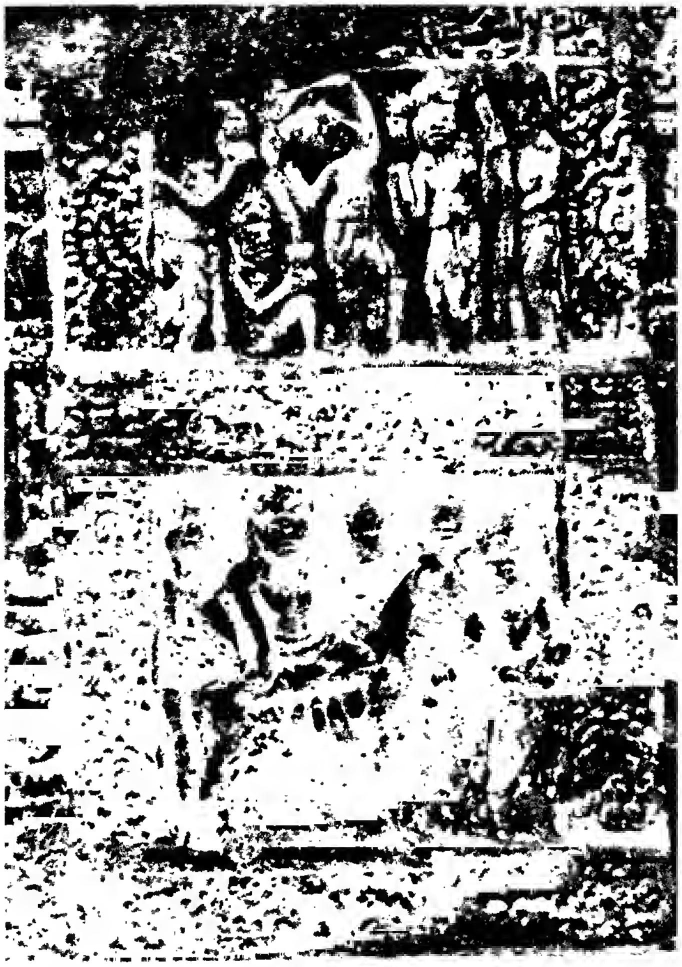

FIG 6 *Buddha cutting his hair-lock and giving away his clothes, D'ong-duong*

standing monuments in the Pāṇḍuraṅga area, however, belong to a later period marking the final stage of Cham art and architecture. The Po Klaung Garai temple assigned to the 13th century in its extant form has in its front an inscription carved on three faces of rock of which a part is in Sanskrit. It mentions the installation of a Śiva-liṅga by a prince. The temple which stands on a hill is very well preserved and has a *tritala vimāna* (three storeyed spire) with miniature curvilinear *śikharas* placed at the corner of each storey. The temple would belong to the reign of Jayasiṃhavarman IV, who ruled between 1287 and 1307 A.D.

Conclusion

The reference to the construction of the earliest temple of Bhadreśvara in the first quarter of the 5th century is indeed a very significant development for the study of Indian temple architecture. The late temples of Campā from 8th to 14th century deserve to be studied in greater details so as to bring out the similarity with their Indian counterparts, as also to trace possible influences from other Indianised States of the Far East. Majumdar has suggested that the temples of Badami, Conjeevaram and Mahabalipuram influenced the temple styles of Campā. A closer study is, however, called for.

While Śaivism was popular in Campā, Vaiṣṇavism and worship of Viṣṇu was also prevalent though not to the same extent as Śaivism. The Duong-mong inscription (no. 11) mentions the construction of temple for god Viṣṇupuruṣottama (इद भगवत्न पुरुषोत्तमस्य विष्णोरनादिनिधनस्याशेषभुवन गुरो पूजास्थान श्रीप्रकाशधर्मणा कारितम्). Viṣṇu is also mentioned as Nārāyaṇa, Hari, Govinda, Mādhava, Vikrama, Tribhuvanākrānta. He is depicted on a pedestal of Mi-son temple in his *Anantaśāyī* form. He also appears riding a Garuḍa and holding *śaṅkha, cakra, gadā* and *padma* on a relief (Boselier, 1963, figs. 9, 27 and 93). A king by name Jayarudravarman is mentioned as an incarnation of Viṣṇu and the Batau Tablah inscription of Jayaharivarman I mentions that the king died at Pāṇḍuraṅga.[9] The representations of scenes from Rāmāyaṇa are also met with at Tra-kien (Boselier, figs. 115–117).

Lakṣmī, the consort of Viṣṇu is also referred to as Padmā and Śrī. The representations of Gajalakṣmī are also met with. At Tra-kien, she is shown as holding two lotuses (Boselier, figs. 62 and 111).

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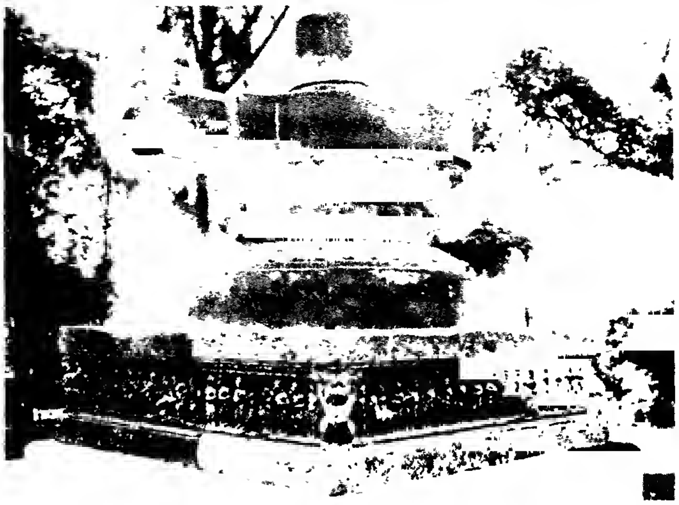

Fig 7 *Śiva-linga-pedestal from Tra-Kien*

Other gods like Kubera, Brahmā, Vāyu and Sūrya are also depicted.

Mahāyāna form of Buddhism was also prevalent in Campā and representations of Buddha and Avalokiteśvara are frequently met with. However, I-tsing mentions that in Lin-i or Campā the Buddhists generally belong to the *Āryāsammitinikāya* and there are also a few followers of the *Sarvāstivādanikāya*. This would mean the prevalence of Hīnayāna in Campā. On the evidence of inscriptions and sculptures one can conclude that Buddhism was specially prevalent in the Dong-duong region.

The illustrations in this article are copied from Jean Boisselier's work *La Statuaire du Champa*, through the courtesy of Professor Jean Filliozat, Collége de France, Paris-5.

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2 R C Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, Book III, Greater India Society, Lahore 1927, pp 11, 15 and 29

3 Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p 46

4 The pioneering work of R C Majumdar focused the attention of Indian scholars to the maritime contact of Ancient Indians in the Far East and intimate cultural ties between India and Campā in particular

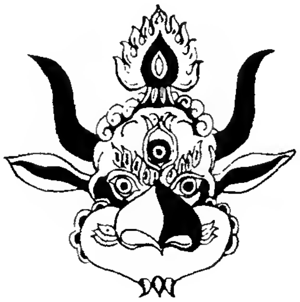
5 H Parmentier, Les Sculptures Chames au Musée de Tourane, in *Ars Asiatica*, Paris 1922, Pl IV

6. Jean Boisselier, *La Statuaire du Champa* fig 15

7 In passing a reference may also be made to the only Buddhist painting of Thie-khe about 47 kms north-west of Hanoi, representing Buddha attended by Bodhisattavas There are also male and female figurines dressed in costumes similar to that worn by figures in Central Asia *Encyclopaedia of World Art* Vol XIV, p 771, New York, 1967)

8 Majumdar, *op cit*, inscription no 22, pp 41-44

9. In this context one is tempted to connect the name Pānduranga with Pandharpur a celebrated Vaisnava centre in Maharashtra, the presiding deity of the town being Pānduranga also called Vitthala



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India and Laos

J.S. NIGAM

Introduction

KNOWN AS "THE land of the million elephants" *(Lan Xang)*, Laos is a kingdom in the South-east Asia. It was founded in 1353 A.D. On the north it is bounded by Burma and China, while by Thailand on the west, Vietnam on the east and Cambodia on the south. The two principal cities of Laos are Vientiane the capital of the kingdom, and Luang Prabang, the residence of the court. Buddhism is the predominant religion.

The Khmers conquered the savage mountain tribes who were anciently living in Laos, Cambodia and Cochin-China and forced them to take shelter in the hills and forests. The Mons who inhabited the lower valleys of the Irawadi and Salween in Burma, however, along with Khmers, extended further south and dominated over the Lavas.[1] Archaeological evidence in Laos is found from Prehistoric times down to the Iron Age.[2] Chinese records speak of land-route trade between India and China, through Eastern Bengal, Manipur and Assam as early as the 2nd century B.C. The Hindus colonised and established their kingdoms not only in Burma but also in the upper valleys Chindwin, the Irawadi, the Salween, the Mekong and the Red River. There is evidence that Hindu kingdom also existed in Laos.[3]

Huen-tien is mentioned in the Chinese records of the 3rd century A.D. and even in later Chinese texts as the king of Fu-nan. This Huen-tien is variously known, one of his forms represents the Indian name 'Kauṇḍinya'. Huen-tien had married the female sovereign of Fu-nan and became king of that land. It is generally believed that he was a Hindu from India and had established a Hindu kingdom in Cambodia and Cochin-China by about the 1st century A.D. After the death of Pan-Pan the last ruler of his lineage in about A.D. 200, a general Fan-che-man was elected to kingship. He conquered several other neighbouring regions which included Siam and Laos.[4] The Hindu Mon dynasty ruled over Siam and Laos in c. 6th century.

The Political Background of Laos

The Hindu kingdom of Kambuja was founded by Kambu Svāyambhuva, the king of Āryadeśa, in central Cambodia, in the 8th century A.D. according to the legends. However, the earliest known historical king is Śrutavarman. He laid the foundation of a royal house. Except the name of his son Śreṣṭhavarman no other ruler is known. The capital of his kingdom Śreṣṭhapura, named after him, was situated around Vat Phu Hill near Bassac in Laos.[5] The history of the country records that Laos was under the Khmer Empire till about the end of the 12th century. Subsequently the Thais held sway over certain territory of Laos including its two principal cities of Vientiane and Luang Prabang during the closing years of the 13th century. Then followed a period of political confusion. Different royal houses were asserting for supremacy. Sukhodaya a Thai kingdom ended by about the middle of the 14th century A.D. A new Thai dynasty founded the kingdom of Ayodhyā at the same time and they conquered almost the whole of Siam and Laos. Prince Fa Ngum who received his training at the Khmer court of Angkor successfully led a military expedition during 1340–50, against Laos, proclaimed himself king in 1353 at a place which is now called Luang Prabang. Luang Prabang continued to be the capital of the kingdom during the rule of his successors. One of the successors named Pothisarat had, due to commercial reasons, temporarily shifted the capital to Vientiane. Setthathirat, his son and successor, permanently shifted the capital to Vientiane. Towards the end of the 16th century Laos was defeated by the Burmese and the country came under latter's rule. The internecine wars in 1694 resulted in the division of Laos into two kingdoms, with dual capitals at Vientiane and Luang Prabang. Thailand twice invaded Vientiane in 1778 and 1828 and razed it to the ground. 'The oldest Laotian monuments that have survived date only from the 16th century. Nevertheless, since they are known to conserve a tradition with its roots in the more distant past, such works provide reliable approximation to earlier Laotian architecture and art.[6] Indian influences reached Laos from the south, west and north through Cambodia, Thailand and Burma. In the following pages an attempt is being made to assess the nature of Indian influence as evinced by sculptures and monuments of Laos.

The earliest material evidence of ancient Hindu influence can be dated to about the 6th century. The Wat Phu Hill, about 9 miles from Bassac, was then called a Liṅga-parvata. Here originally a temple of Bhadreśvara Śiva existed. In that temple a *liṅga* was installed. Later on, the temple was turned into a Buddhist shrine with a monastery attached to it.[7]

The Buddha figures in Laos, irrespective of their material, show certain Indian traits. The hair on the head are treated in small curls with a protuberance. Above this protuberance is a flame-like bouquet of hair. This feature is present invariably in all the images of the Buddha found in Laos. The *ūrṇā* is also seen on the forehead in most of the images. These figures depict all the signs attributed to a *mahāpuruṣa*. In the land of his birth (India) the Buddha was for the first time represented in anthropomorphic form in the 1st century. The *uṣṇīṣa* on the head and the *ūrṇā* on the forehead of the Buddha figures in Laos are unquestionably due to the Gandhāra influence as these are the features of the Gandhāra Buddha images.[9] The flame-like bouquet on the top of the bun of hair on the Buddhist figures is also a contribution of India.

In India the earliest evidence of the flame-like *uṣṇīṣa* can be seen on the bronze figure of the Buddha found at Kurkihar (now preserved in the Patna Museum) assigned to the Pāla period. The same feature is also seen in the bronze figure of a standing Buddha found at Nagapattinam, Tanjore District, Tamil Nadu, datable to circa 10th century A.D. The seated Buddha figure in granite, from Tiruvatti, South Arcot District, Tamil Nadu, shows flame-like *uṣṇīṣa*. This figure is dated to the middle of the 11th century A.D. or to a slightly later date. The curly hair style on the Buddha images started from the time of the Gupta period which is evident from the figures found at Sarnath. This trait travelled both in space and time towards the east and south in India. The Buddha images in Laos have a similar hair treatment. The hair in small curls with a protuberance of Sarnath type with a top in the *jvālā*.[10]

The typically Indian attitude of *nāsāgra-dṛṣṭi* is evident on some of the seated Buddha figures of Laos. The Buddha is sitting in *padmāsana* and touching the *bhūmi (bhūmisparśa-mudrā)*, inviting the Earth to bear witness to his Enlightenment. This is seen in the Buddha figure at Ban Saifong and the Residence Superior.

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The transparent drapery in some of the standing Buddha figures such as at Vat Si Saket and That Luong like the Gupta prototypes covers both the shoulders and clings to the body. In most of the seated Buddha images such as those at Phya Vat and at Vat Si Bun Hoon the *uttarīya* passes over the left shoulder and is folded in a thick plate. This type of drapery treatment has also been derived from India as may be seen at Ajanta in cave nos. 6 and 10, datable to circa 5th century and also in the Buddha figures from South India datable between the 11th and 14th century A.D. which have similar *uttarīya*. A seated Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* at Phya Vat shows the drapery covering the whole body from shoulder to the legs. The folds of the drapery are thickly collected on both the hands and the legs. This again shows Gandhāra influence.

A row of seated Buddhas seen at Vat Si Saket represents the seven Buddhas. It is a popular belief in Buddhism that the Buddha who lived in the 6th century B.C. was not the first and the last Buddha. He was born six times earlier. Normally the gap between two incarnations of the Buddha is believed to be of 5,000 years. All the six Buddhas have separate names. The future or eighth Buddha to be born is Maitreya. The number of these Buddha figures may be 6, 7, or 8. They can be distinguished by different trees under which they had obtained Enlightenment. These Buddhas can be compared with the Buddha figures found in western India datable to circa 6th century A.D.

The sculptural art in Laos also shows several Indian prototypes. The figures standing over the carytides and the *patrāvalī* in the background seen on an ancient door at Vat Aram demonstrate post-Gupta characters. This feature in India goes back to the early centuries

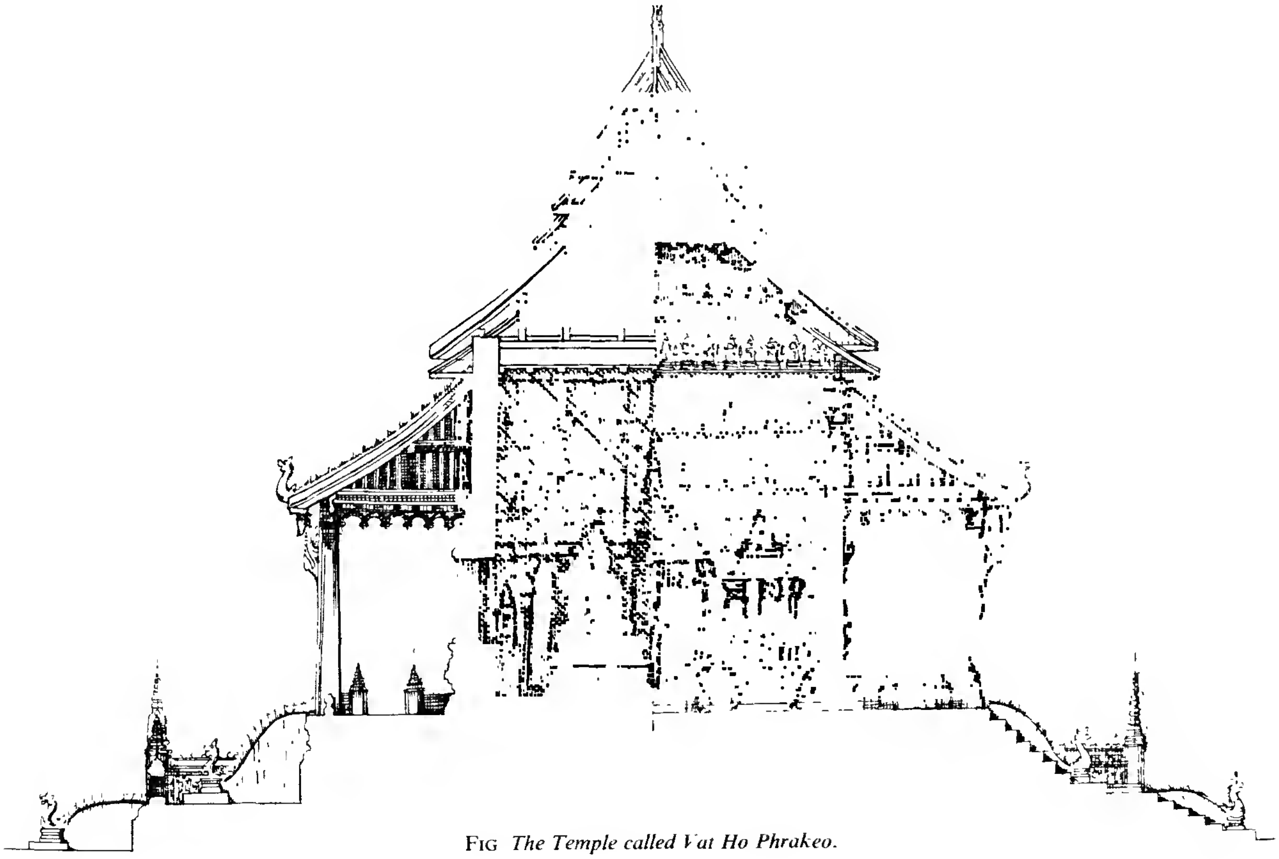

FIG *The Temple called Vat Ho Phrakeo.*

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of the Christian era. The composite figures of animals combining acquatic creatures is an early India motif and is represented at That Luong. The *garuḍa* and *nāga* carved in relief on the Vat Pa Ruok is an Indian theme. The concept and representation of *dvārapālas* at the entrance of several shrines in Laos is also Indian. (Also cf. lower caves, Pak. Ou.; see pl. 74).

Indian Influence on Architecture

In the field of architecture several Indian parallels can be drawn. The plan of the Vat Pa Ruok shows some affinity with the Gupta temple at Sanchi. This Vat has a four-pillared verandah in the front and the *garbha-gṛha* at the back. The plan of the principal *ṭhat* at Luong shows affinity in general outline with some of the medieval temples of India (See pl. 73). The Vat Ban Tan displays Gupta-Chalukyan features. The Vat Si Saket though not oriented to the cardinal directions shows medieval Indian influence. It has four gateways and a cloistered enclosure wall. In the construction of this Vat the principles of the *śilpaśāstra* are evident. The superstructure and the base of the gate between the two Vats, the Vat Vixum and Vat Aram, shows late Gandhāra influence as has survived in early medieval Kashmir architecture. The elevation of the Vat Si Saket and Vat Ho Phra Keo (Fig. 1) show much resemblance to the wooden structure in a painting at Ajanta in the verandah of cave no. 17. The store of the monastery Ban Peng Thai is a prototype of the medieval architectural style prevalent in the Kerala region. The finials of the pillars and pilasters etc. of the Vat Ho Phra Keo show Orissan influence. Most of the *jagatīs* and *adhiṣṭhānas* show some affinity with Indian counterparts of the earlier period. Of course they differ in sculptural treatment. The cruciform plan was basically the common architectural feature of the temples of Northern India during medieval times.[11] The plan of the big buildings in Laos is often cruciform like those of Hindu buildings. The window frames also show Hindu influence.[12] It is now evident that sculptural and architectural styles were transmitted from India and reached Laos through its neighbouring countries. The ancient Hindu tradition of medium weight architecture, characterised by the curvilinear roof, has left traces in Laos in the design of apertures, and in several monuments very archaic in appearence, either in their overall composition or their ornamentation. The light architecture constructed of perishable materials has not survived for a direct comparison with the Indian prototypes. One can see even today the co-existence of the two great religions of India—Hinduism and Buddhism. The Vat Pra which was built in the 17th century, is adorned by an image of Lakṣmī standing on a lotus over its dome, while the Buddha figure is in the temple. Till the 16th century Pali was used in Laos. It is very interesting to note that the Indian Gurukula system also exists in Laos.

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The Literature of Lava (Laos)

RAGHUVIRA

IT IS INTERESTING to note that the name as originally written in the script of the people is Lava and not Laos. Lava country is "Muong Lava". There is also an ancient city Lavapuri. popularly pronounced as Lobpuri situated in Thailand. We should start the use of the correct name. Lava. The written documents of the Lava people are on palm-leaves. just as in India. They have the same format as in India. Lava language is connected with the languages of Thai. Burma and the Ahoms of Assam.

The beginning of Lava script is in 1283 A.D. when. king Rāma K'āmhêng of Sukhodaya created the writing. This script marks the common origin of Thai and Lava alphabets. The earliest Lava literature is replete with words of Sanskrit and Pali origin. No dictionary has so far been prepared which completely registers the ancient Lava language.

Sanskrit and Pali grammar. lexicography and prosody have influenced Lava language and literature. The classical period of Lava literature was in its full splendour from 1547 to 1571 under the rule of Setthathirat. It is a Sanskrit name. This name is also known under Śrī Jayajyeṣtha or in local pronunciation as P'ra Jaya Jettha.

Another name which is to be mentioned in connection with the classical period of Lava history and literature is King Sūryavaṁśa who ruled from 1637 upto 1694. During this period came the Dutch traveller Van Wusthoff in 1641. At this epoch. Lava was a mighty centre of intellectual and religious activities.

It has been remarked by every one who studies Lava culture that the diversity. richness and the characteristics of Lava culture and literature are essentially Indian.

Lithic Records

They appear from the 13th century onwards. The most important script is known as the Tham (= Dharma). It is a script used in inscriptions. poetry and romance. administrative records and correspondence.

The eras are as follows :—

(a) The small Śaka era which began in 638 A.D.
(b) The great Śaka era which began in 78 A.D.
(c) The Buddha Śaka era which began in 544 B.C.

The names used in the Lava language are as follows :—

Culla-śaka-rāj (pronounced as rat) (culla = small)
Mahā-śaka-rāj and
Buddha-śaka-rāj

1283 is the year of the introduction of Pali scriptures from Ceylon into the Kingdom of Sukhodaya. From this moment Sanskrit was replaced by Pali.

Among inscriptions we may mention the inscription of Dan Sai. It is dated 1482 Śaka, Pūrṇimā of the month of Āṣāḍha, 2103 years after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha. It mentions two Kings—His Majesty Dharmaka-rāja who ruled in Candanapurī Śrī Śatanāganahuta mahānagara-ratna, and His Majesty Parama-Mahācakravartīśvara-vara-rājādhirāja who ruled in Śrī Ayodhyā mahā-tilakabhavanagara ratna.

The two kings invited virtuous monks from Candanapurī and from Ayodhyā. The great mandarin from the city of Candanapurī was Samṛddhi Maitrī and from the city of Ayodhyā, Vimala Saṭyabhakta. The two kings promised to unite their families, the Sūryavaṃśa and the Abhayavaṃśa upto the end of the kalpa.

Another inscription from Vata Vixun in Luang Prabang is inscribed in Tham characters of the Burmese type and is dated 1835. It records the creation of a Buddhist library with 2823 manuscripts.

It records the consitution of a Committee presided over by Rājavaṃśa for elaborating the sacred books of the Tripiṭaka into Tham characters.

Poetry

Poetry precedes prose and epics precede lyrics. Before the introduction of Hinduism and Buddhism the people were under the regime of the cult of spirits, forces of nature and worship of ancestors.

With the introduction of Indian civilization the people of Lava found a rich treasure. The classical Lava verses follow the metrics of Indian prosody. The metre is regulated by the number of syllables and their quantity. There is a caesura and division into four quarters or two hemistichs. In fact, the true classical Lava poetry is formed of translations of Indian poems. Even Lava folklore is peopled by the Indian pantheon. Religious songs of bhikṣus developed upto the 19th century. They inspired large number of stories which became polular in verse and prose. Besides, there were other poems of Indian inspiration, didactic, satirical and fables. What we have said about poetry applies to songs as well. The Lava people sing of the beauty and charm of nature and of love and its attractions. They sing when they go to the forest to cut wood, to pluck flowers, to gather roots, bamboo shoots and vegetables . . . Their dances, gestures and movements recall Indian origins. The subjects are taken from Hindu and Buddhist stories, Jātakas, historical and legendary episodes as well as Indian fables. They supply interminable topics of gallantry and tenderness. The Molam is an important genre of literature. It evokes the marvels of paradise, the powers of Indra, the cruelty of Yama, the atrocities of hell, and on the other hand the beauties of full moon, the enchantment of woods and seasons.

Stories

Stories are used for diversion and for popularization of higher values of life. They are based on Buddhist scriptures and are inscribed in Tham characters. The manuscripts containing stories generally belong to the 19th century. One of the popular stories is the "Four Champakas". It is a Lava version of the Champa-Rāja-Jātaka. There is another version in verse.

Popular stories and romances are generally very long. Comprising from 400 to above 800 leaves. Their length does not allow them a harmonic and perfect structure. Love is their principal theme. Personages are painted with diverse colours. The hero is generally a brave prince, a charming boy, favoured by virtues, often a Boddhisattva, noble and brave, who

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fights evil and triumphs. The powerful Indra intervenes in the course of combats in order to help the hero. There is coquetry of the divine Kinnarīs, the beautiful dancers of heaven. There is the violence and voracity of Yakṣas, the great monsters of the Universe who possess the magic power of travelling through air, of assuming any form at will, and of fighting with enchanted armies. The Yakṣas are the redoubtable enemies of the hero. Then one comes across the kind-hearted Ṛṣis or magician hermits, who communicate to the hero the occult science of flying through space and of fighting victoriously with armies of marvellous valour. The heroine, who is a loving beauty of great fidelity proves her affection.

The above may be taken to be the general outline of love romances. The Lava literature is in this respect on the same footing as the literature of Kambuja, Siam and Burma, all inspired and peopled by Hindu and Buddhist thought and content which are altered, modified and enriched by the imagination, temperament and genius of the society for whose entertainment and edification they have been composed.

Among the prose romances we might mention *Champa si ton* and *Buddhasena*. The first of these is the story of four princes named Champa. They are the sons of the King of Pañcāla and his queen Padmā. They are murdered by queen Angī and from their ashes spring forth Champa trees. They are resuscitated by hermit Agnicakṣu who gives them four names following the colours of Champa flowers—Sita Kumāra (the white Prince), Pīta Kumāra (the Yellow Prince), Suvarṇa Kumāra (the Golden Prince) and Vajra-nanda Kumāra (the Diamond Prince).

The last one had cut one of his fingers and the hermit had replaced it by a diamond one. The hermit had given to him instructions in magic and in the art of flying through space. He had armed him with charmed weapons. The princes undertook numerous adventures, terminating in the conquest of the three empires of the Yakṣas, after which they went to Pañcāla. Padmā was reinstated as queen and Angī was reduced to the post of a guard.

"*Buddhasena*" is the history of a prince of that name, belonging to the city of Indraprastha Nagara situated in Kambuja country. Buddhasena was married to the daughter of a Yakṣiṇī. After their death the prince and his wife were transformed into two hills which now face Luang Prabang.

We might mention here one very important romance in verse named *Kalaket*. Kalaket is the story of a king of Vārāṇasī named Surivong who possessed a marvellous horse named Manikap which could speak the language of men and traverse freely through air. The king's ally was Garuḍa who had given him a prodigious bow. His second ally was the King of Yakṣas. He had been reigning for several years and still he had no child. Astrologers predicted that he would have a pious and powerful son. Upon the request of the queen the King of Gods, namely Indra, sent Devaputra and his four wives on to the earth. In the course of their descent to earth, they were separated by wind. The Devaputra was born to the queen as Kalaket.

Theatre

The classical Lava theatre has an Indian origin and has been imported from Khmer in the 14th century. It was mainly developed in the 16th and 17th centuries. Its beginning was marked by the creation of a ballet. It was organised at the Royal Court and a grand orchestra was created to accompany it. It consisted of xylophones, gongs arranged in a circle, trumpets and tambourines, big and small violins, madolins and wind instruments. They accompanied the mimic dancers and the pantomime ballet. The costumes were rich and varied. There were masks and diadems. Gestures and movements remind one of Indian choreography. The scenes represented in general the episodes of the Rāmāyaṇa.

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A little later there was a chanter to accompany the dancers. Afterwards the actors themselves began to talk and sing while they gesticulated and danced, and ultimately we come into the presence of veritable scenes of opera. Lava theatre is intimately connected with her literature, poetry, romance and history.

Didactic Stories

We possess an important collection of Lava stories. The majority of them are derived from the *Pañcatantra*. In fact *Pañcatantra* stories are widely diffused throughout the Indo-Chinese peninsula.

The stories may be divided into three categories : (1) Pañcatantra stories, (2) Judicial stories, and (3) Comic stories.

The Lava Pañcatantra consists of five works termed Pakon (=Prakaraṇa). Their names are as follows :—

(1) Nanda Prakaraṇa (Nanda is the name of a bull)
(2) Maṇḍūka Prakaraṇa
(3) Piśāca Prakaraṇa
(4) Śakuna Prakaraṇa
(5) Saṁgha Prakaraṇa (which is in the form of a gloss to the text of Vinaya).

The narrator of the stories is a queen called Tantai Mahādevī, a name which corresponds to Nang Tantrai of the Siamese version, and Dyah Tantri of the Javanese version of Pañcatantra. Tantai, Tantrai are alternations of the Sanskrit "Tantravāya" (the weaver of tales).

There also exists another collection of stories entitled *Mulla Tantai* resembling the Kambuja work *Koeng Kantray* which is a sacred book of laws. These are judicial stories. *Kantraya* is probably the Sanskrit *Karttri* (spinner, Hindi कातने वाला). Cantrai, Cantai, Canti are also used to denote the narrator of stories. Mulla Tantai is Sanskrit Mūla-Tantra.

Judicial Stories

These are used as commentaries on different articles of the Code of law.

Comic Stories

In general they have an ancient tinge about them. One of the best known works of this genre is *Ay Cet Hei*. It is in verse. It is based on elements which are grotesque and miraculous. Another work which may be mentioned is *Hua Lan Bua Het* "the horse poisoned by mushrooms."

Legends and Histories

The principal historical and legendary works are the following :—

(1) *Nit'an* (निदान) *Khun Bôrôm* : Khun Borom is the son of Indra who was sent from heaven to found the kingdom of Lan Xang. The events come to end in 1572.

(2)*P'ongsavadan* (वंशावदान) *Muong Lao*.

(3) *P'ôngsavadan Kasat Vieng-Can* : It is a chronicle of the kings of Vientiane. It comes to end in 1901.

(4) *P'un P'ra Bang* : It is a history of P'ra Bang.

(5) *P'un P'ra Kêo* : It is a history of the emerald statue of P'ra Kêo.

(6)*Nit'an P'raya Cüong Lun* : It is a chronicle of the western principality of Lava during the last three quarters of the 12th century.

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(7) *Uranganidana* : It is a heterogeneous text comprising predictions of Buddha, of his different births and miracles, and of kings of Lava in the 16th century.

Lava Words of Indian Origin

Hereunder we give a few :

P'raya Then, Then Fa, Phi Fa = Indra
P'issanukam, the celestial architect = Viśvakarman
Nang Th'orani = Devī Dharaṇī (the earth)
Nang Mekhala = Devī Mekhalā, Maṇi Mekhāla, (the goddess of the ocean)
P'raya Nak = Nāgarāja. These are serpents who live in rivers and can take human form.
P'rom = Brahmā
rusi = Ṛṣi
Si Ayudhya = Siam
Hongsa (Hindi हंम) = Pegu
Setthi = Śreṣṭhī (a merchant prince)
Kumara = Kumāra (Prince)
sut = sūtra

Buddhist Literature

Canonical Literature

The Lava people have a very rich literature, canonical and extracanonical. Canonical literature is represented by the Tripiṭaka. Besides the texts, there are glosses *(nissaya)*, commentaries, sur-commentaries *(aṭṭhakathās, ṭīkās)*. Many of these have been introduced into Lava country from Burma.

The Jātaka stories constitute the central kernel of all Buddhist literature of Lava. These stories have been translated into the Lava language. There is another collection of fifty Jātaka stories named *Ha sip Xat* or *Pannāsa-Jātaka*. In Burmese, it is known as *Zinme Pannāsa*.

Extra-Canonical Literature

In this literature gods occupy a special position. Among them, Indra is supreme. In a way, he is a kind of Providence. He is the protector of pious people. He favours the good and punishes the wicked. There are numerous books which are consecrated to this king of gods, such as a History of Indra, Questions of Indra, etc.

Then there are stories concerned with Bodhisattva Maitreya.

Among the histories of saints, one might mention Ānanda, Upagupta, Maudgalyāyana and many others. The story of Jambupati is of particular interest on account of the quality of its composition. It deals with Jambupati, the king of Uttarapañcāla, the most powerful sovereign of Jambudvīpa, having one hundred and eleven vassal kings under him. This work is also of great importance for the study of Buddhist iconography.

Then there are histories of the relics of Buddha, of his teeth, of his hair, of small pieces of his bones, of his foot-prints, and of other objects and utensils, of the Bodhi tree in Ceylon, of stūpas in different parts of Burma, Siam and Lava. And lastly, on the miraculous re-union of all the relics of Buddha at the foot of the sacred Bodhi tree.

Saddavimala is a manual of Yogācāra. It embraces morals, anatomy, physiology, embryology, and grammar. The inclusion of grammar is justified as being the means for attaining a transcendental knowledge of the contents of sound among human beings and in the universe.

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Technical Literature

Grammar, prosody and lexicons may be considered as supplements of canonical literature.

Grammar Kaccāyana is the major text in grammar. It is known under the title of *Sut Sadda*. It has eight chapters : sandhi, nāma, kāraka, samāsa, taddhita, ākhyāta, kṛta, and uṇādi.

These texts were introduced into the Lava country in the 12th and 14th centuries from the Pegu region of Burma. Most of them were composed by Burmese and Ceylonese authors.

Subodhālaṅkāra is a book on rhetorics composed by Saṁgharakṣita of Ceylon in the 12th century.

Prosody : Vuttodaya was also composed by Saṁgharakṣita. It has numerous commentaries.

Lexicography : Among lexicons one might mention a Pali-Lava lexicon whose first part alone is available. Its title is *Akkharasap*, the Pali original being *Abhidhammappadīpikā*.

Śāstras : *Ratthasattha (Rāṣṭraśāstra)* or *Kotmay lao* is the principal source of ancient customs such as marriage, divorce, succession, slavery, etc.

Horāśāstra deals with horoscopes, astrology and divination. It gives indications concerning favourable and unfavourable moments for accomplishing such acts as journeys, construction of houses, marriages, etc.

Nīti Śāstra : There are many books concerning nīti-śāstra or the art of government. The name of the most famous book is Rajasavani. It is a gloss on stanzas collected from Sanskrit sources. It has three chapters : rāja, rāja-kārya, and rāja-kṛtya. It deals with five Rājadharmas, four upāyas, seven Rājaguṇas, town-planning, art of war, and numerous other items such as painting, cooking, medicine, slavery and fortifications.

There are special treaties dealing with diverse matters such as *Lakṣaṇaśāstra, Cintāmaṇi, Śrīratnajyoti, Paropakāraśāstra, Naralakṣaṇa,* etc.

Nītiśāstra also contains subhāṣitas. There are many separate works consisting of subhāṣitas : P'in sam say, K'am son, Pu son lan, and Lan son pu. A verse has 4, 5 or 7 feet. Every idea is illustrated by a simile.

At the end, we might just draw the attention of our readers to the fact that this vast literature has not been studied. Only a very few among them have been translated into French.

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Indian Cultural Heritage in Cambodia

B. R. CHATTERJI

The Dawn

LINGUISTIC AND ETHNOLOGICAL researches indicate intimate relations in prehistoric times between the peoples inhabiting the western and eastern coasts of the Bay of Bengal. "Adventurers, merchants and missionaries (Buddhist and Brahmanical) followed, in better conditions of comfort and efficiency, the way traced from time immemorial by the mariners of another race (Mudra, Mālava, etc.) whom Aryan India despised as savages" (Sylvain Lévi). The Khmers of Cambodia, the Malayas of Sumatra and Malaya are supposed to be the descendants of these primitive Indian tribes. Centuries afterwards, adventurers in search of gold, pious Buddhist missionaries and learned Brahman pandits—all belonging to a much higher stage of civilisation—embarked in fair-sized ships, much better equipped and set sail for these and for more distant regions further to the south-east.

South-East Asia remained Hindu for more than a Thousand Years

The Jātaka stories about the past lives of the Buddha, some of which are of the pre-Aśoka period, describe voyages of intrepid sailors to the Land of Gold *(Suvarṇabhūmi)* and the perils they encountered. Burma and Thailand to this day remember Aśoka who sent Sona and Uttara—the two monks who preached the doctrine of the compassionate Buddha in their countries from the 1st century A.D. Chinese sources give us valuable information as regards Indianised States in South-East Asia. From the 2nd century we get the earliest inscription in Sanskrit (from Vocanh what is now South Vietnam) from the 4th or 5th cenutry A.D. we get a few more, while from the 6th century onwards are available numerous inscriptions, mostly from Kambuja (Cambodia) and some from Java, Borneo, Bali, Campā (South Vietnam), Malaya, Sumatra, etc. Some of these inscriptions are very lengthy and most of them, especially the Kambuja (Cambodia) epigraphic records, are in faultless Sanskrit and often of considerable literary merit.

Thus we can definitely state that Indian cultural influence dominated the whole region of South East Asia for at least 1200 years (mainland South-East Asia from the first to the thirteenth century A.D.). In Indonesia, Indian influence continued for two centuries more (to the end of the 15th century A.D.) and in Bali it still survives.

Kauṇḍinya brought Hinduism to Cambodia

Now let us turn to Cambodia. Kambuja (Cambodia is the English version of this Sanskrit name) was the most throughly 'Indianised' State in the whole of this region, i.e., it bore the

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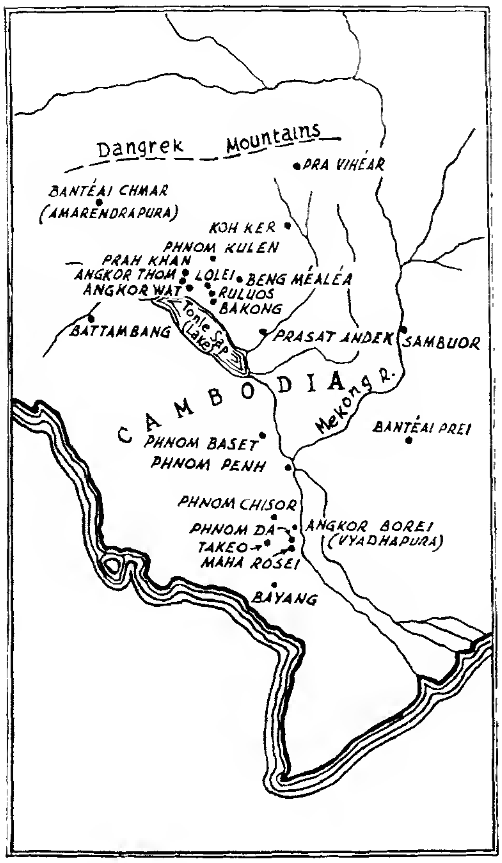
Dangrek Mountains
PRA VIHÉAR
BANTÉAI CHMAR
(AMARENDRAPURA)
KOH KER
PHNOM KULEN
PRAH KHAN
ANGKOR THOM
LOLEI
BENG MÉALÉA
ANGKOR WAT
RULUOS
BAKONG
BATTAMBANG
Tonle Sap (Lake)
PRASAT ANDEK
SAMBUOR
CAMBODIA
Mekong R.
BANTÉAI PREI
PHNOM BASET
PHNOM PENH
PHNOM CHISOR
PHNOM DA
ANGKOR BOREI
(VYADHAPURA)
TAKEO
MAHA ROSEI
BAYANG

deepest impress of Indian religion, culture, literature, art and architecture. Chinese accounts and a much later Campā (South Vietnam) inscription give us a very interesting account of the beginnings of the relations with India in this country. About the first century A.D. a Brahman Kauṇḍinya arrived on the Cambodian coast, armed with a javelin presented to him by Aśvatthāman (the son of Droṇa), vanquished the native queen of this realm, married her and thus founded the kingdom of Fu-nan. Fu-nan seems to be a Chinese adaptation of the Khmer (the Cambodian language) word *bhnam* or *phnam* meaning a hill. It seems that the original Sanskrit name of the kingdom was Śriśaila and that Kauṇḍinya's successors bore the title of Śailendras.

Hinduism and Buddhism moved together

One of the early successors of Kauṇḍinya, the Chinese chronicles give him the name of Fan-che-man, is credited with extensive conquests from South Burma to South Vietnam. Prof. Coedès, the greatest authority on ancient South-east Asia, believes that the Vocanh inscription, discovered in Campā, belongs to his reign and the name of the king, given in the inscription, Śrī Māra is the real name of the monarch (Fan-che-man being its Chinese distorted rendering). The archaic letters of this Vocanh find have made the epigraphists assign it to the 2nd century A.D. If this view is correct it is the most ancient Sanskrit epigraphic record in South-east Asia discovered up to now. It is badly damaged and is Buddhist in tone. Indeed in the Fa-nan period Buddhism flourished side by side with Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva cults. In the 5th century A.D. a Buddhist monk, sent as his envoy to the Chinese capital by the Fu-nan monarch Jayavarman, reported to the Chinese Emperor that the God Maheśvara was worshipped in Fu-nan and that the perpetual abode of the deity was on Mount Motan (Śrīśaila?) in that realm. After thus referring to Maheśvara the envoy proceeds to eulogise the Buddha.

Cambodia Maintained a Flourishing Sea-Borne Trade

It was a flourishing kingdom and its port Oc-eo, on the Cambodian coast was a centre of commerce where ships carrying Indian and Roman merchandise touched on their way to China. At Oc-eo have been excavated medals with the portraits of Roman emperors (Marcus Aurelius and other), rings with inscriptions in Indian scripts on the 2nd to the 5th centuries A.D., fragments with bas reliefs showing the influence of Greek art and other objects which prove the wide range of the international intercourse of that period carried on the Fu-nan.

The Popularity of the Bhāgavata Cult

Another inscription of this dynasty, accepted as belonging to the 4th century, extols the

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Bhāgavata cult. Here we are told that 'prince Guṇavarman has established on this earth the impress of the feet of *Bhagavān* . . . All that had been donated to the *Bhagavān* should be at the disposal of all pious Bhāgavatas, and the *mahātmā*, who would look after the property of the god, would attain the supreme bliss of Viṣṇuloka'.

About the middle of the 6th century A.D. Fu-nan was overthrown by a vassal State Kambuja—the capital of which realm was Śreṣṭhapura in South Laos—and from this period starts a long succession of Sanskrit inscriptions which become our chief source of information regarding Kambuja or Cambodia.[1]

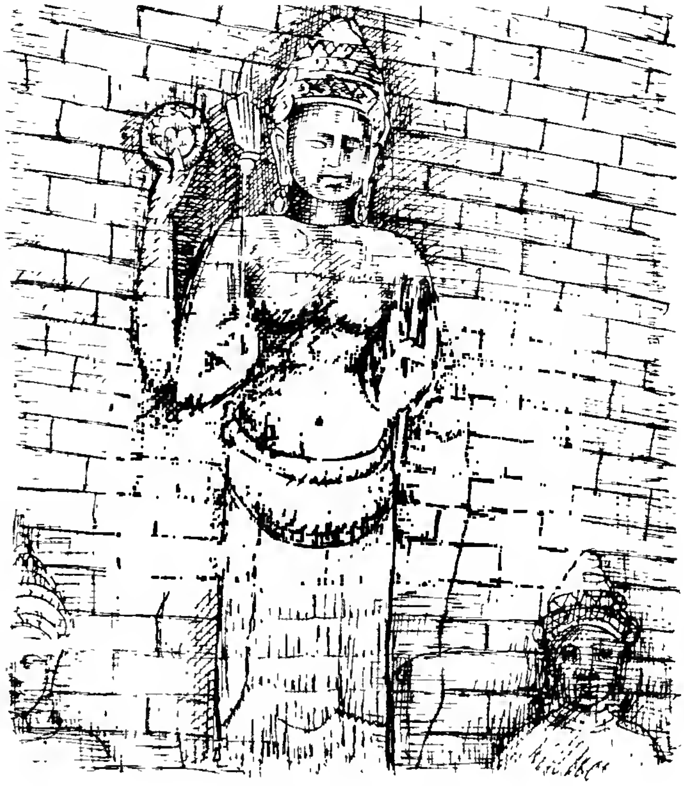

FIG 1 *Viṣṇu, Ankor Vat*

Śiva Worship

The warlike Kambuja monarchs were fervent worshippers of Śiva. Here is a speciman of their piety and of their military prowess from the inscription of Han Chey which describes the campaigns of Bhavavarman who conquered Fu-nan (6th century) : "Victory to the 'moon-crested god, who on his head receives the Ganges, the waves of which, their impetuosity checked by the frowns of Umā, form a garland of Śiva. The King Śrī Bhavavarman was the lord of the rulers of the earth, invincible and magnanimous, sublime like another Meru. Born in the race of Soma (the Moon and also Somā is the name of the ancestress of the Kambuja royal family), effulgent like the moonlight reflected in the sea, his spirit always shone like that (the bright moonlight) on the battle-field . . . Having first conquered the ocean-girdled earth by force, by his wise administration he conquered it a second time by his mild rule."

Jayavarman II, who early in the 9th century A.D. made Kambuja compact again after a century of dynastic rivalry and disunion, established a unique cult of Śiva. He invited a Brāhmaṇa Hiraṇyadāma from Janapada who taught the royal priest four Tantric texts—Vināśika, Nayottara, Sammoha, and Śiraścheda—and drew up a ritual for the worship of Devarāja (a Śiva liṅga) who was to be the tutelary deity of Kambuja from this time onwards.

Every new Cult originated in India Travelled to South-east Asia

It should be noted that whenever a religious cult became predominant in India, it made its appearance in South-East Asia also after a short interval. Thus Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, Tāntrism and, as we shall see, Mahāyāna Buddhism followed one another in Kambuja and Java just as in India herself. We find Gupta period Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism of Śaṅkara's time, Tāntrism and the Mahāyānism of the Pāla period succeeding one another in these South-East Asian countries.

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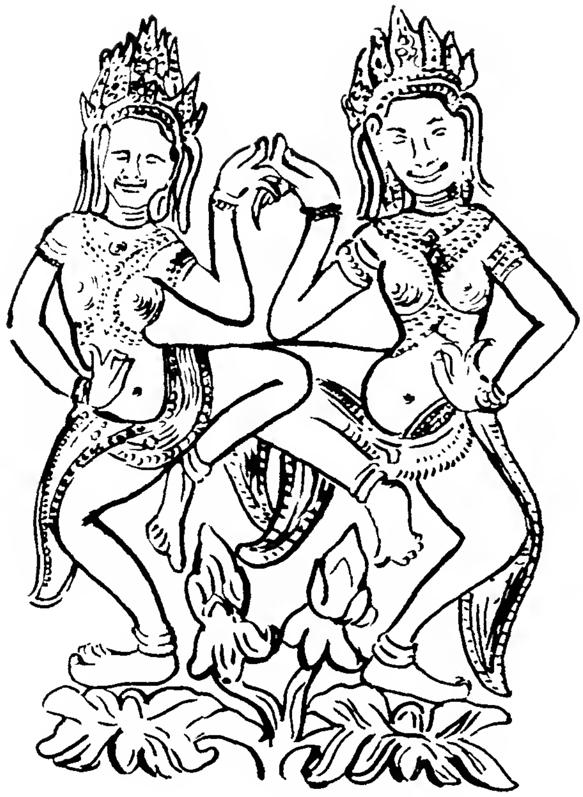

FIG. 2 *The Apsaras, Ankor Vat.*

A Vedantic Invocation

Here is a Vedantic invocation in an inscription of the early 7th century, in the reign of Mahendravarman. Śiva is here identified with the *Paramātman* of the Upaniṣads. "He whom, by the constant practice of correct meditation and a peaceful frame of mind, the wise feel as being enthroned in their hearts ... the inner light, whom they worship, desirous of attaining the *Paramabrahma.*" There cannot be a better evidence of a unified character that Hinduism adopted in South-east Asia.

Indian Religion, Language and Script

Indeed Kambuja (Cambodia) had been effectively 'Hinduised'. The kings, nobles and priests had Sanskrit names. The pandits of the royal court wrote the inscriptions—some of which are quite long compositions—in elegant Sanskrit. Princes were educated by their gurus in the Siddhāntas, Sanskrit grammar (especially the *vyākaraṇa* of Pāṇini), the Dharmaśāstras and the six systems of philosophy. Śāstrotsavas (literary assemblies) were held in which sometimes Brahman ladies also joined and won admiration by their learned discourses. The Vedas were carefully studied. Daily recitations without interruption of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas are referred to in a 6th century inscription. We hear of libraries well stocked with books on all the Śāstras. Yaśovarman's digraphic (written in two scripts, south Indian and north Indian) inscriptions show intimate knowledge of the Indian epics, *Harivaṁśa*, the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, and the works of King Pravarasena, Vātsyāyana, Mayūra, etc. In the inscription of Pre Rup, a very long Sanskrit inscription, there are four references to Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*. It belongs to the reign of King Rājendravarman (944–968 A.D.).

In Fu-nan we noted Buddhist influence. Hinduism of a militant type came with the earlier Kambuja monarch. Indeed I-tsing laments that 'Buddhism, which was prospering and expanding in Fu-nan, at the present time (towards the end of the 7th century) was destroyed.'

Jayavarman II favoured Buddhism

It is guessed that towards the end of the 8th century, probably during the early years of the reign of Jayavarman II, Mahāyāna Buddhism made its entry into Kambuja. Jayavarman II had close relations with Śrīvijaya—a great maritime power which wielded sway over considerable portions of Sumatra, Malaya and Java—and which in this period had become a stronghold of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the Archipelago. Borobudur in Central Java (the finest Buddhist stūpa in the world erected by command of a Śailendra sovereign), the Nālandā copper-plate of the Pāla monarch Devapāla of Bengal and Magadha commemorating the gift of the Śailendra king of Śrīvijaya for a monastery at Nalanda, the visit of Atīśa to Śrīvijaya to study Buddhist

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texts under the guidance of a renowned teacher there—all this evidence confirms the view that Mahāyāna Buddhism, emanating from Magadha and Bengal under the Pāla monarchs, had crossed over to Sumatra and Java and at this time was entering Cambodia. The digraphic inscriptions of the illustrious Yaśovarman, the builder of Angkor, for centuries the capital of Kambuja, in which one of the two scripts employed in inscribing this series of inscriprions uses letters of the north Indian type (not the usual Pallava characters of south India) generally used in South-east Asia. These letters are quite peculiar of the period and show features that directly link India and Cambodia.

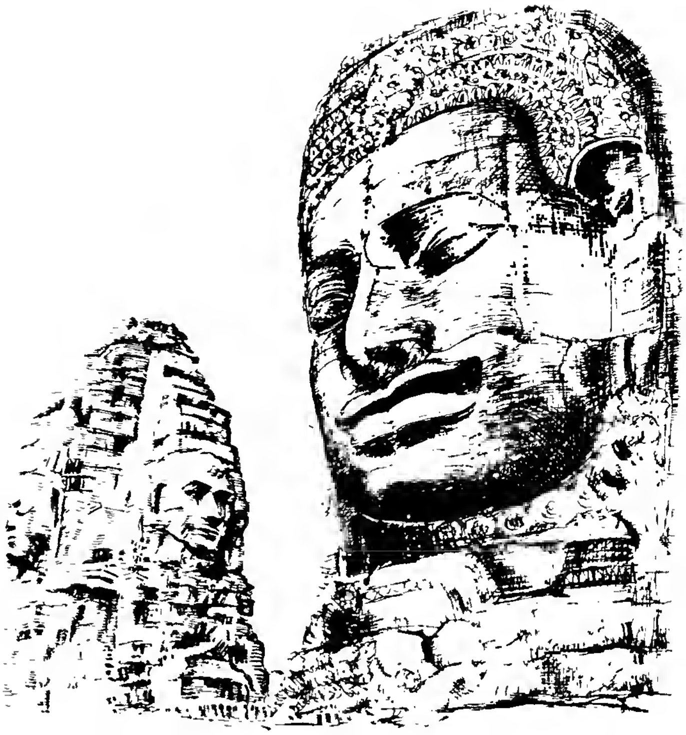
Fig. 3 *The Colossal Avalokitesvara Temple Figures Bayon*

The Pallava and Pāla Contribution

In short, Pāla kingdom was the centre in this period from which religious and cultural influence spread over lands overseas. In the early centuries of the Christian era it was the Pallava kingdom of Kanchi (Tamilnadu) from which had emanated the waves of Indian traditions and practices which had swept over Indo-China and Indonesia.

Pāla Mahāyānism, a Śiva-Buddha cult

One remarkable feature of Pāla period Mahāyāna was a curious blend of Śaiva and Buddhist features in what we may call a Śiva-Buddha cult. It was in Majapahit, the great Javanese empire of the Middle Ages, that this Śiva-Buddha cult reached its high water-mark.

It was in the reign of Jayavarman VII (1182-1218 A.D.) the greatest of the Kambuja monarchs who ruled over an empire extending from Pagan in Burma to Campā (South Vietnam) and in the south covering a large part of Malaya, that Mahāyāna Buddhism under his loving care almost rivalled the achievements of Aśoka in the cause of Hīnayāna Buddhism. The emperor's mother was identified with Prajñāpāramitā—the mother of the Buddhas and a town was founded and dedicated to the maintenance of the shrine of the 'Mother of the Lord of the Munis'. In his Ta Prohm inscription we are told: 'There are 102 hospitals (*ārogyaśālā*) in the different provinces and 798 shrines have been built in the kingdom; 81,640 men and women are engaged in the service in these hospitals and shrines. The articles to be taken from the royal stores for the use of the invalids and for those dwelling in the shrines include, besides provisions, honey, long pepper (*pippalī*), ajowan, nutmegs, camphor, *śata-puṣpā* (aniseed), cardamoms, coriander, cloves, deodar, a paste of ten roots, dried ginger, asafoetida, 1960 little boxes of medicine for piles, garlic, etc.' At the end of this long inscription the emperor

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expresses the wish : 'By these good actions may my mother, deliver from the ocean of future lives, attain the state of the Buddha'.

In one of the hospital inscriptions on the border of Laos it is stated : 'The physical pain of men became in King Jayavarman a pain of the soul and was more painful to him than to the actual invalids, for it is the suffering of the State which makes the suffering of Kings and not their own pain'.

Jayavarman VII was certainly the greatest but also the last of the grand monarchs of Kumbuja. Within a century of his passing away Cambodia was ground down between two rising powers to the east and west of the realm—Vietnam and Siam.

Ankor Vat and Bayon Vat

We cannot leave the subject without mentioning the two architectural monuments of Cambodia—Angkor Vat and the Bayon. Angkor Vat is a wonder of the world which is to this day attracting globe-trotters from the East and the West. When the French naturalist Henri Mouhot had his first glimpse of it in 1860, wrapt up as it then was in a thick jungle, he wrote in his diary that it was the most wonderful structure in the world the like of which Greece or Rome had never built. It is a Viṣṇu temple on a gigantic scale. The royal builder was Sūryavarman II and this most magnificent shrine was constructed about the middle of the 12th century A.D. (See pls. 75–76 and colour plate VIII).

Bayon was the work of Jayavarman VII. It is a Buddhist temple of colossal dimensions which has been very badly damaged by the iconoclastic zeal of his non-Buddhist successors to the Kambuja throne. It is in the form of a pyramid with three stages crowned by high towers—all the towers having human faces on the four sides. They represent Avalokiteśvara—the Bodhisattva who is the incarnation of mercy *(karuṇā)*. (Colour Plate I).

Finally the question arises—how did this Indian cultural influence decline and pass away from Kambuja and other countries of South-east Asia. We must stress the words '*cultural* influence'. It was never a *political* influence. Throughout this period of 1200 years at no time did any king or State of any part of India rule over any part of Indo-China or Indonesia. What were the causes to which the decline of Indian cultural influence may be attributed? India in the 13th century had been overrun by Muhammadan conquerors. The fountain-head of this culture got choked at its source.

REFERENCES

1 Fu-nan was overthrown But princes of the reigning Śailendra dynasty sought refuge in Sumatra and Java and formed mighty kingdoms (Śrīvijaya, etc) in the Archipelago

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Hindu Epic and Purāṇic Traditions in South-East Asia

K.V. SOUNDARA RAJAN

ONE OF THE most distinctive and edifying phenomena of the classical 'period', alike in Europe as in Asia, was that very large spheres of cultural influence were assiduously created, established and fostered, undeterred by the virility of any of these colonial zones, oriented as these influences seem to have been, towards sophisticating and tempering the cultural slant of these autochthonous people. This 'acculturation', as sociologists might choose to call this, was not an imposition, but a dynamic reception to ideas which were neither 'sold' nor canvassed for.

Fusion of Indian and South-East Asian Thought and Culture

In such a context, there is hardly any surprise that the 'Indian' heritage was imperceptibly blended with the local *élan* in South-East Asia, to enable it to become almost the common pool of ancestral heirloom for all these peoples. Sensitive and sympathetic art-historians have labelled the ambit of this temporal efflorescence as variously the 'Greater India' or the 'Indian Asia'. At the root of such a transaction lay the already achieved fusion of Indian and South-East Asian thought and culture, producing the kaleidoscopic variations patternised out of the absorption of our Epics, *Purāṇas*, cults and beliefs into their religio-cultural pool. Sanskrit was, doubtless, a powerful medium of expression for this cultural well-being; it was in fact a universalised ingredient in the literary, cultural and artistic cross-fertilisation afoot in that age. The entire South-East Asia, came more effectively under the spell of south Indian kingdoms from a comparatively early times, and the Gupta and post-Gupta forces working from Bihar and Bengal in the wake of the peripatetic programmes of Buddhism first and the renascent Hinduism subsequently, ably participated in this process. South India, by and large, stood out as the most favoured foster-mother for these South-East Asian principates. The assimilation was so complete ultimately, that the mediaeval manifestations of this process were so thoroughly transformed in the indigenous content, as to make them a positive though subtle transfusion of the local with the peripheral. The spirit of oneness so engendered was however moored to last, and stayed on even after the late mediaeval advent of Islam into these shores, or the still later inroads of Western culture.

Indian Mythology in South-East Asian Inscriptions

We might record at this stage, some important historical details that would link India with South-East Asia more than anything else. The Kamboja record of Mahendra-varman[1] mentions the setting up of a *liṅga* of Giriśa on the mountain, as a symbol of his victory. Again,

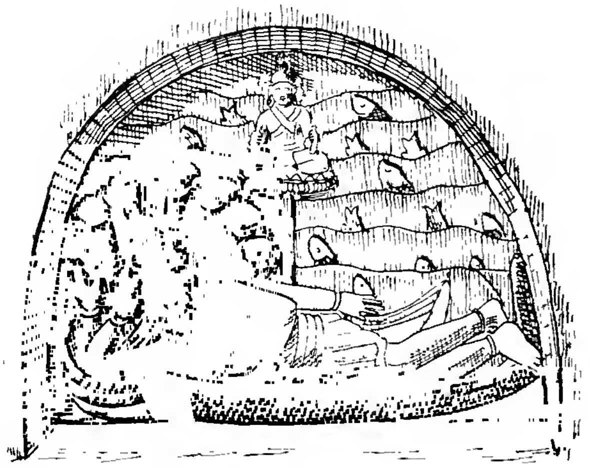

FIG 1 *Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu, Annam*

the Mi-son[2] record states that one Kauṇḍinya planted at Bhavapura, the trident given to him by Aśvatthāmā, son of Droṇa, and marrying a *nāga* princess, founded a royal family there. We know that in Pallava genealogy alone, Aśvatthāmā is mentioned and Skandaśiṣya, according to Velur-Palayam[3] and Rayakotta[4] plates, was born to a *nāga* princess (*Phaṇīndra-sutā* and *Dvijihvāṅginī*) through Aśvatthāmā.

The Sambor Prei Kuk pillar[5] record (627 A.D.) again, mentions Īśānavarman I as installing a *liṅga* of Kadambeśvara and another[6] from the same place, refers to a king as *Dakṣiṇāpatha-janmā*. The Tan Kran record[7] of Jayavarman I (657–680 A.D.), a successor to Īśānavarman, records a *Kāñcīpura-nṛpa*.

The Epigraphs are Incised in Southern Alphabet

The inscriptions of South-East Asia again are, where specified, generally in Śaka era, and not the Vikrama-Saṁvat, as followed in the north. A fragmentary Tamil record from Takua-pa[8] in Thailand, registers the digging of a tank to be called Avani-nāranam by a chief of Nāngur (in Thanjavur District), and placing the tank jointly under the famous sea-faring guild of merchants called the Manigrāmattār, the Senāmukattār (or a military unit), and another body respectively. The record is palaeographically datable to early 10th century A.D., or earlier, and the title Avani-nāranam was generally held by 'Tellārerinda Nandi' of the later Pallava line. Chola King Rājendra's records mention Talai Takkolam (doubtless the same as Takua-pa) in his campaign route, and place it on the way between Malaya and Kamboja in the direct route. The Sanskrit records of the South-East Asian countries follow also the southern form of Pallava script mostly and not the Nāgarī form. Even more revealing is the fact that Nandivarman II, who ascended the Pallava throne at Kanchi after the death of Parameśvara varman II (728–731 A.D.), is found, on a close study of the contemporary inscriptions and reliefs at Vaikuṇṭha Parumāl temple at Kanchipuram, to have arrived from the Indo-Chinese territory, from a collateral overseas Pallava Branch. Evidence also exists for the closely-linked kinship between the royal family of Campā and the Western Gaṅgās of Talakkad, as

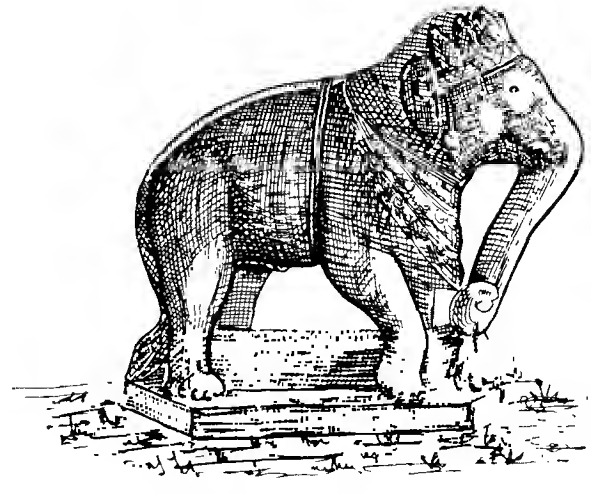

FIG. 2 *The Royal Elephant, Annam*

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mentioned variously in the damaged record[9] at Phnom Bayan of Bhavavarman (c. 561–639 A.D.) referring to a Koṅguvarmā or Gangarāyan as the founder of the Campā line, and the Mi-son record[10] (*c.* 708–717 A.D.) of Prakāśadharma-Vikrānteśvara, calling him as of the family of Gaṅgeśvara (*Śrī-Gaṅgeśvara-vaṃśajaḥ*), and another record, also for Mi-son[11] of Śambhū-varman (*c.* 499–577 A.D.) calling him as *Śrī-Praśastadharma-ḍiṇḍika*. The term *ḍiṇḍika*, it is to be noted, is a familiar personal name employed by Gaṅgas of Talakkad, one of the earliest such usage is seen in the Śrāvaṇabelagola[12] record of the 7th century A.D.

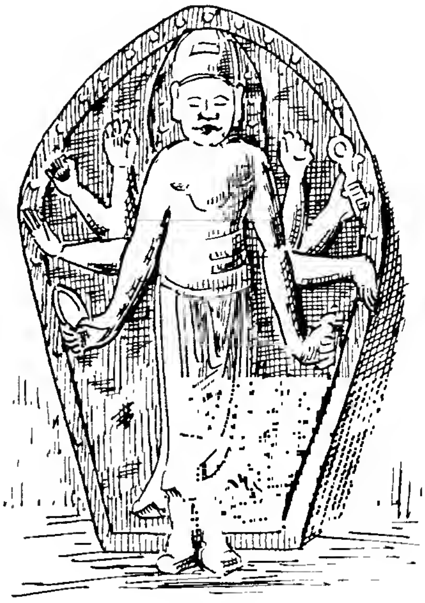

FIG. 3 *Visnu, Annam*

India and Ceylon

Ceylon, Burma, Malaysia, Indonesia, Cambodia, Siam, Annam and Campā, all these were the glorious collaterals of this cultural polyphylum, the saga of each of which shows the undercurrents of a traditional homogeneity. Ceylon being too close to India, its links were the direct indices of the motivations afoot in the mainland. There are only very few representations of the early historic times in sculpture from Ceylon which would be advantageously compared for their style and spirit, but two such are the so-called Kapila[13] and Parākramabāhu figures[14] the latter from Polannaruwa with a swarthy body, clad in a Hindu *kacchā* and with bearded partiarchal mien, reading a book—seemingly a palm-leaf manuscript. This would persuasively recall the corresponding figures of Kubera or Agastya or Dhanvantari or such like obese and corpulent delineations of the Imperial Chola period from the second half of the 10th century onwards. While bearded *ṛṣi* figures are quite well-known in the earlier cave temple contexts, they tend to be less pot-bellied and of more sharpened features of mien and body than the later ones. The rock-cut Kapila figure from Isurumaniya in *mahārāja līlā* posture, with horse inset in relief, recalls for sheer stance, the figure of Māndhātā in such a pose in *Māndhātu Jātaka* scenes in Andhra country (*c.* 3rd century A.D.) and the relief of horse in the background, might compare with the '*yūpa* horse' shown in the Ranganatha cave temple, Namakkal (Tamil Nadu) in the Trivikrama panel (*c.* mid 8th century A.D.). In Ceylon, in fact, the later stages of Buddhism did not involve any direct borrowal from India, excepting that the Sigiria cave paintings are sometimes taken to be under the

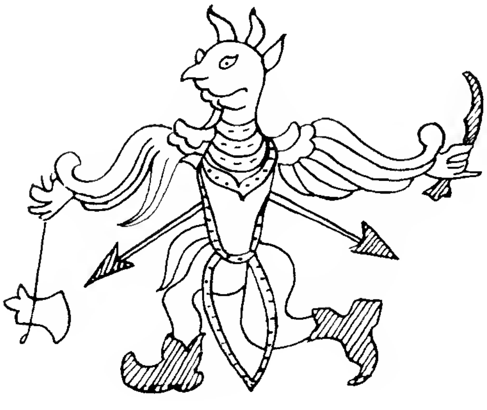

FIG. 4 *A mythical figure, Menak Jingga, Annam*

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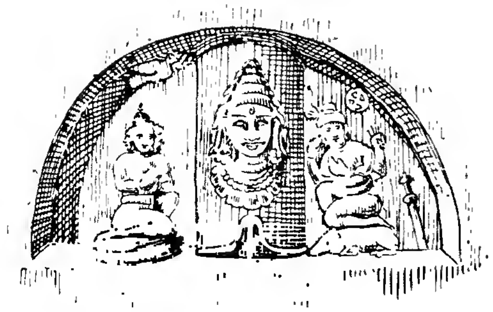

FIG 5 *Śaiva Worship, Annam.*

spell of Ajanta or Amaravati depictions. Only the early Pāṇḍyan and, subsequently, the Imperial Chola era brings a direct participation of northern Ceylon with Tamil Nadu. The Buddhist popularity, on the other hand, had always been restricted to the central and southern Ceylon, in the hallowed locations at Polannaruwa, Mihintale, Anurādhapura and, later, Kandy. It is, in fact, somewhat enigmatic that despite so much that makes Laṅkā play a major role in terms of *locale* and events, in the epic of Vālmīki, there is nothing very much more than a memory and floating traditions to link the places of Laṅkā with the actual scenes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story. This is probably because the overlapping layers of contrastive traditions, in which Buddhism was certainly dominant, from at least about the 3rd–2nd century B.C. to 5th–6th century A.D., had rarified the Hindu traditions into memory myths mostly.

In Malaysia, Indonesia and Indo-China (Siam, Annam, Cambodia and Campā) however, the legend lingers as an evergreen heritage of the soil, notwithstanding the fact that not one single incident of *Rāmāyaṇa* could have had any direct or indirect association with these insular and archipelago lands except for the globe-trotting involved in the search for Sītā. It would be plausible to hold that while in these sea-kissed lands, groups of men imbued with these Hindu traditions, not only *colonised* but infused their *élan* into the local people as well. In Ceylon for instance, the early Buddhist activity was purely indigenous and it borrowed only ideas and not people. Except Mahendra and Saṅghamitrā, legendarily said to have brought the Bodhi tree-sapling to Ceylon, we do not find Indian Buddhist scholars in Ceylon but rather Ceylonese Theravādins and Vibhajyavādins, etc., in various Buddhist centres of India, whether in Andhra Pradesh or the northern India. In a measure, the essentially Hīnayāna hue of Siṁhala Buddhism prevented also a spectacular iconographic and cult efflorescence steadily with Mahāyāna developments in India, in the classical and pre-mediaeval times.

Language and Literature

This colonisation and assimilation of the Greater Indian tracts by Hindu immigrants, with Sanskrit serving as the *lingua franca*, was indeed a phenomenon doing credit to the immigrant as well as to the domicile. There can be no doubt that in this was also a mingling of bloods occasionally and an ethnic blend, an acquisition of pedigree to own and evolve the parental heritage. The deep involvement of the Javanese, Annamites and Cambodians towards the legends of the Indian Epics and *Purāṇas* have been most

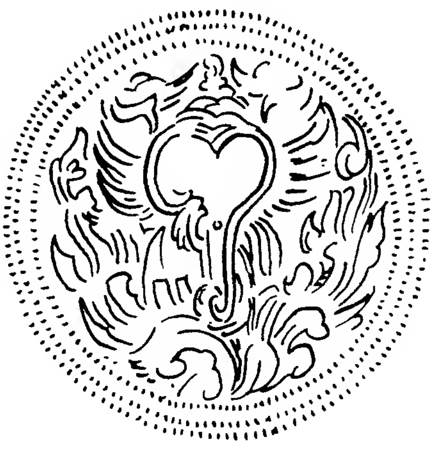

FIG 6 *Śankha-nidhi Java*

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nobly integrated in their temple arts. But, then, the temple institutions themselves had been of Hindu religion and anciently manned by Indians mostly, and the cults of the Trinity, of Gaṇeśa, of Nārāyaṇa, or Rāma, Hanūmān, Garuḍa, Hayagrīva and Harihara abounded, both in the Hindu-colonial and post-colonial local stages of the indigenous metamorphism.

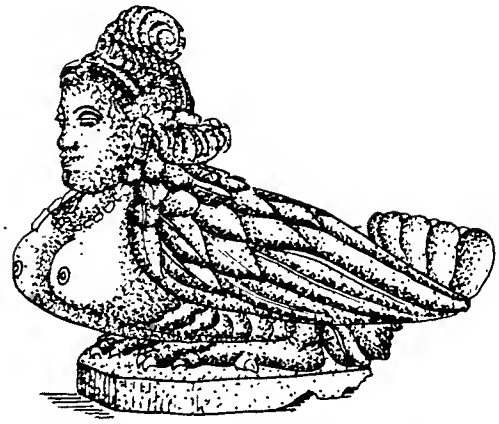

Fig. 7 *A Kinnarī, Java.*

Fusion of Hinduism and Buddhism

It is interesting also to record that while in Cambodia, as in Java and Bali, Buddhism which reached from north India mainly, and Hinduism which was drawn from the south Indian kingdoms mostly, had themselves achieved a mutual fusion instead of supplanting each other or creating rivalry. Even the charters present invocations to Buddha as well as to Śiva; Śaiva pantheon was itself amalgamated into the emanating scheme of Dhyānī Buddhas; Śaiva structures even often resemble Buddhist dagobas and *vice versa*. Buddhist temple like Chandi Kalasan resembles any other Hindu temples in Java. In Bali, some types of priests were even given the appellation *buda*. It should be noted, however, that Śaiva religion (in which Śiva—as indeed Viṣṇu and Brahmā—was regarded as one of the manifestations of Sūrya) ultimately scored over any lingering Buddhist vestige. The full compliment of Hindu *usages* though not of all the Hindu *gods* is seen in the archipelago, as for instance, the Tirta Mpul of Bali which is a sacred spring, ordered at the behest of king Candrābhaya Siṁhavarma-deva in 962 A.D. It is the successor of this king that married his son to one of the daughters of a Javanese king, called Mahendradattā (and Guṇapriya dharmapatni, after marriage)—the couple giving birth to the famous Erlangga who united Bali and Java under one royal banner, about whom we shall have to say more later.

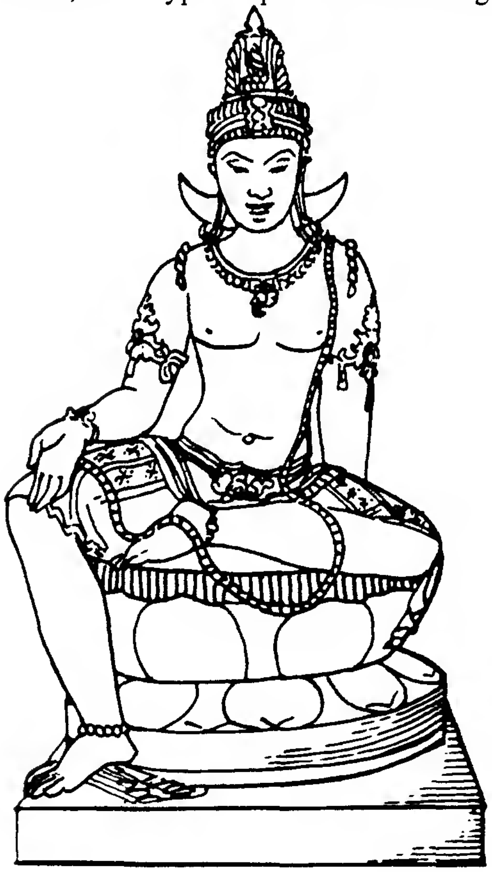

Fig. 8 *A Bodhisattva Java*

Adaptation of the two Epics

It should be stated that the Epics had especially been absorbed and imbibed by the Annamites and the Javanese. The versions that had been adapted and redacted from the various sources make interesting reading, and not only show the sense of belonging generally evinced in the heritage, but also follow the pattern guided by the local myths and predilections.

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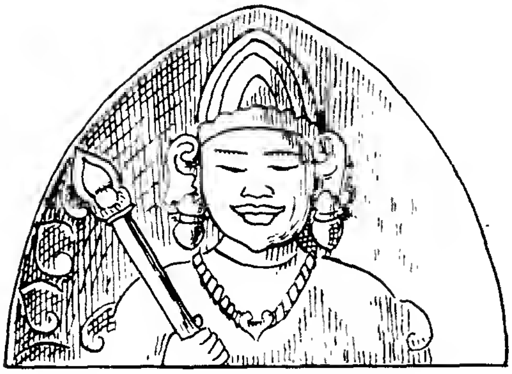

FIG. 9 *Hanūmān Portrait Annam*

The Annamite version of Rāma legend[15] is, for instance, entitled 'the king of demons' and there Rāma and Sītā received fanciful names, although Daśaratha and Rāvaṇa were exactly synonymous to their Sanskrit names and are called the 'ten-chariots' and 'ten-headed'. The last redaction of the Rāma legend in Champa from Annamite sources is as late as the 18th century A.D. It is interesting to compare here the fact that in the Tibetan version of the Rāma legend also, we fail to connect any corresponding derivative source of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in India, but the version generally appears to have followed the narration of the Rāma story in the *Vanaparvan* of *Mahābhārata*.

The Epics and Purāṇa recited in Temples

Epigraphical sources inform us, that the Epics were caused to be read also in temples, as is usually the case in south Indian temples. A Kamboja record[16] (*c*. 600 A.D.), shows that Śrī-Somaśarmā, apparently a Brahmin, presented *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Purāṇas* and a complete *Bhārata* to a temple, and made arrangements for their recitation. Even more striking is the information gleaned from an inscription from Tra-kien in Champa,[17] by which Prakāśa-dharma (653–79 A.D.) dedicated an image and temple to Vālmīki himself. (See Colour Plate III).

The Indonesian Version of the Rāmāyaṇa

In so far as the Indonesian situation is concerned, it had been the view of some scholars like Stutterheim[18] that the local *Rāmāyaṇa* version was based rather on the Indian versions, written and traditional—and perhaps more primitive—and not so much on Vālmīki. The *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs from Prambanan (West Java) were the most celebrated and ancient (9th century A.D.) and though clearly Indian in character, are not based on Vālmīki's work. On the other hand, strangely, the later Panataran (East Java) scenes of the 14th century A.D., in Indo-Javanese style are more coherent in following Vālmīki.

The Legend of Ekaśṛṅga Piṅgala

A valuable insight into the remarkably early context of the assimilation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, even including the controversial *Uttara-kāṇḍa*, is gained by the unique though undated record,[19] again of the king Prakāśa-dharma, which refers to the cult of Ekaśṛṅga Piṅgala—about how Kubera got one eye burnt yellow, owing to the impertinence of his having gazed at Pārvatī, soon after he had brought both

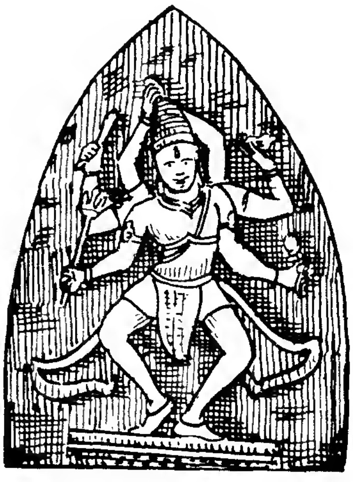

FIG. 10 *Dancing Śiva Annam*

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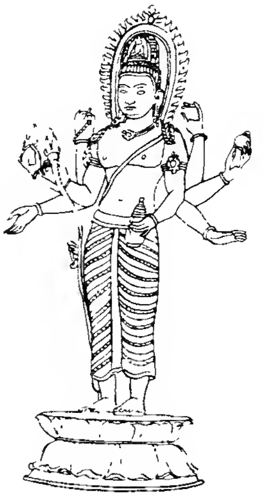

FIG 11 *Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, Java*

before him by hard penance. The legend is narrated in *Uttarakāṇḍa* 13, 21–31 of *Rāmāyaṇa* and, curiously, even the phraseology of the versified account as found in the Campā record of Prakāśa-dharma is quite close to the above source. In the Musée Khmer at Phnom Penh,[20] there are to be found ten groups of delightful and ancient paintings of *Rāmāyaṇa* episodes, got from Kamboja version of *Bālakāṇḍa,* including Janaka's discovery of Sītā, Rāma breaking the bow, Paraśurāma's encounter with Rāma after the latter's marriage etc. Again at Ben Mula,[21] sculptured scenes exist of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa,* depicting the fighting of Rāvaṇa, after Prahasta the commander had been killed by Nīla (*sarga* 54), and the restoration of dead monkeys to life by the help of Indra (*sarga* 120). Again, at the famous edifice of Angkor Vat[22] (10th and 12th century A.D.) bas-reliefs portray the fight between Vāli and Sugrīva, the death of Vāli, and the consequent expression of grief by the womenfolk, the meeting of Vibhīṣaṇa and Rāma, the fire-ordeal of Sītā after the war was over, etc.

Of the other Indian legends, Angkor Vat again depicts the Kailāsa-tolana by Rāvaṇa—a favourite theme of Indian sculptors and immortalised at the Kailāsa cave, Ellora. Of some local stylistic interest in this context, is the depiction of Rāvaṇa's heads arranged like a pyramid, and manner of display his full score number of arms. It is unique in form.

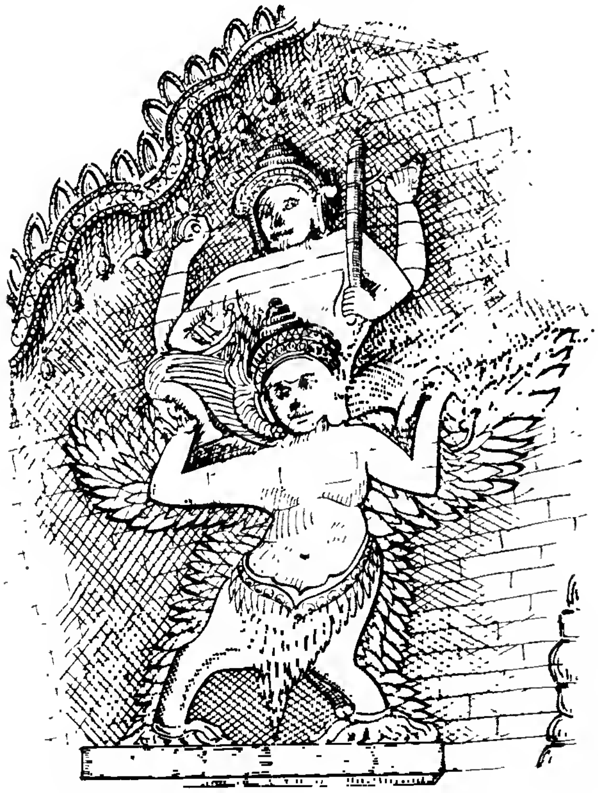

FIG 12. *Viṣṇu on Garuḍa Ankor Vat, Cambodia*

Depiction of the Hindu Trinity

The Purāṇic content of the South-East Asian countries closely reflects the Indian tradition, especially in the formative stages, absorbing the most salient elements of Hindu iconography. Concepts like Trinity, Harihara, Anantaśāyī, Garuḍa-vāhana Viṣṇu are the most distinctive products of the genius of hieratic Hindu art. Especially the images which are consecrated in worship, as different from those which beautify the temple exterior in formal carvings and the like, would be the real test of the degree of permeation that had been effected of the Hindu Purāṇic themes. The Trinity temple at Prambanan in Java, is a case in point. The polarisation of the Trinity takes place in India by at least the 10th century A.D., and it is pleasing to note that the integrity of this concept at Prambanan had dove-tailed with a southern Indian architectural format also. Even

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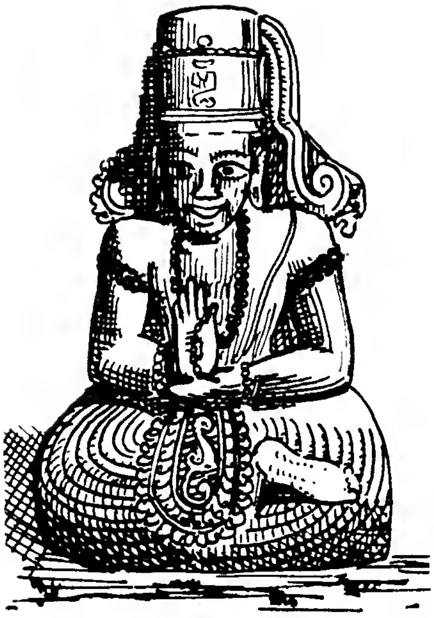

FIG. 13. *A seated Male Figure, Annam.*

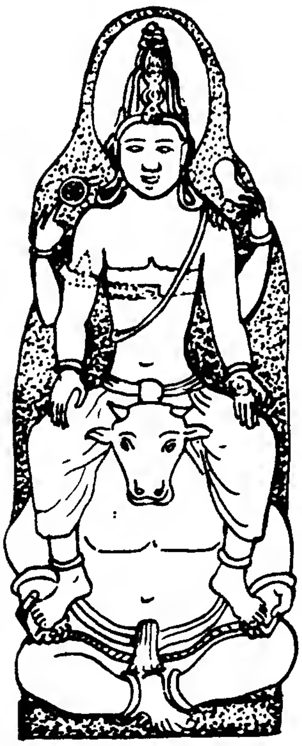

FIG 14 *Viṣṇu from Java*

more deeply embedded in the local matrix was the Harihara or Śaṅkara-nārāyaṇa (as mentioned in the record of Glai Lemov[23] in Indo-China in the valley of Phanrang—Pāṇḍuraṅga?—dated to 801 A.D., of the time of Indravarman) concept, as reflected in a pretty large number of icons of this type variously from Simping, Phnom Penh, Hanoi, etc. An interesting innovation seen in some of these examples is the reversal of position of Hari and Hara. In Indian examples Hari is invariably on the left part of the body. This aspect is seemingly based upon the Mohinī form that Viṣṇu took as a sequel to *Samudra-manthana* and whose bewitching charm led to Śiva begetting a child out of her, called Hariharaputra or Śāstā. In some of the Javanese examples, Hari is on the right. These examples, further, do not make studies in bold artistic embellishment, but rather in a subtle amalgamation of the gods, a few details of apparel and facial moulding alone, by and large, eking out the dichotomy. This is, of course, a pre-mediaeval and early mediaeval trend, mostly, but one that would, nevertheless, differentiate the art-outlook of the countries concerned, the Indo-Chinese area showing a plain and subtly moulded body features and dress. The Javanese figures are, on the other hand, generally informed by richness of drapery and ornamentation, and are close to the Chalukyan in this respect than even the Pallava. The Singasari Durgā and Gaṇeśa from Bara are good instances of this. The luxuriant surface decoration of these two figures generally recalls to our mind the latter-day Hoyasāla crafts even, but they are certainly of a much earlier period in Java. The stance of the two deities, again, is less indebted to the Pallavas and more to the Chalukyas and Gaṅgas. Here again, they have introduced many artistic innovations, as for instance, the child or *gaṇa* attendant of Durgā (taken by some as the human form of Mahiṣa demon) in the Singasari specimen, which is not usually known from any Indian examples, and the integration or combination of Gaṇeśa with Bhairava on the same sculpture on its two faces, front and rear. Bhairava-Gaṇeśa is a combination which, like Gajāntaka—Andhakāri is not unknown in India, and is seen in the Deccan and in the Kaliṅga coast, but the variation of the idiom consists in the carving of it separately on the two opposed faces, instead of on the same face.

The Rāma reliefs from Prambanan, Java, form a

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substantial expression of the artistic calibre of early Javanese art, as well as its indebtedness to the Indian Epic. The inception of the story has been fittingly made with the invocation of the Lord of Vaikuṇṭha by Brahmā and the *devas*, for being born as an incarnation in the world and exterminating the evil spread by Rāvaṇa and other similar *rākṣasas*. This panel is indeed a Vaikuṇṭhanātha panel, since the God here is not truly reclining, but is more in the seated posture of Vīralalita. By his side to the proper left is shown Garuḍa. The importance of showing Garuḍa—which is indeed the national symbol of Java—is to be noted elsewhere also in the Erlangga figure of Belaha. The God in the Vaikuṇṭhanātha panel at Prambanan is intently hearing the petitions presented by Brahmā, and by his lower left hand, giving the *abhaya-dāna* also, while the sage's party are in rapt attention following the dialogue. The oceanic setting of the scene received capable treatment at the hands of the similar craftsmen of Java. The figures to Viṣṇu's proper left with the sage-like person were considered by Dr. Groneman as representing Daśaratha and his queens, praying to Viṣṇu. But the presence of four male figures with *kirīṭa mukuṭa* and a sage-like main leader with *jaṭābhāra* seems to show that this is not correct. Even Havell[24] did not consider the four accompanying figures as female and observed that they could be Rāma and his brothers along with Vasiṣṭha or Viśvāmitra, praying to God. Since they are males, the greater probability is that they could be Brahmā and the Dikpālas four in number, namely, Kubera, Varuṇa, Indra and Yama. This would seem to be the most satisfactory answer.

Of a class different both in form and in content, belonging as it does to the Indo-Chinese region, is the Hayagrīva figure from Cambodia. The utterly naturalistic and vigorous presentation of the horse-God form assumed by Viṣṇu when he retrieved the *Vedas* from the nether waters, is a very appropriate theme for the overland colonials to imbibe and adapt. The representation of Hayagrīva with a completely equine head also reveals a traditional kinship of these craftsmen with their early Indian counterparts who had also revealed in the presentation of Varāha, Narasiṁha and Hayagrīva forms of Viṣṇu in a similar way. Hayagrīva being the special presiding deity of wisdom and knowledge in the south Indian Vaiṣṇava iconography and *Āgamas*, this confirms the thesis that it is primarily the southern tradition that had found a harmonious haven in these Far-Eastern shores. The Hayagrīva figures, however, in the Indian parallels, are never made to stand, but are only seated. The Cambodian and Laotian examples, including one in the Musée Guimet, Paris, are all of the standing and two-armed type, and show perhaps an early absorption of the cult and a local translation thereof.

Personification of the Temple as God

Two outstanding examples of Indian themes seen in the Far-East should now be recounted before closing this brief treatment on the South-East Asian Hindu tradition. These two are respectively, the spell-binding 'churning the ocean' tableau in magnificent proportions, on the Southern avenue of the Bayon, Angkor Thom temples, and the Viṣṇu on Garuḍa figure from Belaha in Java (dated to 991 A.D.). The former is verily a clever integration of architecture and sculpture and alike in vigour and proportions, as in the highly suggestive local ethnic format, the figure is unparalleled. In the first case, the temple itself is rendered as the cosmic form of the Buddhist deity—as it is said to be Jayavarman, the god king's sepulchral temple following the Devarāja cult—gigantic faces of this Bodhisattva Lokeśvara Samantamukha composed on the four veneer faces of the *śikhara* towers. Though it strongly recalls the ponderous but emotional figures carved at Elephanta caves, near Bombay (including the 'Maheśa' panel often called the Trimūrti), the Cambodian example apotheosises the temple as

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God even more effectively than had been attempted anywhere in India, and is in fact a sure testimony to the fact that the *Āgama* traditions had already received wide and willing acceptance in these regions and even for Buddhist and sepulchral contexts. The textual personification of the temple as God, here the god-king, had, in effect, received sculptural fulfilment in these remarkable temples. These temples, as also the Chaṇḍi temples of Java, have their parallels in the 'Pallippaḍai' temples in honour of dead kings as founded under the Cholas at many places like Melpadi, Tiruppurambiyam, Tondaimanadu etc. That kings are considered in India as temporal manifestation of Viṣṇu is an old *Manu-dharma* concept. Incidentally, it discloses the deep involvement of the artists in the work, as it is indeed a prodigious task to carve *in situ*—as it would seem to have been the case here—the whole elevational profile of the temple towers into mammoth divine busts, maintaining harmonious proportions, modulations and symmetry. (See Plate 76 and Colour Plate I for these two representations).

The Belaha example[25] of Garuḍa-vāhana Viṣṇu had been freely interpreted as representing the embodiment of king as God and the figure of prince Erlangga who had consolidated the new kingdom in Java and Bali together in the 10th century A.D. This application of a facet of the Devarāja cult of South-East Asia, as seemingly made in this issue, is *prima facie* valid. But it cannot be denied that truly symbolic, and as it turns out in the mediaeval time, specifically sepulchral traits of the sculptures like hands in *añjali*, calm face etc., which should represent royal ancestor worship, would be lacking in this Belaha figure. There is no doubt that the treatment is that of Garuḍa bearing Viṣṇu, both of whom have, following the stylised depiction of the body and face, a somewhat unconventional appearance. The representation of Garuḍa especially, with human face of only bird-beak is also drawn from the south Indian tradition where, at least by the 14th century A.D. it had become a common event in temples of Viṣṇu to have Garuḍa in the posture of a bearer, kept as a mobile unit, for use during festivals. The earlier tradition of Viṣṇu riding the Garuḍa is only in the Gajendra-varada type, and not found in any other myth, and thus it would be feasible to argue that the Belaha figure is also an extension of the trait of readiness to come to succour that characterises Viṣṇu and which, in turn, could have been ascribed to kings also who are noble and gracious.

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India, Malaya And Borneo—Two Millennia of Contacts And Cultural Synthesis

D. DEVAHUTI

Introduction

FROM THE HISTORICAL viewpoint, specially with regard to the ancient period, the extensive island complex washed by the Indian Ocean, the Java Sea, and the South China Sea should be treated as a region with a rapport amongst its various members, and between them and India. Malaysia, with its three constituents, Malaya, Sarawak (north-western Borneo) and Sabah (northern Borneo) lies in the centre of this region.

In the early stages of their history when the interiors of the island (or peninsular) countries were still not developed enough to make them viable political entities on their own, the pattern created by contacts among coastal towns of different islands, through inland seas, and the validity of this pattern in relation to international trade-routes determined the form and size of political units in the region. It is therefore more logical, in the ancient context, to talk in terms of Śrī-vijaya (which comprised parts of Sumatra, Java, and Malaya etc.) than in terms, separately, of Sumatra, Java, Malaya, etc. Moreover, physically homogenous entities like Borneo or the Malay Peninsula (with the Kra Isthmus as the narrowest dividing line between two seas in the north, and the island of Singapore in the south), are best dealt with as single units irrespective of the fact that they are now politically divided, in the former case between Malaysia and Indonesia and in the latter, between Thailand and Malaysia with Singapore as an independent country.

The Old Stone Age

India's ties with Malaysia are closer and older than is generally recognised. Malaya has yielded some prehistoric remains belonging to the Stone Age which fix her position in the racial matrix of South, South-east, and East Asia taking in its sweep Yunnan and eastern India. Her earliest pebble artifacts discovered from Kota Tampan in the Perak Valley have affinities with similar objects from Pleistocene terraces in India, Burma and Java.

The New Stone Age

India and Malaysia also have common ethnic and linguistic elements through the migration of the Proto-Australoids from the west to the east. Those peoples were modified within India and beyond by admixture with the Negritos and the Mongoloids. The neolithic people (Mongoloid-Indonesian or Proto-Malay) migrated with their quadrangular adze from their continental home to Malaya, Sumatra, Java, etc. between 2500 and 1500 B.C., sometime before the development of the tanged adze culture known to the Mongoloid Khassis of Assam. But comparisons can be drawn between the two peoples. The Khassis who separated from the Malay-Indonesians over 3000 years ago have similarities of language and customs with the Proto-Malays who are represented today by some 7000 Jakun, living in the jungles of Pahang and Johore. Under the general term Austric, the languages of the Malay-Indonesian, the Melanesian, the Polynesian, the Mon-Khmer and the Kol or Munda are further divided into two groups—the Austronesian which includes among others Malay-Indonesian; and the Austro-Asiatic which embrace the Kol or Munda, Nicobarese, and the Mon-Khmer speeches of India (Assam), Burma, and Indochina. It is also a fairly well established fact that after the Proto-Australoids had become characterised in the Malay Archipelago, some of them backwashed to India bringing with them some local products and customs.[1]

The Early Iron Age

The Proto-Malay or the Jakun of Malaya continued to evolve culturally. When Hindu-Buddhist and Muslim cultures entered the country he adapted many of the new elements to his own needs. In the marriage ceremony he combined old beliefs with new by making the groom walk three or seven times behind the bride round a hillock, reminiscent of circumambulation of the holy fire in Hindu weddings. The Jakun starts a charm with *Oṁ* and a magical invocation with *Basmala (Bismillah)*.[2] The mixture of many foreign traits, Indian, Chinese, Arab, Thai, etc. with the Proto-Malay produced the civilised or Deutero-Malay of Malaysia and Indonesia. He is to be distinguished generally, by his local characteristics pertaining not only to Malaysia or Indonesia, but also say, to Kedah, Kelantan or Negeri Sembilan on the Peninsula. The inland Malay, moreover, differs from the coastal Malay owing to dissimilarities in diet and occupation.

Racial, linguistic, and cultural contacts apart, India's maritime trade with east and South-east Asia also started in very early times, earlier than the beginning of the Christian era the date-line with which this activity is usually associated. Very important evidence proving contact by sea, in the first millennium B.C., between India, Malaysia, and the Philippines was brought to light through the archaeological discoveries by Prof. Beyer, mostly in the province of Rizal in the Philippines during 1926–30.[3] From the Iron Age strata were found pottery; iron implements and weapons such as knives, axes, daggers and spear points; glass beads and bangles both green (by contact with iron; found in the earlier Iron Age strata) and blue (by contact with copper); and finally beads of semi-precious stones such as agate, carnelian, amethyst and rock crystal.

The Megalithic Period

Both the iron and glass objects are similar to and in some cases identical with the prehistoric glass and iron objects found interred in the dolmen tombs and urn burials in southern India. Similar glass beads and bangles have been found in the Malay Peninsula, in Java and in northern Borneo. Recently, the habitation area at Hallur in the Dharwar district of Mysore, a site connected with dolmen activities, has been dated at circa 1000 B.C. by the radio-carbon method (T.F. 573 : 945± 100 B.C. and T.F. 570 : 1005± 105 B.C.). Apparently, Indians and Malaysians were in contact with each other way back in the first millennium B.C. It is believed that Chinese literary sources also contain a few references to typical Indian products reaching China in the seventh century B.C. by way of sea.[4] The thesis of extensive maritime activity on the part of the people of the Malay Archipelago has been strengthened by a recent study entitled *Africa*

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and Indonesia by A.N. Jones[5] which demonstrates the existence of Indonesian-type zylophone in western Africa prior to the establishment of Indonesia's first great empire.

Early Centuries of the Christian era

The bead-trade of the ancients linked the harbours of the vast Asian continent for many centuries. Apart from the Iron Age glass beads excavated in the Philippines, the early Christian era finds at the Indian port of Arikamedu near Pondichery, at the Malayan port of Kota Tinggi in Johore where eighty out of a collection of 600 beads are classed as "early Indian stone beads", at Kuala Selinsing in Perak (the history of which site stretches from Negrito times to approximately twelfth century A.D.) and finally, at Oc Éo in Funan, give evidence of contact among many 'nations' of the east.[6] The discovery of one Hittite, two Phoenician and about 120 Roman beads (the latter belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era) at Kota Tinggi considered in the light of India's affluent trade with the Roman empire, and the early-Christian-era Roman finds at Arikamendu, suggests the presence of Indian intermediaries in the area.

India and Malaya in Historical Times

In the earliest stages, the development of the various 'countries' of Malaysia and Indonesia was guided by the universally applicable geograpnical determinants—the orientation of the rivers and the situation of a given country in relation to international land and sea routes. Once the high seas had been navigated by indigenous traders, the factors attendant upon production—the slow opening up of the country, prosperity, larger population, need for better social and political organisation etc. would have led to the growth of coastal settlements in Malaysia and Indonesia. Later still, along with Indian traders interested in south-east Asian gold, scented woods (Gharu and Sandal), spices (cloves and later, varieties of pepper), camphor etc., came the Indian organisational skills, pertaining to government, economy, the arts and other appurtenances of a developed civilisation. On the part of such Malay/Indonesian societies as had reached a degree of sophistication, yet had that 'primitive' open approach to new influences which is almost instinctive in order to accelerate the pace of development, it led to the adoption of Indian ideas and institutions. This process must have received special support from individuals with qualities of leadership who in the course of Indianisation would have acquired more power and authority. For the Indians whom the exigencies of trade-winds forced to become acclimatised or who were coaxed into longer stays through attractive local conditions, it again meant a dominant status among the local people. The economic, cultural and human factors leading to the rise of an empire had coalesced. A combination of the two streams, the Indianised south-east Asian and the 'characterised' Indian, ultimately led to the Indianised empires of South-east Asia. Indianisation of South-east Asia was thus partly a cause and partly a consequence of the progress South-east Asia was making around the beginning of the Christian era.

Interesting but brief and casual references to India's association with South-east Asia, not commensurate with the scale or significance of the event, are found in Indian literature such as the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Niddesa*, a Pālī canonical text of the late B.Cs. or early A.Ds., the *Jātakas*, the Ceylonese *Mahāvaṁsa*, the *Milinda-pañha*, the Tamil poem *Paṭṭinappālai* in the *Paṭṭuppāṭṭu*, the *Śilappadikāram*, the *Purāṇas*, the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa, the *Kaumudī-mahotsava*, the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, etc.

Politically Malaya's history was bound, in the early centuries A.D., with that of Funan

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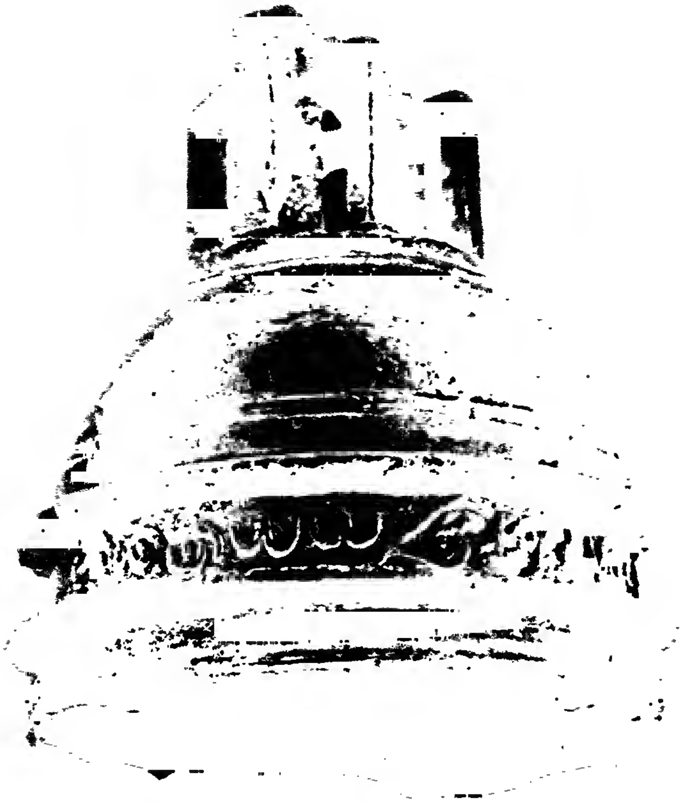

FIG. 1. *Ship-bell with Tamil Inscription from New Zealand, c 15th cent. (Courtesy, Dominion Museum, Wellington)*

in Indochina; from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries with that of Śrī-vijaya in Sumatra and Java; in the thirteenth century with that of Thailand; and in the following century with that of Majapahit in east Java.

The most important inscription from the political point of view comes from Wat Sema Muang in Ligor on the Isthmus of Kra. Dated 775 A.D. on one face, it reveals that a king of Śrī-vijaya with his capital in Sumatra had by that time established his supremacy over parts of the Malay Peninsula. The other face of the stele with an incomplete inscription carved no earlier than 782 states that King Viṣṇu "bore the title of *mahārāja* to indicate that he was a descendant of the family of the Śailendras" (of Java). The Śailendras, who in the latter half of the ninth century united Java and Sumatra under the hegemony of Śrī-vijaya were, a century earlier, aiming at the same political strategy as the Śrī-vijayas of Sumatra, by attempting to control the northern parts of the Malay Peninsula.

At Takua-pa, also on the Isthmus, a stone carrying a Tamil inscription of the ninth century A.D. has been found. It is a record of the construction of a tank which was placed under the protection of the members of a merchant guild, the residents of the cantonment and one other group.

The period of Indian settlements and Indianised kingdoms in the Malay Archipelago led to political and cultural contacts between India and Malaysia. Partly owing to lack of historical literature in India and partly because, India, unlike China, did not profess "colonial" politics, very few references to Malayan missions to India have come to light. Two transactions regarding

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which some details are available were both of political and cultural import. Bāla-putra-deva, the first Śailendra King of Śrī-vijaya in the ninth century, was not only allowed to build a Buddhist monastery at Nālandā but the Pāla ruler Deva-pāla also donated the revenue of five villages for its maintenance. Around 1005, another Śrī-vijaya King, Cūḍā-maṇi-varma-deva[7] built a Buddhist temple at Nāgīpaṭṭana on the Coromandel coast, to which the Choḷa Rāja-rāja I donated the revenues of a large village. The actual edict was issued by his son Rājendra. In 1089–90, at the request of the King of Kiḍāra (Kaṭāha), the Choḷa Kulottuṅga I granted a new charter to the Śailendra sanctuary. Perhaps it still existed in the middle of the nineteenth century, and was destroyed by Jesuits in 1868.[8] A King of Ceylon sought to make a monastery in northern India in the fourth century A.D. Such constructions promoted learning and the pursuit of religion on the one hand, and strengthened political relations in an unsuspected manner on the other.

The Tanjore inscription dated 1030–31 of Rājendra Choḷa records the details of the military expedition that he led against Śrī-vijaya in 1025. Ten years earlier he may have attempted a preliminary excursion against Kaṭāha.[9] The expedition of 1025 records the conquest, among other places, of Langkā-suka, Trang, Tāmbraliṅga and, above all of the prize city of Kaṭāha on the Peninsula. The clash between Śrī-vijaya and the Choḷas appears to have been caused by the rival commercial claims of the two empires in the region of the Indian Ocean and the China Sea. However, suzerainty over the distant Śrī-vijaya was as impractical as it was alien to Indian tradition. In 1068 we hear of another Choḷa manoeuvre in the area, a friendly one, to conquer "Kaḍāram on behalf of the king (of Śrī-vijaya) who had come to ask for his aid and protection and delivered the conquered country to him". Continuation of good relations between Śri-vijaya and the Cholas is further proved by the donative grant to the Nāgīpaṭṭana (Negapatam) temple in 1090.

With the decline of Śrī-vijaya, in the thirteenth century, the Thais greatly increased their power in the north of the Malay Peninsula but had to recede soon with the rise of the Majapahit empire in eastern Java. Majapahit's influence reached Ligor and beyond. In Ligor a bronze Gaṇeśa has been discovered with a Tamil inscription, in modern characters, which reads:

Ma-jha-pi-chi-de-śa, the country of Majapahit.

Vestiges of a Wrecked Indian Ship

It may be of interest here to make a reference to Indian voyages beyond the Archipelago. In 1955, the Waikato Scientific Association whose report was circulated by the Polynesian Society, examined the wreckage of an ancient ship on the Ruapuke Beach near Raglan, New Zealand. It was an eastern vessel at least 500 years old, built of teak and fastened with wooden screws and heavy brass bolts. The bell, probably, belonging to this ship had been discovered in 1836, in a Maori kitchen by a missionary explorer.

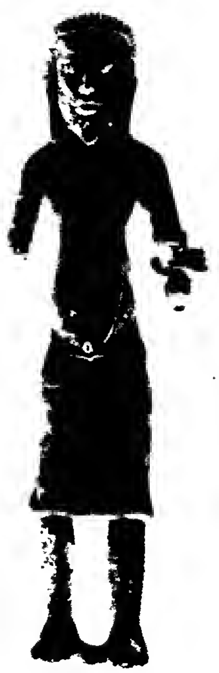

FIG 2 *Bronze Hindu Figure (probably the Sage Agastya) from Perak, Malaya*

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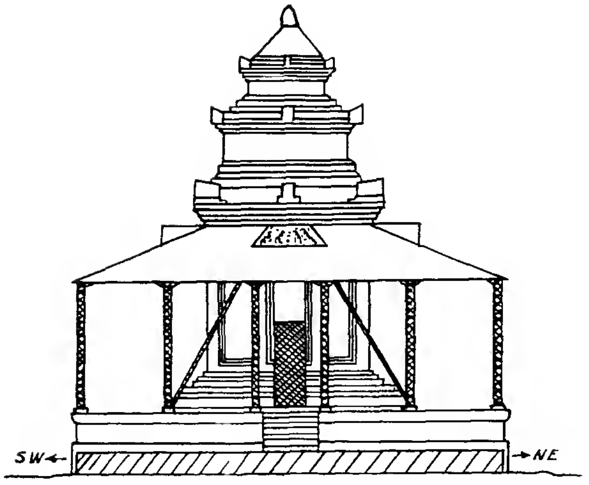

FIG 3 *Sungei Batu Pahat Temple, showing timber Verandah*

It carries a brief inscription, in the Tamil style of some 500 years ago, which reads "The bell of Moha Din Buksh's ship". (Fig. 1) It is now in the Dominion Museum, Wellington. The master's name is probably to be associated with the Marakkaiyar, a sea faring people formerly Hindu but later converted to Islam. Kunyali Marakkaiyar, a captain in the time of the Zamorin of Calicut inflicted a defeat on the Portuguese navy.

The ship's wreckage was sighted on two occasions, in 1875 and 1914. In the former year the discoveror had removed an inscribed bronze plate off the deck from the spot below which the bell had been, in order to have the 'eastern' writing on it deciphered. Unfortunately the plate got lost in transit. One of the possibilities raised by the discovery of the bell is that an adventurous Indian (perhaps naturalized Indonesian) trader had ventured into the Pacific around 14–15th centuries. Inspired first by the expansion of Śrī-vijaya's—and then of Majapahit's boundaries, and energised by Arab contact, some Indian Indonesian traders probably extended their horizons beyond the familiar waters of South-east Asia to touch the land that was rediscovered in modern times by Tasman and Cook.

Sculptural Finds of Indian origin

The architectural and sculptural remains found in Indianised Malaya may be briefly listed as follows:

Perak, a rich mining area from ancient times, has yielded some important Buddhist relics. A fine bronze Buddha figure (Hīnayāna) was dredged up at Pangkalan, near Ipoh in the Kinta Valley. It is in Gupta style and may be dated fifth or sixth century A.D. At the same site was unearthed a bronze throne for a figure of the Buddha which must have been seated with legs stretching down. Its plainness suggests for it the same age as that ascribed to the bronze Buddha. A little lower down the Kinta Valley at Tanjong Rambutan another small bronze image of the Buddha was recovered at a depth of sixty feet in a tin mine. This image too, appears to belong to the Gupta school and may be dated from the sixth century.

Later Mahāyāna bronzes of the eighth and ninth centuries have also been recovered from Perak. From Bidor comes the fine bronze image of the eight-armed Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in Pāla style with Tantric emblems. In two of its right hands it holds the rosary and the trident. One right arm is missing while the other is raised in varada mudrā (the gesture of bestowing favour). The four left hands hold a book, a noose, a lotus and a water vessel. From Perak a standing bronze figure has also been discovered. Its features suggest that it is of some important person of the region; may be it is of Agastya. (Fig. 2).

Two more bronzes of Avalokiteśvara were found in open-cast tin mines at Sungei Siput. One is a standing four-armed image; the pedestal, backing, and image having been cast separately. Along with it was found a pottery jar containing some gold ornaments. The other image is that of an eight-armed seated Avalokiteśvara with Tantric emblems.

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Śaiva Tantra quite Popular

Kedah and Province Wellesley in Malaya have received the greatest attention from archaeologists for obvious reasons. The region was contiguous to the Kra Isthmus, the narrowest stretch of land between the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam; was suitable from the viewpoint of navigational winds and had good harbours on both coasts. It was, therefore, frequented by sailors. Col. James Low explored the area some hundred years ago and Mr. Evans in 1925 while Dr. Quaritch-Wales conducted extensive excavations more recently.[10] The sites he exacavated in Kedah are numbered 1 to 30. During the years 1957–59 more digging was done at these and nearby sites by members of the University of Singapore. A stone dvārapāla showing Pallava influence, and other objects were recovered in 1957. In 1958–59 further digging by Dr. A. Lamb at Bukit Batu Pahat, Wales's site number 8, produced six nine-chambered reliquaries of the type discovered by Quaritch-Wales also at the same site. The contents of one have been carefully examined to reveal very faint traces of organic matter. The eight smaller depressions contained small semi-precious stones while the central depression two inches in diameter and one inch in depth yielded a bull cut out of a thin sheet of silver foil, small silver, gold and bronze objects and a folded gold-foil image of a seated female figure holding in one hand a trident and in the other a lotus blossom. The objects apparently, are connected with the Śaiva Tantric cult. According to Lamb, the temple from where the caskets were recovered, the Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat has similarities with the Biaro (Vihāra) Si Topajan in Sumatra and may even bear resemblances to some Śaiva shrines in Ligor on the Kra Isthmus.[11] The reconstruction of this structure of simple beauty was started under the guidance of a French expert from Cambodia. (Fig. 3).

Of the thirty sites excavated and described by Quaritch-Wales, eight appear to be ruins of Buddhist stūpas, six, clearly, remains of Śaiva temples and perhaps another six the vestiges of other Hindu structures. Three are described as remains of secular buildings, some are not easily identifiable as belonging to any particular sect, while the remaining spots are important for the finds of metal objects, pottery or bricks. All the sites, except one, are to be located within an area bounded by Kedah Peak in the north, and the River Muda in the south. Eighteen of them lie along the small Bujang River. Their dates range from the fourth to the twelfth century. Described below are some of the more interesting sites from Quaritch-Wales's list.

Śaiva and Buddhist Shrines and Relics

A laterite basement probably of a stūpa was unearthed on Bukit Choras, the only site north of the Kedah Peak. An important find made at the site was a four-line stone inscription with the Buddhist formula *ye dharmāḥ hetu prabhavāḥ*, etc. written in southern Indian characters of the fourth or fifth century A.D. This fact, coupled with the simple style of the basement, helped to fix the date of the relics. These relics are the earliest of a structure of this nature in South-east Asia. Low's Bukit Meriam inscription may also be ascribed to approximately the same age. It contains the *ye-dharmāḥ* formula as well as the famous Buddhist verse *ajñānāccīyate karma,* etc.

The Buddhist site 2 has yielded a hard sun-dried clay tablet inscribed on three faces in Southern Indian characters[12] of the sixth century A.D. The three Sanskrit verses on it embody Mahāyānist philosophical doctrines and have been traced, all three together, only in a Chinese translation of the *Sāgaramatī-paripṛcchā.* The third verse formulates the well-known doctrine of the equivalence of *Nirvāṇa* and *Saṃsāra*. Lying close to the tablet was a square of rather thick gold leaf.

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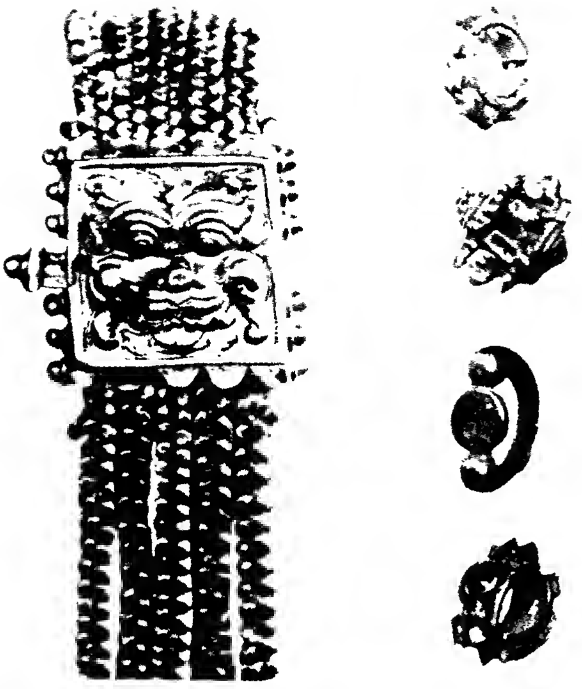

FIG. 4. *Simha-mukha Design Gold Bracelet and Rings from Singapore*

From site 4, a Pallava period Śaiva shrine of the sixth or seventh century A.D., on the right bank of the R. Bujang, some interesting finds were made. Evans had discovered here a *snāna-droṇī* or *yoni,* the head of a granite Nandī and the relief of Durgā triumphing over Mahiṣāsura. To these Quaritch-Wales added the roof of a miniature bronze shrine of southern Indian inspiration, a granite relief possibly of Gaṇeśa, a rough representation in granite of a *liṅga,* a granite lampstand, a fragment of a small bronze bell and various glass and clay objects.

The Śaiva site 8, on Bukit Batu Pahat, assignable to the seventh or eighth century, has also yielded a rich harvest of antiquities. The finds comprise a *snāna-droṇī* with circular recess for the *liṅga* base, tiny silver capsules containing one small polished sapphire and one small polished pyrope placed in the recesses in the eight chief socles (intended to support the pillars for the roof) around the main sanctuary, the bronze base of an image, a bronze trident of Śiva with one outer prong missing, and, last but not least, two nine-chambered reliquaries of which six more have been added recently, as mentioned before. Such receptacles of funerary significance have been frequently met with in Java. The ashes of the deceased king, along with some precious objects, were placed in a reliquary which was buried in a *chaṇḍī* under the statue of the king made in the likeness of the god he worshipped. His ancestors were also given an honoured place in the temple. Such *chaṇḍīs* were built by monarchs in their life time. Meant to endure as long as the dynasty of the kings they commemorated,they were built of stone rather than of the more easily perishable brick. It is noteworthy that granite has been used as building material for the sanctuary under discussion. The bronze objects recovered probably belong to the Śiva image made to represent the king who constructed the temple.

On the left bank of the R. Bujang, site 10, from its finds, may be termed a Buddhist site. One gold disc and six silver discs, plain on one side and inscribed on the other, were recovered from it. They record either the names of Bodhisattvas or of pious monks who named themselves after them. No such discs have been met with in Java or elsewhere on the Archipelago. On the basis of the cursive script on the discs which in India was used a little earlier than the eighth century but must have persisted in Malaya until later, the Mahāyāna site may be dated in the ninth century.

Site 14 on the left bank of the Bujang, arouses interest because of the discovery of three Abbasid coins, one a badly corroded bronze coin and the other two a silver half-dirhem and a silver quarter-dirhem. The half-dirhem bears the date 848 A.D. The quarter-dirhem is also

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about the same date. A quantity of Arab glass, especially lamp fragments, has also been unearthed on two other sites. Another interesting find from site 14 is a small fragment cut from the rim of a silver vessel and then inscribed on both sides in southern Indian characters. Some Pālī words have been deciphered, the record is therefore Buddhist, and has been assigned to the sixth or seventh century. Beads of the Kuala Selinsing type and some Chinese ceramics of the late T'ang period have also been unearthed.

Once again on the left bank of the Bujang, site 16, probably a Tantric Buddhist shrine, has yielded a bronze casket containing model animals—a lion of gold, a bull of silver and a horse of copper. Other miniature weapons and implements in gold, included a bow, two arrows, a sword, a dagger, a noose, a staff or spear, a shield, a *ḍamaru* drum, a bell or seal in silver, a ploughshare and a yoke; and gems, precious and semi-precious. From the same site have been discovered an aureole, in fragments, of a small bronze image, a bronze finger, part of the base of a small image, two four-cornered temple lamps, a small bronze bell and some other relics. The site may be dated in the ninth or tenth century A.D.

From site 16A close to site 16 has been recovered a most important and artistic find of the period of Indian influence. It is a small standing bronze image of the Buddha which is now in the National Museum, Singapore. The low uṣṇīṣa and the natural folds of the garment denote Amarāvatī style, which reached its high-water mark in India in the latter half of the second and early third centuries A.D. The Kedah Buddha is, however, a later product and may be assigned to the fifth century A.D.

On site 19, close to the left bank of the Bujang, was a Śaiva shrine, assignable perhaps to

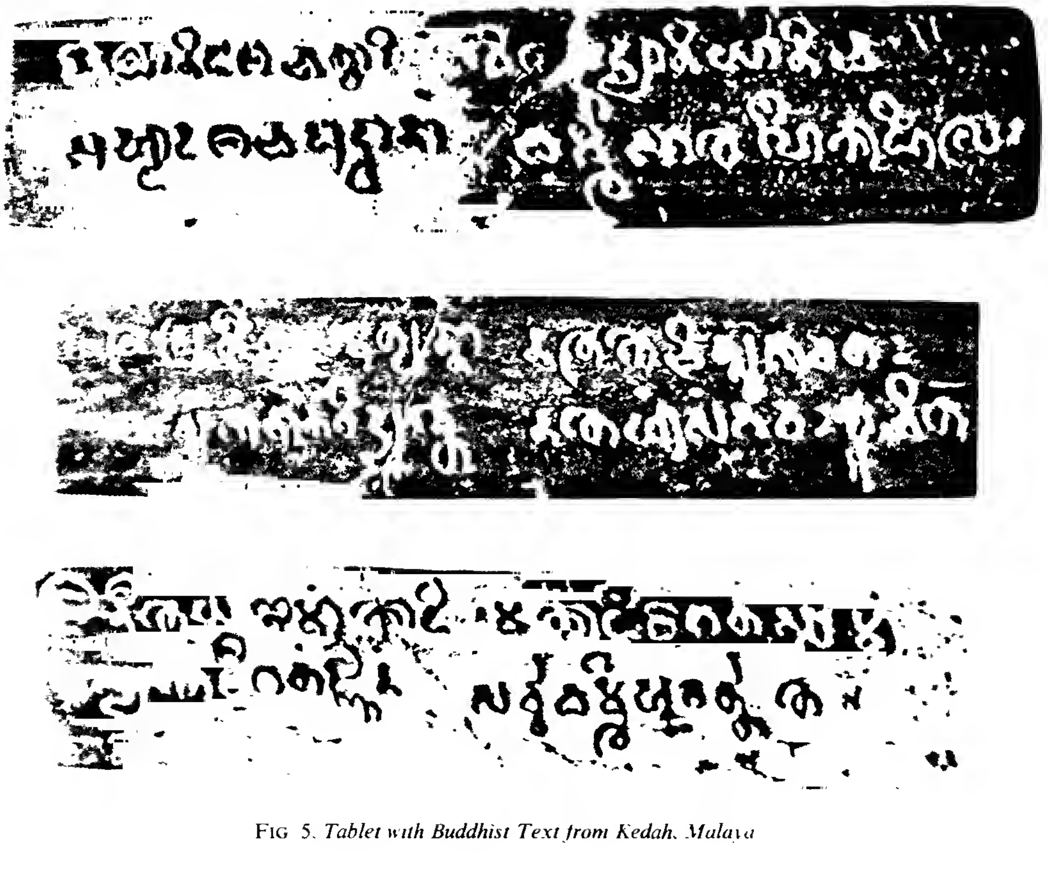

FIG 5. *Tablet with Buddhist Text from Kedah, Malaya*

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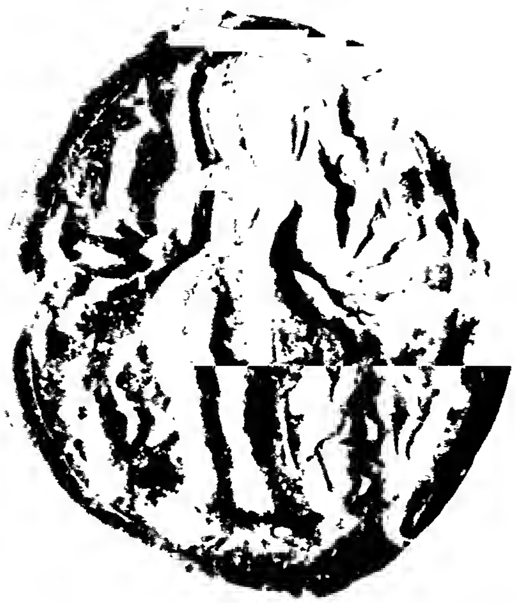

FIG. 6. *Bodhisattva Votive tablet from Perlis, Malaya*

the eleventh or twelfth century. The ruins have yielded a bronze *śakti* weapon of Kārttikeya, the son of Śiva, two fragments of a weathered terracotta Gaṇeśa in the Mahārāja-līlā attitude and part of a nine-chambered reliquary larger in size than those mentioned above.

A 24 carat gold belt with clasps of the *siṁha-mukha* design was hooked up from the Batu Lintang river in Kedah. The motif is comparable with that on the gold bracelets dug up at Fort Canning in Singapore. An engraved ring and a gemmed ring accompanied the latter find. The perfect formation of the motif on the bracelets, as compared with the rather degenerate design on the Kedah belt, has pushed back their antiquity from the Majapahit period, as suggested earlier, to a date anterior to that of the Kedah belt which Quaritch-Wales placed in the thirteenth century. (Fig. 4).

Kedah has also yielded a number of Buddhist votive tablets. From other places in Malaya too, especially from caves, many such tablets have been recovered. (Fig. 5). They are of terracotta, circular or oval in shape and bear representations of the Buddha or Bodhisattvas and the formula of the creed. Both palaeography and fabric place them in the tenth century A.D. The Isthmus region abounds in such tablets. The 1961 excavations by the University of Singapore brought to light a new site near Kangar in Perlis containing Buddhist votive tablets and Hindu relics as well as stone age finds comprising beads, pottery and bones of animals. (Fig. 6).

Province Wellesley, in the south-west corner of Kedah, has proved to be another important sport for Indianised remains. A group of seven Sanskrit inscriptions dated circa fourth century A.D. were discovered by Col. Low at Cherok Tokun in the central region, while four were unearthed by him in the north. Of these latter the most famous is the inscription of the Mahānāvika (Captain) Buddhagupta. On a slate slab it is engraved on both sides of an umbrella-crowned *stūpa*. Like the Bukit Meriam inscription it also contains the Buddhist verse *ajñāccīyate*, etc. A short prose passage of benediction follows, wishing success in all things and in enterprises undertaken by the Captain, Buddhagupta, resident of Raktamṛittikā (literally, Red Earth).

The Isthmus, with its centres at Takua Pa, Chaiya, Nakhon Srithammarat (Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja, Ligor) and Takkola (Trang) has proved very rich in archaeological finds. These and the sculptural and architectural remains from Śrī-vijayan Sumatra provide us with a stylistic frame-work within which to assess the artistic moulds, motifs, trends, etc. of Malaya proper. (Fig. 7).

Malayan Arts and Crafts show Indian Motifs

The designs and methods of Malay arts and crafts bear the impress of Indian mythology and motifs.

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FIG. 7 *Marak from Malacca, Malaya.*

The hilt patterns of the Malay dagger, the *kĕris*, often depict characters from Indian tales, Hindu and Buddhist. Hanumāna and Garuḍa, for their superhuman qualities, are some of the favourite figures fashioned to shape. The *kĕris* blade may have become wavy to represent the *nāgas*, the foes of Garuḍa whom he overpowered.

In textile designs both countries are likely to have influenced each other; the exporter catering to the tastes of the importer and in the process acquiring some of the latter's preferences. The word for silk in Malay is of Sanskrit origin. Both the Indochinese and Indian methods of "tie and dye" are in use, the warp threads being tied before dyeing according to the former method and the cloth stitched firmly in puckers before applying the dye according to the latter method. Malay bronze, silver and gold work are reminiscent of Indian shapes and patterns. (Fig. 8). The lotus blossom and the side view of the lotus appear in repoussé work on jewellery, bowls and caskets. The filigree, some times jewelled on brooches, betel boxes, *kĕris* sheaths, etc. shows strong Indian influence. The foliation in the old type of large water-bottle stands, pedestals, etc. often carries figures from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Bronze kitchen utensils popular in India are also used in old Malay households and the general name for all bronze, copper and brass ware is the Sanskrit *gaṅgsa*.

Hindu Epics Staged in Malayan Theatre

In few countries of the world, theatre is as popular a mass medium as in Malaysia and Indonesia. The favourite themes for dance, drama, puppet-shows *(wayang orang)* and shadow-play *(wayang kulit)* are taken from the Indian epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. (Fig. 9). The shadow play version of the epics was always preferred to their written form but some literary works of this genre have survived. The oldest manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa* the *Hikayat Seri Rama* is based on a Tamil prototype. It is a late text and betrays Muslim influence. An unpublished manuscript of the Malay *Rāmāyaṇa* is in the Royal Asiatic Society Library, London.

Literature and Folk-lore

Bhārata-yuddha, a section of the Mahā-bhārata and the story of Bhauma (son of Bhūmi, the earth), was originally written in Kawi and it inspired the Malay *Hikayat Pĕrang Pandawa Jaya* and the *Hikayat Maharaja Boma*. Some other Malay works influenced by the Hindu epics and Purāṇas are the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*, and the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*. As a matter of literary interest, the Hikayat *Raja-raja Pasai* embodies specimens of a Tamil verse form called *gurindam*. Many Malay folk-tales and romances also draw upon the epic literature.

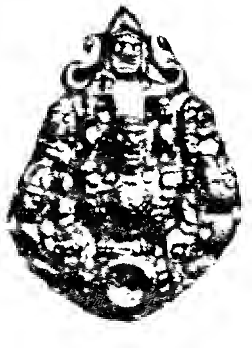

FIG 8 *Visnu on Garuda Gold-ring from Kuala Selinsing Malaya*

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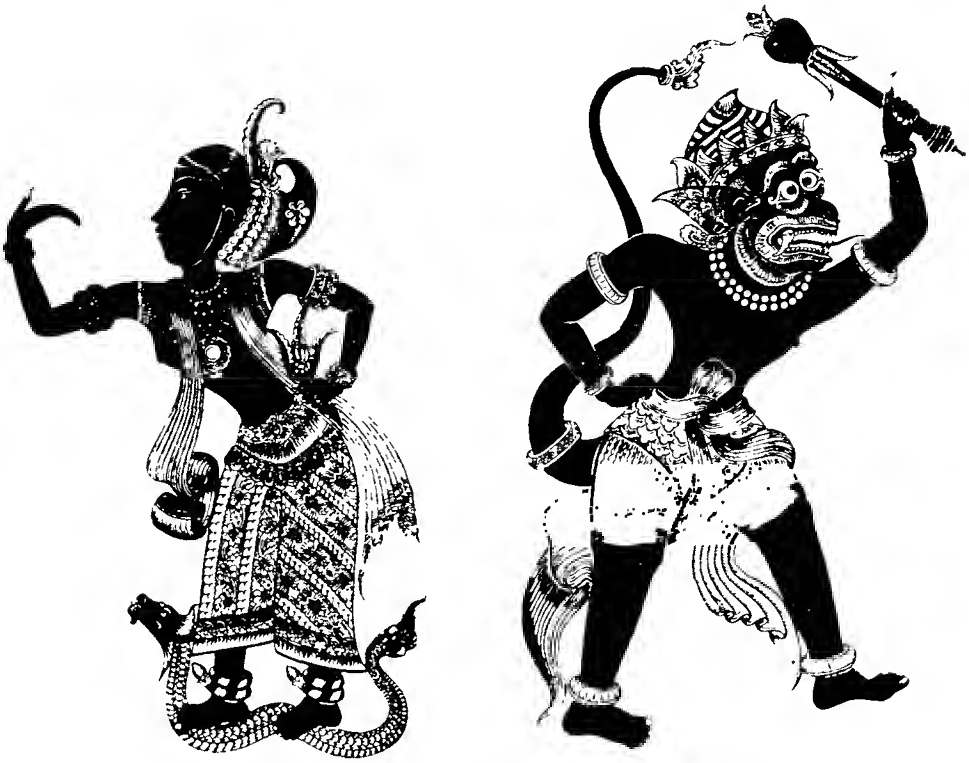

FIG 9 *Wayang Figures of Sītā and Hanūmān, Malaya.*

The *Pañca-tantra* (the source of inspiration of Aesop's fables) with its translations found as far west as Iceland and as far east as Java, also influenced the folk lore of Malaya. So did the Buddhist *Jātakas* and the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* (to which the Arabian Nights indirectly owe several tales). The latter inspired the *Hikayat Nakhoda Mudā* and the *Hikayat Maharaja Pikrama Sakti*. The Tamil classic *Maṇimegalai* has also supplied the material for many Malay stories. Another survival of the pre-Islamic period is the Malay translations of the Javanese cycle of *Panji* tales which has freely borrowed from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, and the folk-lore of the Deccan.

With the coming of Indian Muslim traders to Malacca, the Muslimised folk-lore of Hindu India, a mixture of Hindu, Persian and Arab stories, flooded Malaya. The *Hikayat Indra Bangsawan* was a result of these influences. With the coming of Islam Malaya also became familiar with the three world famous cycles of tales, the Persian *Tutinameh*, or the original Sanskrit *Śuka-saptati*, the *Kalila dan Damina* derived ultimately from the *Pañcha-tantra* (known earlier to Malaya and Java) and the Bakhtiar cycle. The Malay version of the first cycle is known as *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*; of the second, three recensions were made, one from Tamil in 1835 by Munshi Abdullah; while the third cycle has two translations : the *Hikayat Puspa Wiraja* and the *Hikayat Ghulam*.

The fifteenth-century Malay author of the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* or *Malay Annals* knew, among other languages, words from Sanskrit and Tamil and shows his familiarity with the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Gītā* and the cycle of *Panji* tales. The *Kedah annals* or the *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa* are full of local folk-lore, and myths from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Jātaka* tales.

It may be presumed that in addition to the epics, the *Jātakas*, and works of fiction, Malaya knew of the Indian writings on polity, the *artha-śāstras*. The works in full or part, or at least

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some maxims of Kauṭilya, Manu, Kāmandaka etc. were known in many countries of South-east Asia.[13] Although no translations of Indian political-legal texts have survived in Malaya, her *'adat Temenggong'* as preserved in the Malacca digest of circa A.D. 1450, the Pahang digest of 1956 with a later supplement, and a Kedah digest of 1650, is influenced by Hindu law, and her port rules contained in the Kedah digest resemble "regulations of the kind India knew from the days of Candra Gupta and embodied in the Mogul Tarikh-i-Tahiri".[14]

Indian Influence on Malayan Scripts and Languages

Two Indian scripts were used in ancient Malaysia and in other parts of South-east Asia, the Late Brāhmī from the southern and western parts of India (Karṇāṭa),[15] and the Pre-Nāgarī owing to contact with Bengal and Nālandā. The latter had a temporary existence. The Javanese Kāwi (Skt. *Kavi*, poet), however, is a developed form of the Pallava script. Several inscriptions, clay tablets and thin gold and silver discs largely containing Buddhist formulae written in northern or southern Indian characters have, most of them, been found in northern Malaya and southern Thailand, the regions specially popular with Indian settlers. The greatest number of these remains belong to the period between the fourth and the ninth centuries A.D. By the fourteenth century, the Malayo-Arabic script had evolved, as proved by the Tĕrĕngganu stone, and to the same century belongs the first specimen of a Malay verse composed in a mixed Malay-Sanskrit-Arab vocabulary on the tomb stone of a Pasai princess. It is written in characters similar to those on the inscriptions of the Sumatran King Āditya-varman.

Words from Indian languages, Sanskrit, Tamilised Sanskrit, Tamil and Hindustani, came to Malysia directly; or indirectly through Javanese with which Malay has a lot in common. It is, in fact, difficult to ascertain the contribution made by Malay and Javanese to each other. The coastal Malays visited the Javanese ports early and must have influenced the local vocabularies of Indonesia through the commercial channels. Javanese influences on Malay infiltrated mostly through the literary medium, such as through the *Adventures of Prince Panji* and the Wayang stories. etc.

The number of words of Indian origin in the Malay languages is considerable and they pertain to all spheres of life, such as religion, philosophy, art, law, commerce, government and administration. Some of these are : Shurga (heaven), di-sĕtu-i (one lays such a spell etc. upon a person, from the Skt. *astu,* 'be it so'), budi (disposition, understanding), rasa (feeling, taste) and asa in Busang a language of Central Borneo, guna (profit, use), dĕnda (punishment, penalty), saksi (witness) all three in Malay as well as Busang, seloka (verse), bangsi (flute), kapas (cotton), sĕtera (silk, Skt. *sutra*) in Busang, dipati (king, regent, Skt. *adhipati*), mĕntĕri (minister of state), gēni (fire, Skt. *agni*), kata (to speak, Skt. *kathā*), mansi (ink, Skt. *mashi*), bĕniaga, berniaga (merchant, Skt. *vaṇij*), lakṣa (ten thousand) kapal (ship), katil (bed), chamcha (spoon), baju (shirt, also banian in N. celebes and Ambon), basi (musty, stale), dhobi (washerman), etc.

Borneo

Barhiṇa-dvīpa of the Vāyu-purāṇa (XLVIII, 12) is probably the Indian variant of Borneo. The development of the 'country' in its early stages was guided by the direction of her rivers and her position in the route-pattern of international trade. The estuaries and valleys of Borneo's great rivers have yielded the richest archaeological harvests. From the view point of navigational winds Borneo has a very special position in the South-east Asian region. It was the natural halting point for sailors to and from the Straits of Malacca and Indochina, wanting to go

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and return on each of the monsoons. Indeed, it seems, that "Borneo was known and colonised earlier than Java, and often formed perhaps a convenient stage in the long voyage from India to China, at any rate before the rise of Śrī-vijaya (Palembang) into prominence, . . ."[16] In addition to these facts her natural wealth attracted foreign traders to Borneo. Diamonds are concentrated in the western part of the basin of the R. Sarawak, towards Sambas, and the richest gold districts lie between the Sambas and the Landak rivers. Borneo was also one of the important sources of rock-crystal (Quartz) in Malaysia, the *huo-chu* or the fire-pearl of the T'ang histories.[17] Another of the commodities for which the Indians went to South-east Asia is camphor which grows only in Sumatra, Borneo and southern Malaya and in earlier times also in western Java. The Chinese also imported camphor and mention it in their records from the beginning of the sixth century. By the middle of the seventh century another product of the region had become well known in China. It was the "unicorn desiccate" or "blood desiccate", the resin from the trees described as "climbing rattans" (Daemonorhops).[18] South-western Borneo (Banjarmasin) is mentioned as the source of its supply by Chinese and later by European writers. "It stops pain and breaks up accumulations of blood. It works on ulcers and creates flesh."

The account of the Chinese envoy K'ang T'ai who visited Funan in Indochina about the middle of the third century A.D., preserves the names of several commercially or politically important centres in contemporary South-east Asia. Some of these have been identified with the different regions of Borneo.North-eastern Borneo appears to have been designated *Chu-po,* while western Borneo or the islands before this coast is reached, were called *P'u-lo-chung.* P'u-lo-chung is described as due east of Chü-li on the Kra Isthmus. Chu-po was easily accessible from Indianised Funan for two of the former's off shore islands Chü-yen and Tan-lan (probably in the Philippines) traded their raw materials with Funan, Chü-yen supplying her with iron and Tan-lan with shell cups. Excavations at Oc-èo testify to this trade.

The Indianized State of Funan

The foundations of the Indianised kingdom of Funan were laid in the first century A.D. Through contact with her, and presumably owing to direct visits by Indian sailors Chu-po (north-eastern Borneo) became acquainted with Indian culture. From the fifth century ownards Chinese histories mention the names of several kingdoms on the Archipelago : e.g. She-p'o, Ho-lo-tan (first mentioned in 430), and Kan-t'o-li (first mentioned in 441). Shê-p'o is equated with Java and Ho-lo-tan had its capital in Shê-p'o. Kan-to-li probably had its centre at Jambi in sumatra. The names of the rulers of Ho-lo-tan and Kan-to-li who sponsored embassies to China are Indian. The former, Shih-li-p'i-ch'o-yeh (Śrī-vijaya) sent envoys in 434, the latter Śrī Varanarendra (in Sanskrit transcription) sent, between 454 and 464, the Hindu Rudra. In 502 we hear of a Buddhist king Gautama Subhadra.

Already in the third century A.D. Indianised Funan had established an out-post in the north of the Malay Peninusla, called Tun-hsün. A fifth century Chinese text records the presence there of "more than a thousand Brāhmaṇs of India" who intermarried with local women. Another fifth century kingdom is Yeh-p'o-t'i from where Fa-hsien sailed to China expecting to reach Canton, probably non-stop, in 50 days. He found there ascetics but few traces of Buddhism. Recent research locates Yeh-p'o-t'i on the western coast of Borneo. Apparently South-east Asia was studded with Indianised kingdoms by the fifth century A.D. Information regarding Tun-hsün (Malaya), Kan-to-li (Sumatra), and Yeh-p'o-t'i (Western Borneo), indicates the predominance there of Hinduism rather than of Buddhism until cir. fifth century

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A.D., a fact not sufficiently emphasized. Eastern Borneo presents a similar spectacle.

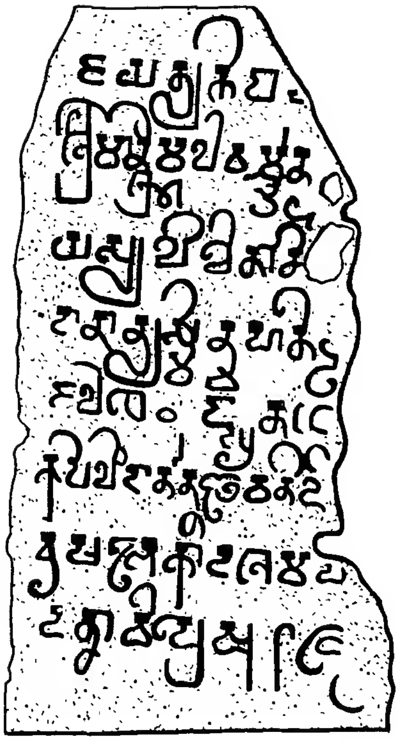

Fig 10 *Yūpa Inscription of King Mūlavarman, from Koetei (Borneo)*.

India's Relations with Borneo in Historical Times

For the first time we have material evidence for it, epigraphic in nature, and for the first time too the source is Indian/indigenous. At Kutei on the Mahakam, and at Muara-kaman, where the river meets its tributary the Kaman, have been discovered the oldest inscriptions of the Archipelago, belonging on the basis of their script, to the late fourth century A.D. In fairly correct Sanskrit verse, they are engraved on *yūpas*, sacrificial or donative posts, made of stone. All seven of them, four from Kutei and three from Muara-kaman (but sometimes stated to be found at Kutei) commemorate the acts of one Mūla-varman, the son of Aśva-varman and the grandson of Kuṇḍunga (a Tamil or indigenous name). They reveal him as a performer of great yajñas, and a liberal donor to Brāhmaṇas. The name Vaprakeśvara for the sacred site where the gift of cattle was made suggests the prevalence of Śivaism there. The Hindu images of a later period found at Gunung Kombeng in Kutei are also Śaiva. One of the *yūpa* inscriptions states: "The illustrious monarch Mūla-varman, having conquered kings in the battlefield, made them tributaries, as did king Yudhishṭhira". *(Śrī Mūlavarmma rājendra (ḥ) sama (re) jitvā pārtthi (vān) karadān nṛpatīṃś cakre yathā rājā Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ).* *Karadāṃ nṛpatīṃś cakre* is reminiscent of Bāṇa's *karadīkṛta* in the *Harṣa-carita* and Māgha's *karadīkṛita-bhūpālo* (*Śiśupāla-vadha*, II, 9). This verse, therefore, implies not only the knowledge of an epic 'event' but perhaps also of the political theory of ancient India (the three types of conquest, of *sandhi*, of tributaries etc.) on the part of a late fourth century A.D. king in distant Borneo.[19] (Fig. 10).

It may be presumed that the founder of the dynasty *(vaṃśa-kartṛ)* Aśva-varman came to a country which had already been visited by the bearers of the culture to which he belonged, or adopted. The beginnings of the process of Indianisation in Borneo should, therefore, be dated several decades prior to the inscriptions of Mūla-varman. The evidence on north-eastern Borneo's association with Indianised Funan would also indicate this.

The other eight inscriptions found on a pyramidal rock near the springs of Sungei Tekarek at Batu Pahat in the Kapuas region of western Borneo are of Buddhist import. Later than the *yūpa* records and in somewhat late southern Indian characters, they are engraved on the sides of the *stūpas* carved on the rock face. The verses, in Sanskrit, repeat the two well known maxims: *ajñānāccīyate karma* etc. and *ye dhammāḥ hetu prabhavāḥ* etc.

It is significant that the same two verses are found on the Malayan Kedah inscription from Bukit Meriam, of the late fourth or early fifth century while the *ajñānāccīyate* verse along with the motif of the *stūpas* occurs on the inscription of the Captain Buddha-gupta found in the northern district of Province Wellesley, once again in Malaya, and to be assigned to the fifth century A.D.

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By the seventh century A.D. the western coast of Borneo appears to have developed a strong Buddhist tradition. At any rate, being a Buddhist, I'tsing took note of it. In fact, the Chinese on the whole owing to their interest in the commercially profitable routes provide us more information on the west coast than on the east coast of Borneo.

The Po-lo-la of Ch'ang Chün, an early seventh century traveller may also be a reference to the western coast of Borneo if it does not stand for some important islands in the South China Sea between Malaya and Borneo. Ch'ang Chün also speaks of a place called Chin-li-p'i-shih, 1500 li (approx. 250 miles) east of Ch'ih T'u (to be located between Patani and Kelantan on the east coast of Malaya). Chin-li-p'i-shih, Śrī-vijaya, not to be mistaken for the empire of that name, was in all probability an Indianised kingdom in western Borneo. It seems that I-tsing (also seventh century A.D.) called the same place Fo-shih-py-lo (Vijaya-pura) not to confuse it with the famous Śrī-vijaya where he lived for sometime. A tenth century Chinese account describes Chin-li-p'i-shih as follows: "In this country there are cities and houses. The clothes worn on top of their (the peoples') white cloth are of the colour of morning clouds. For every meal they first lay a mat on the ground, on which food is spread, and they then sit down. The name of the ruler is Pên-to-yang-ya. Soldiers march in front of him. They have weapons, armour, and helmets. The utensils are mostly made of tree bark. The customs and products are similar to those of Chên-la (Cambodia)".[20]

In the time of Ch'ang Chün, Borneo may be described as India-oriented, and politically and economically strong, for the Chinese envoy does not refer to any diplomatic contacts between Borneo and his own country. Many other 'countries' of South-east Asia had already sponsored embassies to China. It was not until 977 that Po-ni north-western Borneo sent its first mission to the Sung emperor.

Art and Architecture of Borneo

As in the cases of inscriptions so in the case of statutary Borneo has its share of both Hindu and Buddhist remains and their distribution indicates that the two faiths existed side by side in all parts of the country. Several images of the Hindu and Buddhist pantheons have come to light from the same spots.

From Muara-kaman, the find spot of the three *yūpa* inscriptions was discovered a standing four armed Viṣṇu attached to a backpiece of two birds tail to tail. Meant to be a pendant and worn as such by the Sultan on state occasions it weighs eight *tails* (314 grammes) in gold. Another somewhat older find used for the same purpose is a "golden, box-shaped object on which various mythological figures of the Hindu religion are shown in alto-relievo". A small gold tortoise has also been unearthed from the same place. It is difficult to determine the exact age of these objects but their good workmanship points to an early date.

Of the other Hindu finds most belong to the Śaiva pantheon. A collection of Śaiva icons, discovered at Gunung Kombeng in Kutei shall be discussed presently along with the Buddhist images from the same place, artistically comparable to them. A small *Nandī* and a *liṅga* have been recovered from a spot where the Rata meets the Mahakam. Another east coast find, from Sang-betrang, is a southern Indian inscription. The west coast too has yielded Hindu remains. At Sapauk in the Sintang division of western Borneo, a *sarva-sama mukhaliṅga* (the square base, *Brahmā-bhāga*; the octagonal middle portion *Viṣṇu-bhāga* and the cylindrical top *Śiva-bhāga*, all of equal length) has been discovered. It may be assigned to the seventh century. From Limbang, Sarawak, in northern Borneo a stone image of Gaṇeśa has been obtained. Made of hard quartzite, it is 24½″ high and is in an excellent state of preservation.

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Dated thirteenth or fourteenth century, the deity is shown seated with soles joined, a foot position not characteristic of the Indian Gaṇeśa but known to Java.[21] The second of the two west-coast Gaṇeśas is a very weathered example from Bukit Berhala on the Samarahan of the Sarawak River System. A *yoni* and perhaps a *liṅga* were also found there. A *nandī* may also possibly belong to Bukit Berhala although it was found some 20 miles away near Sempro below the Land Dayak village of Segu. Low records that the Dayaks attributed supernatural powers to it.[22]

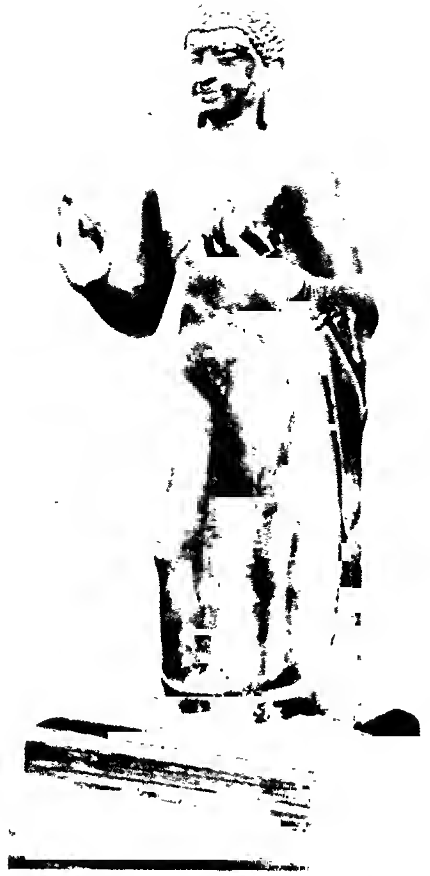

FIG. 11. *Bronze Buddha from Kota Bangun, Borneo*

Śaiva objects in Modern Muslim Establishments

Several more *yonis* and *liṅgas* have been found; although when the latter are weathered or damaged caution counsels their dismissal as natural stones or some other objects owing to the simplicity of the phallic shape. Batu Kawa and Landeh on the Sarawak river are supposed to be the find spots of a *yoni* and a *liṅga* as also Santubong. Indeed the Śaiva relics appear to adorn many modern Muslim *kramat* (miracle) sites. This is not strange. The objects that had acquired sanctity in the psyche of the people could not be discarded. It was natural to honour the new faith with the best they had to offer. At Bongkissam, near Santubong the site of two unusual stone pillars, one with top facets in a floral design, is considered holy. At Panchor, near Bukit Berhala, an 11″ high *liṅga*-like object, along with a smaller rough stone, marks the grave said to belong to Syed Kedah of Brunei whose life was devoted to the conversion of the Hindu Dayaks to Islam. Local tradition traces the ancestry of these Dyaks to Pegu. Pulau Laki off Tanjong Po is considered a *kramat* site because of the presence there of the grave of one Haji Bujang marked originally by a 20″ *liṅga*. The relic is now in the Sarawak Museum. Witkamp, when he visited the sacred Nandī shrine at Medang, very close to the find spot of the Gunung Kombeng hoard near the Kedang Rantau and Muara-kaman in eastern Borneo in the 1920's found that his Dayak companions, although Muslim, observed old Dayak customs in venerating the spot.[23] Numerous *liṅga*-like stones, objects of veneration or of local interest in different parts of the country are, according to folk lore, the petrified remains of animals and humans affected by spells in bygone days.

Among random individual finds showing Hindu-Buddhist influences in ancient Borneo should be mentioned a kĕris-hilt, interesting for its motif, from Balingian in Sarawak.[24] Made of pure beaten gold it is 92 mm. high 33 mm. at its widest point, and 34 grams in weight including a piece of wood inside it. The hilt is in the form of a bearded figure with large eyes, fanged teeth, right hand lifted and the left holding a human skull.

Kĕris-hilts generally depict Viṣṇu's mount Garuḍa or a *rākṣasa* or very rarely Hanumāna, all capable of super-natural feats. According to Heine-Geldern the *rākṣasa* is a representation

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of the demon cannibal king Kalmāshapāda of the Mahā-Sutasoma Jātaka who was finally reformed by the virtuous king Sutasoma. The local Melenaus from whom the golden hilt was recovered deeply venerated it and believed that its wearer would be invested with magical powers.

If the Balingian find depicts the Jātaka story, it constitutes yet another proof of the spread of the Kalmāṣapāda motif for Keris, sword and parang handles from Laos to Burma in the north, to Batak Sumatra and Dayak Borneo in the south. Describing a Kenyah Bornean parang handle of horn, representing the same myth, Heine-Geldern expresses the view that during the period of Majapahit supremacy over the coasts of Borneo for part of the fourteenth century, the Dayaks copied the imported Javanese swords which carried this motif resembling the thirteenth and fourteenth century *Kāla* heads from temples in East Java. On the other hand the Bataks of Sumatra and the Dayaks of Borneo may have become acquainted with the Kalmāshapāda story, earlier, through Tantric Buddhism.[25]

Of Buddhist statuary the most impressive group-finds are from Gunung Kombeng and Sambas but two single images have also been discovered.

A beautiful, 58 cm. tall, Gupta style bronze Buddha was found at Kota Bangun in the Kutei province.[26] Unfortunately it was seriously damaged by fire in the Paris exhibition in 1931. (Fig. 11).

In Sarawak, at Santubong on the Bukit Maras (uphill from Bongkissam where the Tantric shrine, to be discussed later, has been excavated), has been found a much damaged stone Buddha also in Gupta style.[27] $10\frac{1}{2}''$ high, with its right hand down, left hand up and a bare right shoulder, the figure probably has some affinities with early Peninsular and Khmer statuary.[28] Evidence of pre-T'ang ceramics and other trade goods at Santubong and Niah supports Griswold's view that the statuette may be dated earlier than the eighth-ninth century A.D. suggested by the British Museum.

It is recorded that "Pieces of at least one other similar figure were found. Also, in the immediate vicinity, a nearly complete elephant in glass; and a tile with a splendid incised drawing of a charging elephant. Several gold pieces and 508 beads all fit; as does less surely, a massive gold ring from Tanjong Kubur [a mile across the Santubong estuary from Bukit Maras]."[29]

Indian affinities with Malayan Megaliths

Bukit Maras and Tanjong Kubur have yielded thousands of pottery fragments which have a striking Indian look but are locally made native ware. Another line of investigation of the meeting of two cultures, Indian and indigenous may be sought in the megaliths of prehistoric Sungai Ja'ong, within two miles of Bukit Maras.[30] In the Limbang hoard the ring with the dolmen motif is found alongside ornaments with Hindu-Buddhist motifs. A more spectacular precedent is in the Sukuh megalith in the Lawu mountains, east of Solo, Java, with Indian mythological figures and an inscription.

Four Hoards of Hindu-Javanese Images

Spectacular and significant are the four "hoards" from Borneo, from Gunung Kombeng, Sambas, Limbang and Santubong.

In the province of Kutei, some distance from the confluence of the Pantun with the Kedang Rantau near Muara-kaman, in a grotto at Gunung Kombeng, have been found some broken Śaiva and Buddhist stone images apparently belonging to some other nearby sites from where they were brought here for protection.[31] They have tenons attached to them indicating the

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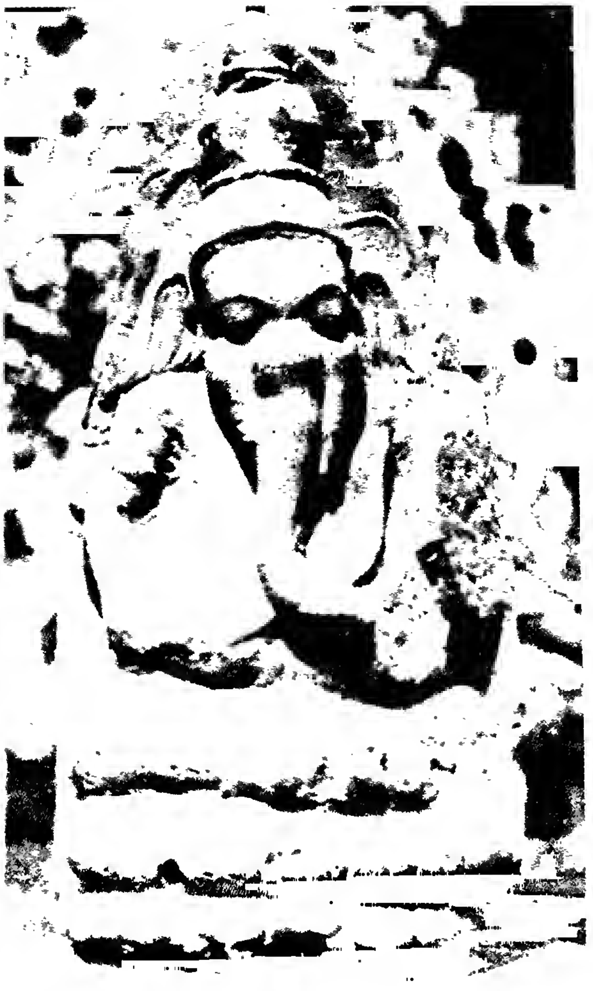

FIG. 12. *Ganeśa found in Sarawak*

manner in which they were originally installed. The Buddhist deities, seated on the lotus, generally four-armed, are mostly female. The one male image may be that of Vajra-pāṇi. They do not necessarily carry Buddhist symbols. The Hindu group contains statues of Śiva, Agastya, Nandīśvara, Mahākāla (all standing), Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa (both sitting), Nandī, and a four faced Brahmā. The artistic treatment of both groups is similar and has been described as "Hindu-Javanese" to signify its deviation from the earlier and more exclusively Indian tradition. (Fig. 12).

In western Borneo this find is matched by the Sambas hoard.[32] Local tradition and modern geographical research indicate that a thousand years ago Sambas, rich in gold and diamonds, was directly accessible from the sea and that "canoes could cross from Sambas into Sarawak, which was completely detached from Borneo".

The hoard consists of one, 30 cms. high standing silver Buddha, eight gold, or gold-leaf covered smaller Buddha and Bodhisattva images including a female deity, a complete throne without its image, and a 17 cms. high bronze casket or incense burner. The earthen jar containing black stand, in which the objects had been placed, is lost. According to Mr. Tan Yeok Seng who first reported the find, the sand might have been the remains of perishable substances such as palm leaves, containing documentary records. Sir Roland Braddell suggested another possibility. Describing the method of obtaining diamonds Dr. Posewitz had written in 1892 that the fine black residue which collects in the middle of the dish after washing river-sand for the purpose, consists of magnetic iron-ore, gold and platinum, and is called *pūjā* (worship, adoration). Might the application of the word to this specific type of sand indicate its use for ritualistic purposes such as that implied by the Sambas find? Another ritualistic object containing black sand was dug up at a "Tantric shrine" at Bongkissam, Santubong in 1966. It is a small silver deposit box, in association with which have been found 142 golden objects, to be discussed later. The box itself has only a piece of gold foil placed in the black sand. Local chemical analysis showed it to contain large quantities of nitrogen and carbon, indicating an organic (animal) origin.[33]

To return to the Sambas hoard. The two standing Buddhas, one silver and one gold appear to be of Gupta style and may be dated sixth or seventh century. The two seated Buddhas and the other images are later, perhaps by two centuries, and evince generalised Pāla influences. The most interesting item of them all, the 8″ high incense burner, may belong to the seventh

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or early eighth century and is remarkable for the information it affords on the early Hindu architecture of Borneo. Notable are the wagon roof, the triangular perforations, the *kudu* design although without the usual pointed crest, and the *caitya*-arch-on-pillars motif. There are obvious Indian affiliations while some Dong-S'on influences have also been pointed out. The ultimate effect, however, is what may be described only as Indo-Bornean. The birds on the roof reinforce this assessment. Wales' observation that they replace the mount of god Subrahmaṇya, the peacock, by the emblem on his banner, the cock, since the latter bird is common in Borneo while the former is non-existent, seem more convincing than Winstedt's suggestion that they are simplifications of the Garuḍa of Viṣṇu, whose tortoise incarnation probably supplies also the idea for the design of the turtle feet of the incense burner.

In northern Borneo, at Limbang on the Brunei Bay, the Bukit Mas hill yielded not only the stone Gaṇeśa already described but also a solid gold lion, 42 mm. long and with a lively expression, a Persian gold coin dated 960 A.D., a large collection of personal ornaments, two bars and top of a box, all made of gold.[34] The ornaments include two necklaces, a phallic pendant, a fillet and four beads, three pieces for the ear and one for the nose, two clips of uncertain purpose—probably for the headgear, four rings with inset gems and three with incised motifs—a conch on one, a fish on another and a megalithic dolmen (slab on legs) on the third. A fourth incised ring bears the letters *ā-ra-ktā-ra* in Nāgarī characters which resemble the Kalinga (Orissa) inscriptions of the twelfth or thirteenth century. The Bornean ring may belong to the late fourteenth. *Ārakta* in Sanskrit means reddish or red all over, but the *ra* or *ara* suffix is confusing. Perhaps the name, or official designation of the possessor, it was most likely used as a seal. The conch is a popular Hindu-Buddhist motif; so is the fish. The former also occurs frequently on Javanese jewellery of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; the latter symbol was used by kings in southern India as well as by the Śailendra and the Majapahit rulers. The dolmen design ring is a proof of the importance of the megalithic tradition in the indigenous social structure and of its continuity through the ages (extending into the present century).

The 'Tantric shrine', excavated in 1966, at Bongkissam, Santubong[35] is the find spot of a silver reliquary with an earthy deposit, 142 gold objects of which 47 are identifiable, 10 semi-precious stones and minerals, many of them not found locally, a badly eroded stone figure of a seated divinity, a few beads, and some earthenware sherds, many of them with 'phallic tops'.

The first structure of its kind found in Borneo, the 'shrine', was sighted 11″–12″ below ground surface. There was an 8′ x 10′ platform, paved with local shale blocks. Most of them measured 12″ x 7″, but some were as large as 19″ x 10″ and others as small as 6″ x 2″. Generally 2″ thick and neatly but unsystematically joined without any adhesive, the stones were laid in two layers, directly on sand, and without a foundation. The latter eliminates the possibility of a heavy superstructure, although a litter of dressed stone fragments at the site suggests some construction, probably a small stūpa.

The platform had a 14″ shaft ending in a flooring of stone slabs. There followed six more courses of stone going down a further 14″. Below them was found golden yellow sand, 3″ deep, over an area of 27″ (east side), 27″ south, 25″ west and 21″ north, apparently deposited there by human agency, although locally obtained, probably from the gold-rich Sarawak river.

The silver reliquary was placed in the yellow sand. It consists of three parts: a round dish-shaped bottom with a band of fluting, a patterned domical top, and an inner lid-and-divider, 62 mm. in diameter, and surmounted by a solid gold *linga*. The box contained a small piece of gold foil. Below the divider was found a thick dark earthy deposit which does not

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resemble any of the local soils and upon analysis appears to be of organic (animal) origin. The fact that the box is made of silver, not known to Borneo, and the assured workmanship on unfamiliar metal indicates that the object was imported.

The 142 gold objects found in the vicinity of the reliquary may be divided into three categories. The first includes gold foil pieces cut into definite shapes : 2 lotuses, 2 elephants, a tortoise, 2 seated human figures, 6 crescent moons, a circle or the sun and a serpent. The latter is most carefully fashioned and weighs 1.22 gms. The larger elephant weighs 1.49 gms. It is again to be noted that the latter animal is not indigenous to Borneo and was not imported until some time after the thirteenth century. All the motifs have Hindu-Buddhist connotation.

In the second category may be listed objects of personal adornment : 2 rings, 8 thin hollow patterned circles, 17 beads and 5 needles. The third group contains 23 fragments of block gold, 19 loops, 31 scraps and 3 bits which appear to have lost their shape.

The presence of Sung ceramic sherds at the surface of the shrine's platform (but not in direct association with it), and its location about a foot below top soil help us date the structure and the finds around the eleventh century, perhaps a little later.

As for the form of religion associated with the site under discussion the discovery of a Buddha image and a stūpa finial at Bukit Maras in the neighbourhood of Bongkissam, the possibility of a stūpa super-structure on the foundation-less platform and the Tantric nature of the objects discovered at Bongkissam, and the syncretic Hindu-Buddhist creed prevalent in South-east Asia in the first half of this millennium, point to a Tantric Buddhist identification.

Conclusions

An examination of Borneo's Hindu-Buddhist remains shows the presence there of two cultural and artistic traditions, the Indian and the South-east Asian. The former based on an Indian proto-type produced Amarāvatī and Gupta style images in vastly distant regions of South-east Asia, and preserved in terms like vaprakeśvara (in one of the Kutei *yūpa* inscriptions) such Hindu nomenclature as later became obscure in the land of its origin. The latter, demonstratable through various examples, appears to have been the result of close contact among the Indianised kingdoms of South-east Asia. This point has not been sufficiently emphasized although the similarities of style or content among remains from different regions have been noticed.

We have already drawn attention to the points of resemblance between the Batu Pahat inscriptions of western Borneo, the Bukit Meriam inscription of Kedah and Buddha-gupta's inscription from province Wellesley. The latter also resembles the Kedukan Bukit rock inscription of Palembang and the Nhan Biéu (Campā) inscription of Indra-varman III and perhaps also the fragmentary inscription found at Kota Kapur in Bangka in as much as the term *siddha-yātrā* (successful voyage, accomplished journey) occurs in all of them.[36] The Kota Bangun Buddha from Kutei province is described as possessing some Javanese traits along with the Gupta features, while the Gunung Kombeng icons from the same district, both Hindu and Buddhist, are clearly Hindu-Javanese. There is the possibility of affinities between the Santubong Buddha of Sarawak and early Peninsular and Khmer statutary.[37]

Similarities have also been noticed, between the face and coiffure of the Sapauk *mukha-liṅga* and the face and coiffure of Angkorian *mukha-liṅgas* although not with the Cham specimens before the ninth century, showing cultural links between western Borneo and the Mon-Khmer civilisations on the mainland.[38]

The interlinked history of the various countries of South-east Asia (linked with Funan,

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Indonesia and Thailand in the case of Malaya) necessarily led to cultural exchange. Jayavarman II who early in the ninth century "came from Java to reign in the city of Indrapura (Cambodia)" according to the eleventh century stele of Sdok Kak Thom, took with him Javanese traditions as well as artists and other personnel. Much later as a result of wars among the Thai, the Khmer, and the Burmese kingdoms between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries many local traditions were transplanted by the victors in the vanquished territories: for example the Khmer theatre forms first found their way to Laos from where the Thais acquired them, finally to export them to Burma. The sack of Angkor by the Thai, in 1431 also resulted in a large scale transport of the cultural ambassadors of Khmer to Ayudhya. With a changed cast the process was repeated when the Burmese conquered the Thai capital in 1767. In time the Thai heritage came to be characterised as Burmese.

Cultural exchange and the synthesis of the original and the local is the overriding characteristic, and an ever-present theme in the story of India's relations with South-east Asia, and the relations with each other, of the various countries of this vast region. The architectural and the sculptural remains of Malaysia may, stylistically, be best described as Indianised, not Indian, in spite of the Hindu or Buddhist nomenclature of the finds. Upon suitable conversion this observation is also applicable to other fields, such as literature, theatre, laws etc. Both India and Malaysia are responsible for this feature. In the case of the former it owes to the nature of Indian cultural expansion abroad. *Indian "nationalism" had a weak political bias and the spread of Indian culture was unpremeditated. It was therefore not an aggressive movement. It was a mild but continuous flow of forceful ideas and institutions.* When the Indians settled down in Malaysia they quickly became characterised owing to intermarriage, vastness of distance from homeland and their "politically a-national" attitude. In the case of Malaysia it was a willing adoption and spontaneous adaptation of congenial or worth-while ideas, artifacts, styles, etc. The easy transition from Hinduism, including Buddhism, to Islam may also be largely explained by the nature of the Indian inflow and of the Malay receptivity. Nor is it a matter of surprise that Sufi Islam had a great appeal for early Sumatran thinkers such as Hamzah of Barus and Shams-al-din of Pasai. The liberal tradition in religion survives in the Malay Archipelago, specially in Indonesia where not only is Islam characterised by catholicity, but there is also present a large minority of practising indigenous Hindus. Apart from the well known Balinese Hinduism which has approximately three million adherents, Java claims nearly two and a half million, not only in Tengger in eastern Java, but also in Banjuwangi, Pasuruan, Djember, Malang, Surabaya, Modjokarto, Gresik, and Madura. Sumatra and Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo) too have several thousand Hindus; so has Sulawesi (Celebes). In July 1966 there was a State order asking people that they should have an official religion. The leader of the Toana Tolotan, a tribe in southern Sulawesi is reported to have said, "Our God is Dewata Sewai, our Holy scripture, the Lontara Dasasīla". Discarding the animistic status the tribe formally declared themselves Hindu in October 1966.[39]

Intercourse among different countries of the Peninsular and island world of this region was so widespread that similarities in sculptural styles, say, in the head-dress or coiffure of deities, may be observed between the north of the Malay Peninsula and south-eastern Sumatra, or between Borneo and the Mon-Khmer of Cambodia. The same Buddhist formulae were used on inscriptions found as far apart as Malaya and Borneo. The Javanese Panji cycle inspired the Malay versions and the latter were translated by the Cambodians and the Thais. From this point of view the word "Indianised" may be conveniently substituted by "South-east Asian". But every cultural area definitely had its own traits so that the Cambodian may be easily

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distinguished from the Javanese and, indeed, the western Javanese from the eastern Javanese.

On the one hand, the indigenous stamp on Indian culture in South-east Asia is remarkably distinct. Malay Peninsular, Cambodian and Javanese statutary or architecture, however Indianised, could only have been produced in the respective countries and not in India. On the other hand the fact of Indianisation is impressive in its pervasiveness and depth. The accord between these two phenomena is the end-result from which we may work backwards to arrive at the various factors that caused it. For very often it is by inductive reasoning that the infallible logic of historical processes becomes apparent.

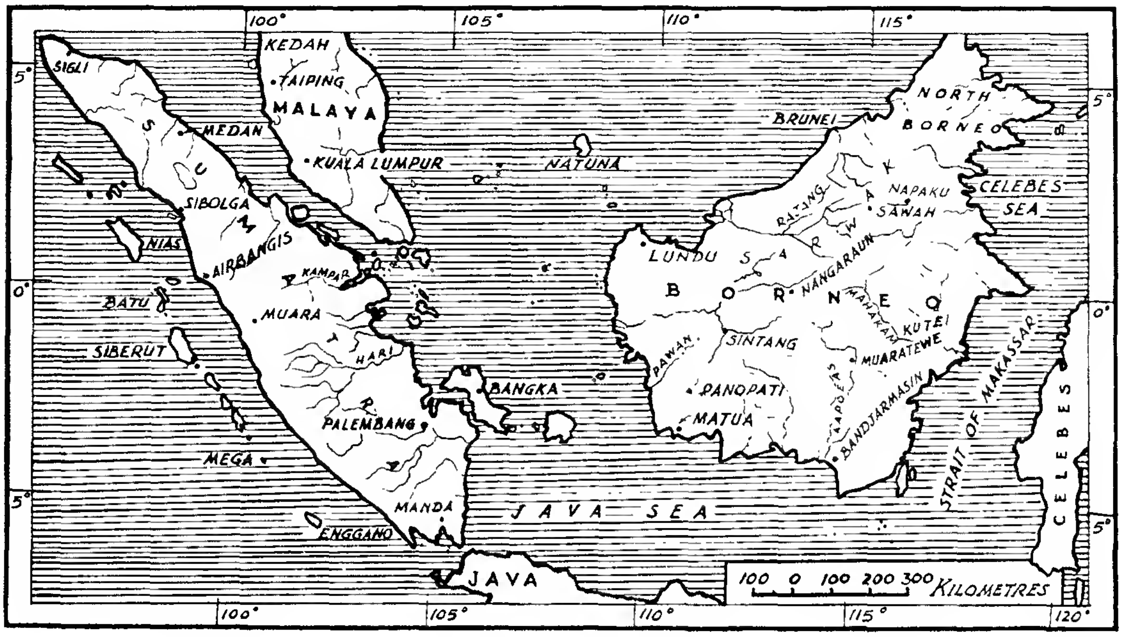
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FIG 13 *Map showing Malaya*

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17 According to Sir Roland Braddell ('A Note on Sambas and Borneo' J.M.B R.A.S. Vol. XXII, pt. 4, Sept. 1949, p. 8), the Chinese *p'o-li* which came to mean glass would seem originally to have referred to rock-crystal. Pelliot (T.P, second series, 1912, vol xiii, p 443), observed that *p'o-li* is the transcription of a prākṛit equivalent of the sanskrit *sphaṭika*, rock-crystal, for which the Iranian form is *sphāḷye* The fine quality of the Bornean variety of rock-crystal is testified by the fact that until examined by experts in 1868, the famous 357 carat *Danau Raja*, was mistaken for a diamond.

18 O W Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*—A Study of the Origins of Śrīvijaya, pp. 123–4, Cornell University Press, 1967.

19. In turn this would also throw light on the antiquity of these concepts in India and perhaps on the original date of the texts which expound them, such as the Mahābhārata, and Kautilya's Arthaśāstra

20. *T'ai ping huan yü chi*, 177, 13 a-b

21 Two specimens of the Javanese Sang Yang Gana (Gaṇeśa) in this style are in the Indian Museum, Calcutta

22 The Raja of Sarawak (Sir James Brooke) had the *Nandī* removed to his *astana* but it was damaged there during the Chinese rebellion in 1857 and is now in the Sarawak Museum. For more details see Tom Harrisson, 'Gold and Indian Influences in West Borneo', J.M B.R A S. Vol. XXII, pt. 4, Sept. 1949, p 34 and p 80.

23 H Witkamp quoted by E Banks, 'Ancient Times in Borneo', J.M.B R A S Vol XX, pt 2, Dec 1947, p. 29. Witkamp suspected that there were other *Nandīs* in the vicinity but were not shown him for fear of defilement The inhabitants' reluctance in pointing out such places is well known. Witkamp states: "Besides this last named one (from Medang) there must be another sacred Nandī in the Long Bagun, which is said to be larger, white and horned"

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On the other side of the Makassar Strait, in Celebes, at Sampaga was found a bronze Buddha 75 cm high, in Amarāvātī style.

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38 O W Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce—A Study of the Origins of Śrīvijaya*, p 322, fn. 23. The discussion includes Dr O'Connor's additional observations on the subject

39 For the above details regarding the state of religion in Indonesia I am indebted to Dr Vishal Singh of the Indian School of International Studies, New Delhi His information is based on a recent interview with Mr Kapto Sunoto, Director of Foreign Information, Ministry of Information, Jakarta.

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The Javanese Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa

B. DUTTA

THE ISLAND OF Java is known for Hindu epics and Purāṇa. Basically they are Indian in origin but to-day they do differ, in one way or the other, from their Indian counterparts. The Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa is one such work. An attempt, in the following pages, is made at giving a brief account of this Purāṇa with special reference to one of its counterparts in India viz. the Veṅkaṭeśvara edition of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa. For lack of space only the antiquity, the brief survey of contents alongwith comparisons with the Indian text, and the religious character of Javanese text will be dealt with.

Antiquity of the Javanese Brahmāṇḍa

An inscription from Veal Kantal in Cambodia provides the earliest reference to the recitation of a Purāṇa in a temple alongwith the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. The inscription, though not dated, is assignable on palaeographical grounds to the sixth century A.D.[1] In this case the Purāṇa is not specified. But since only one Purāṇa, namely the Brahmāṇḍa in Kawi language, is known to have been discovered from Java, the adjacent country, there could be a possibility that the Purāṇa referred to in the inscription was perhaps the Brahmāṇḍa. But there appears to be one serious objection in this identity i.e., Gonda, while editing the Javanese Brahmāṇḍa, has assigned it to the 10th century A.D.[2]

If Prof. Gonda's date be accepted, the logical conclusions would be that the Purāṇa recited in the temple of Cambodia alongwith the Indian epics, was probably in Sanskrit and that Kawi adaptation was made round about the date fixed for it by Gonda.

Brief Survey of Contents and Comparison with the Indian Text

The author begins with the topic of creation and after describing the Prākṛta and Vaikṛta-sarga, he deals with the legend connected with the eight names of Rudra, which is followed by Svāyambhuva Manu and Śatarūpā's progeny. There is an absence of material on the Pāśupata-yoga of the Vāyu Purāṇa, as also of the Agni-vaṃśa. The Dakṣa-śāpa-varṇana is given with a little variation. Then follows the geneology of Svāyambhuva Manu, which is further followed by the description of asuras, gods, gandharvas etc. Next are the Yuga-prajā-lakṣaṇam and ṛṣi-pravara-varṇana and the following chapter dealing with śiṣṭas etc. The chapter 33 of Brahmāṇḍa—II, is missing, yet chapter 34 is given in a summary form. Sākalya's episode, the Brāhmaṇa literature and their tenfold utility śākhābhedas etc. are given. Then there are descriptions of Svāyambhuva and other Manus. The Vena-Pṛthu episode is incompletely given, more after the Brahma Purāṇa, Harivaṃśa Purāṇa and Śiva-dharma-Saṃhitā. There are descriptions of Jambūdvīpa, the Meru, the Ilāvṛtam and further details about the seven varṣas of Jambūdvīpa—Bhāratavarṣa. The Bhagīratha episode is followed by the chapters on Constellations, their movements, etc.

The text of this Javanese Brahmāṇḍa is on the whole supposed to be similar to that of the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa. It seems to have been written after consulting the other Purāṇas also, besides the above two. In some cases, it goes more with the Matsya Purāṇa. Thus the author seemed to have consulted many works rather than one or two only. This again is perhaps called Brahmāṇḍa inasmuch as the description of Cosmography of the Universe is contained therein.[3]

It ends abruptly and is incomplete inasmuch as it is bereft of dynastic accounts. Most probably, this section was of little utility for the people living there.[4]

The Javanese Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa more or less corresponds to the Baṅgabāsī Edition of the Brahmāṇḍa rather than the Veṅkaṭeśvara Edition. The long chapter recording the long narrative of the birth of semi-divine beings like the *yakṣas, rākṣasas, vānaras, piśācas* and the like, the legends about the birth of Maruts, the Śrāddha-Kalpa (Chap. 8 of Upo.Pā), the Bhārgavopākhyānam and the Lalitopākhyānam (besides the dynastic accounts) are all missing in the Javanese text. In other words, a large part of the madhyama-bhāga (also named Upodghāta pāda) and Uttrabhāga (also called Upasaṃhāra pāda) appear to be later (than the composition of the Javanese Brahmāṇḍa) accretions to the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa. Similarly the chapter on *pratisarga*, too, would appear to be late enough.

The above contention does not seem to be true for the pañca-lakṣana-trait of the Purāṇas is a conception earlier than the compilation of Amara-Kośa and the list of contents of the Purāṇas in the Matsya Purāṇa, the later roughly datable to the 6th—7th century A.D.[5] The Śrāddha-Kalpa, too, on the basis of mentioning the heretics (the *Jains* and *Bauddhas*) as *nagnas* and so unholy that an ablution with clothes on was prescribed on their mere sight, has been taken to be the post-Kuṣāṇacomposition.[6]Therefore it seems to be evident that all that has not been included in the Javanese Brahmāṇḍa need not necessarily be taken as belonging to later times, rather the author had his option of pick and choose from the Indian text.

Religious Character of the Javanese Text

The matter accreted to the Brahmāṇḍa (Veṅkaṭeśvara Edition) in the post Gupta times, namely the two upākhyānas, however, do not seem to have any effect on the Javanese text. The Pañcāyatana (adoration to five principal deities)—character of the present Brahmāṇḍa (Veṅkaṭeśvara edition) was undoubtedly not introduced to the Javanese People. Thus the deities introduced to them were Brahmā (Svayambhū), Viṣṇu, Rudra and Sūrya. However, Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, Gaṇeśa, Bhadrakālī, Lord Sadāśiva and Lalitā Tripurasundarī extolled in the Bhārgavopākhyānam and Lalit-opākhyānam could not have reached that island, much less the tantric character around these deities.[7]

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The Presence of Hinduism in Indonesia : Aspects and Problems

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AN ARTICLE REVIEWING the Indo-Indonesian relations with particular emphasis on religion and religious literature, could easily expand so as to assume the size of a large volume. This is not because the data available are so abundant, inscriptions, literary texts, records and annals so numerous, the history of these relations so well known, but, on the contrary, just because the data are so few and in many cases so ambiguous and because hypotheses and all types of conjectural reasoning have found here free scope for flourishing. It cannot, therefore, be my intention critically to review all that has been written, supposed and contended with regard to the spread of Indian religion and literature all over Java and other islands of the Indonesian Archipelago. Nor would any useful purpose be served by simply repeating what may be read in those brief surveys of Hindu-Javanese art, history or religion[1] or what is contained in some chapters of books of wider scope[2] on medieval Indian colonization. I shall, therefore, limit myself to a sketchy outline of the main facts known, to some important literary and epigraphic sources accessible, and to a brief indication of some of the manifold problems to which these sources give occasion. Such a review article may be of some use because, generally speaking, the brief surveys in existence tend to express themselves too apodeictically without giving all references necessary to enable the reader to form a well-founded opinion and without insisting upon the problematic character of much which at first sight might impress us as certain, and also because, on the other hand, the many special publications which deal with details, while being for the greater part written in Dutch, do not always allow the uninitiated student to see the wood for the trees. For reasons of space, I must, further, limit myself to those points which can be said to be closely connected with the Indian presence in Indonesia, emphasizing moreover those facts and questions which are related to the Hindu influence proper. For the same reason I must abandon any intention to aim at completeness.

Earliest Contacts

The presence of Hinduism in some of the Indonesian islands was brought about by the commercial and cultural expansion which in the first centuries of the Christian era permeated among many peoples of South-East Asia. The spread of Hinduism must have been a gradual, preponderantly pacific process, which was, of course, not confined to those localities which have yielded relics.

It seems, also on the strength of a study of the very numerous Indian (especially Sanskrit) loan-words in the Archipelago[3]—or to use the Sanskrit term, *dvīpāntara*[7],—very probable that several areas which had come into contact with Hinduism became in their turn centres of diffusion among their neighbours. Everywhere, however, the newcomers must have been few as compared with the indigenous population and, no doubt, even in comparison with the offspring of their mixed marriages whose role in the process of Hinduization should not be underestimated. It should, however, be borne in mind that in contradistinction to the very evident influence of the Sanskrit tradition manifesting itself in numerous and various documents and leaving its traces in many archaeological remains, hundreds of loan-words and an unmistakable impress upon the civilization of Bali, Java and other regions, the preponderantly oral form of contacts between merchants, etc., who used the spoken languages must often have been of a much more ephemeral character so as to leave few vestiges or traces which for want of reliable sources of information are difficult to determine and evaluate.

Traditional Accounts

As in Further India there are, in Java, legends and local traditions referring to the introduction of elements of Hinduism. The leader of the first colonists, the cultural hero Aji Saka (lit. "Lord Śaka-era"), is for instance associated with the heroes of the Mahābhārata ruling at Hastināpura[8] . That he is called after the Śaka-era beginning 78 A.D., which was also used elsewhere in Greater India, may be regarded as a reminiscense of the permeation of the higher culture of south India, where this era was very much in use. This legendary personification was indeed not only held to be the introducer of a new religion and a new social order, but also of a new script and a new calendar. According to another, and in all probability, younger version of this legend Aji Saka and the descendants of the epic princes were natives of Gujarat.

These traditions—similar to those current in Further India—cannot, of course, be regarded as reliable historical data. This is also apparent from the existence of a concurrent tradition relating the introduction of the Hindu calendar and the Hindu mode of divine worship to the Brahmin Tritṛṣṭa who has its peer in the Brahmin founder of Fu-nan in Cambodia.[9] Taken collectively they may, however, be regarded as a welcome supplement to the Indian, Chinese and Western references to early trade intercourse between the Indian mainland and South-East Asia, including the Archipelago.[10] Although we do not possess a systematic account of these early relations, so much is clear that they were, first of all, commercial.[11] It may be supposed, and has indeed been taken for granted, that the traders—whose routes, in the absence of direct evidence, can only be a matter of surmise—spread elements of Indian culture along with their wares and that, as opportunities offered, some of them, accompanied or followed by adventurous noblemen or zealous Brahmins or Buddhist monks permanently settled in those distant countries and even seized political power.[12] There is however no satisfactory evidence in support of this, in itself probable, theory because it is hardly warranted to assume that for instance the voyage of Soṇa and Uttara, who at the conclusion of the third Buddhist Council were sent to convert Suvarṇabhūmi[13] and who have long been claimed by Burma as the founders of their branch of the church,[14] led to ambitious attempts at proselytization in other countries of the South-East also. The fact that in an inscription commemorating King Pūrṇavarman, who in the fifth century A.D. reigned over at least part of West Java, mention is made of a grandfather who was rājarṣi can hardly be adduced in substantiation of the above theory, for the threefold reason that nobody knows what this title in that distant region could stand for, that illustrious names of royal ancestors were sometimes fakes and that it is no established fact that the *pitāmaho rājarṣiḥ* was one of the king's relations. Early archaeological remains are, of course, very important, but—though furnishing ample material for speculation

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—they do not, as a rule, give us a decisive answer to many questions which may crop up in the head of an historian.

Legend of Mahāmeru

An interesting tradition is preserved in a Javanese book which probably was compiled in the sixteenth century. In this Tantu Paṅgelaran[15] which is a sort of "religious history" of Java, narrating *inter alia* how different gods introduced various arts and crafts into that island,[16] much attention is drawn to the Mahāmeru, the central mountain. This mountain was, according to the detailed description, with great difficulty transported from Jambūdvīpa to the island of Java to be the abode of Bhaṭṭāra Guru, the highest Javanese god of later literature, who, also called Parameśvara, has a strong resemblance to Śiva, the teacher (also called Guru), ascetic and husband of Umā. The significance of this mythical tale must have been considerable and the story of its transference—which was only partially effectuated, half of the mountain (interestingly enough!) remaining in India—cannot be said to be a mere reflection of the well-known fact that after the cultural spread of Hinduism many Indian geographical names were given to rivers and mountains of South-East Asia.[17] Nor was it merely an occasion for its inventors to combine and supplement a number of Indian mythological motifs, such as for instance Viṣṇu's acting as a serpent and Parameśvara's drinking the "water" Kālakūṭa which rushed forth from the mountain, when the gods, semi-divine beings and ṛṣis turned round the Meru—which is also called Mandara—in order to pull it loose. The Meru is, not only in this work, called the liṅga of the world and was obviously, in accordance with Indian concepts, believed to be the centre of the universe. The purpose of the removal of the mountain to Java is in the text itself,[18] said to have been the stabilization of the island. Thus the narrative in all probability reflects a ritual settlement of the new country. To settle and to organize a new territory is an act of "cosmicization", a consecration, repetition of the paradigmatic work of the gods.[19] Around the mountain, the representative of the cosmic axis, a territory becomes habitable. The removal of the mountain to Java—where it has up to the present day remained as mount Smeru (from Sumeru)—was on the one hand to make human existence in the new surroundings possible and on the other to identify these with the Indian country of origin. This is neither to say that those who first ritually identified a Javanese mountain with the Indian Meru or who invented and promulgated the myth in the form known to us were the leaders of a group of colonists in the proper sense of the term, or that they were the first colonists themselves, neither to express an opinion about a factual transference of what might be called a sort of palladium. It is, further, easily understandable that the name Meru was in Indonesia as well as in India proper also given to a towering form of temple structure—the term is still usual in Bali[20]—, not only because a temple was regarded as an earthly counterpart of the heavenly dwelling of the deities to which they descend from their cosmic mountain home, but also and, no doubt primarily, because a temple is likewise a representative of the cosmic axis and, hence, of the cosmic mountain.[21]

It is interesting to add that the Malays of Perak are convinced that the first Malay king came down from the mountain Saguntaṅ Mahāmeru and appeared suddenly in Palembang (Sumatra), riding on a white bull.[22] There is, however, often occasion to consider traditions of this type with reserve, because personal, tribal, geographical names may have been introduced at different times. We are for instance by no means sure that some names of tribal subdivisions, which are unmistakably South Indian, among the Karo-Batak of Sumatra (Coḷiya, Pāṇḍya, Meliyāla, etc.) were received by that prople at an early date,[23] although it is true that

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there is a sufficiency of date to prove an early Indian presence in the West of Sumatra and especially the existence of commercial relations with Barus.[24] Sometimes also apparent identity of names does not furnish us with absolutely reliable information. A combination of the Indonesian usage to call Indians Kaliṅga or Kliṅ and the ancient Chinese name of Java Ho-liṅ, which is identified with Kaliṅ(ga), should not induce us to give all credit for the "Colonization" of the Archipelago to the people of Kaliṅga, or to maintain that "the leading kingdom of Java" was named after that Indian region, and "dominated" by immigrants from that coastal area.[25] A more cautious conclusion is to assume that that region had already at an early date an important share in the commercial relations with South-East Asia in general and that the Chinese recognized Java as a country touched by Hindu culture. (See Pl. 26).

Early Historical Accounts

The beginnings of the Indian influence in Indonesia are indeed shrouded in mystery. When, in the early fifth century A.D., the oldest historical sources begin to furnish us with scanty information they show that Sanskrit and Indian religion had already found their way into the Archipelago.[26] It is, however, by no means certain that then already the higher Indian culture had brought about many modifications in the beliefs and customs of the population in its entirety. The script of the oldest records resembles the manner of writing in use in Coromandel during the Pallava rule.[27] This does not however mean that no other region of India was concerned in the colonization, nor that the Indian names of the kings mentioned in the inscriptions were borne by Indian immigrants. They may have belonged to Hinduized Indonesian chiefs. We have no certain information on the commercial relations which had led to the introduction of Hindu culture. We do not know names of scholars and teachers whose activity made it possible that king Mūlavarman of Kutei could eternize, through the erection of stone yūpas with seven inscriptions referring to other sacrifices and donations,[28] the performance of a bahusuvarṇaka sacrifice.[29] The ceremony was carried out by Brāhmaṇas, but we grope in the dark as to the king's allegiance to a definite god. Nor can we be certain whether these inscriptions really testify to a considerable predominance of Brāhmaṇas and Hindu religion in Borneo. Viṣṇu is on the other hand mentioned in an inscription commemorating another king whose name—like those of many rulers in India[30] and Further India—ends in—*varman,* viz. Pūrṇavarman, reference to whom has already been made. His feet, a depiction of which is added to the inscription, are said to equate the footsteps of Viṣṇu. In another inscription likewise accompanied by a—hardly visible—pair of human footprints these feet are *inter alia* stated to have been salutary to devoted princes, but a thorn for his enemies.[31] In view of the relations existing, in India and Further India, between Viṣṇu and Kingship[32] it is by no means certain that this god was the ruler's *iṣṭadevatā*. The exact significance of these footprints—which are widely believed to be depositories of the essence of a divine, human or demoniac person[33]—is disputed : were they to mark the spot of the king's cremation,[34] or to commemorate the occupation of his country,[35] or—what seems least improbable—were they "no more than momentos of the valour and heroism of a great king"?[36] Anyhow, there does not seem to be sufficient reason for doubting that king Pūrṇavarman was, after his death, more or less deified and made the object of worship. The worship of footprints of gods and saintly persons is indeed well-known in India.[37]

To the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien,[38] who made, in 441 A.D., a perilous voyage from Ceylon to China, during which he was driven out of his course to an island called Yeh-p'o-t'i, which must be Yavadvī(pa), that is, in all probability, Java, we owe the information that

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at that time besides heresy and "Brahmanism"[39] there was in that island a spread—"hardly worth mentioning", it is true—of Buddhism. This record is corroborated by some finds, in different parts of Indonesia, of images of the Buddha and by an account of the activity of the Kashmir prince Guṇavarman, who, after becoming a monk, went to Java and converted the king and his mother to the Buddhist faith, which thereupon "spread throughout the island".[40] The last piece of information may be exaggerated, although Guṇavarman was in any case a famous man, because he had, at the request of the Chinese emperor, to embark on the vessel of the Hindu merchant Nandin to reach Nanking in 431 A.D. A Sanskrit rock inscription at Tuk Mas (Central Java) which may have been incised in the seventh century,[41] is, notwithstanding its brevity and its damaged condition, for various reasons, of special interest : the Pallava type of its script, its geographical situation, which may prove it to be a link between West and Central Java, its contents : it records the existence of the natural spring which flows in close proximity, calling it, or comparing it to, the Gaṅgā. Some emblems *(cakra, śaṅkha, tridaṇḍa, paraśu)*, a dagger, a *kamaṇḍalu*, etc., engraved above the inscription corroborate the hypothesis that this locality was considered a tīrtha inhabited by ascetics. If so, it is the earliest Indo-Javanese document to inform us about religious observances. It, however, raises many questions, for instance as to the existence, in the seventh century, of āśramas and similar institutions which are mentioned in literary works of later times, and a large number of which are known to have existed in Cambodia.

Hinduism gets firm Footing

From inscriptions dealing *inter-alia* with the erection of sanctuaries, and archaeological remains it appears that Central Java was in the 8th and 9th centuries—the intervening period is almost completely wrapped in darkness—the scene of a Hindu-Javanese culture which from the religious point of view must have been Hindu, Buddhist, and indigenous (ancestor worship, etc.) influenced by Hinduism. Here again there is much scope for controversial discussion and for a premature exercise of ingenuity and imagination in constructing theories on too insufficient data derived from inadequate sources. How far do these scanty sources give us a reliable idea of real historical facts? How far has, in that period already, Hinduism—Buddhism must be left out of consideration here—on its turn been influenced by indigenous religious cults and concepts? The fact that in the eighth century the Sanskrit language is in the inscriptions replaced by Old-Javanese can not be without significance, but what parts of the entire population were really involved in the religious evolution which, perhaps, is reflected by this change? How far were, in that period, the various strata of society really penetrated with the Indian religious belief? Is it, in view of the few documents available, not premature to discuss the question, whether Śivaism or Buddhism was more inclined to adapt itself to its Javanese environment? It is true that the Śivaite sanctuaries are more numerous and more widely spread than the very impressive Buddhist monuments which seem to have been founded only in a limited region, but does it follow that the court was Buddhist and the common herd largely Śivaite?[42] The very fact that it was, as far as we are able to see, this period in which the Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa was written—and we now know that this beautiful poem, at least for its greater part, follows the difficult Sanskrit Bhaṭṭikāvya[43]—proves that Hinduism must have obtained a firm footing also in the cultured milieus of scholars and aristocracy.[44] It is not only the popularity of the Rāmāyaṇa—which was also very well-known in Campā of the seventh century—which induces me to make this observation, but above all its beauty and the high degree of skill and proficiency of its poet who succeeded in using a variety of

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metres and in making his work an exemplary product of kāvya technique.[45] There was, moreover, a Śivaite dynasty called after king Sañjaya who had, presumably, founded it, one of its kings probably lending assistance to another, Buddhist, dynasty on the occasion of the consesecration of a Buddhist temple.[46] How are we to conceive an idea of this co-operation? Was it a religious or a merely political affair?[47] Many particulars related to the erection of religious monuments—date, purpose, founder, etc.—are indeed unknown or only a matter for conjecture. Thus the impressive complex of temples at Prambanan known as Lara Jongraṅ[48] poses some puzzling questions. Is the traditional supposition (founded by king Dakṣa in the beginning of the ninth century) right? Or was it built in the middle of the ninth century and was it intended to be a Śaiva counterpart of the famous Buddhist monument, the Borobudur? King Sañjaya had in 732 A.D. a Sanskrit inscription (found at Caṅgal)[49] engraved in which homage is paid to Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu and mention is made of the erection, on a mountain, of a linga—in all probability, a palladium considered like similar emblems in Further India a donation of the god, conveyed through the intermediary of a Brāhmaṇa[50] and of a wonderful sanctuary dedicated to the worship of Śiva and somehow connected with a southern region of the India mainland, called Kuñjarakuñja. This district has not improbably been supposed[51] to be identical with Kuñjara or Kuñjaradari in southern India, where was a mountain "created by Śiva" and the abode of the sage Agastya.[52] The fact that Śiva is mentioned first in the Trimūrti may no doubt be taken to testify to his great popularity. We know that in Further India the same god seems to have, alone of the Trinity, been set up for special worship, while Viṣṇu was looked upon as an accessory deity.[53]

The Cult of Agastya

It may be permitted to insert here, on account of the mention of the Sage Agastya, a brief digression. Among the many ancient Javanese texts which are either translated from Sanskrit or deal with subjects borrowed from the Indian traditional literature and which, therefore, are as a rule, of the highest importance for any student of Indian civilization, there are some which excite our special interest because their Indian model or prototype has hitherto not been traced. One of these works is the so-called Agastyaparva.[54] This interesting treatise, of unknown date—it may at a rough estimate have been compiled in the eleventh century—and of considerable length, consists in the usual Indian way of a conversation between a guru, in this case the famous Agastya, and a disciple or interrogator, his son Dṛḍhasyu, the former doing, of course, most of the talking. As to its contents and composition the book may, generally speaking, said to be a compilation of the Purāṇa variety. Although it is interlarded with Sanskrit quotations (about 155 in number), part of which can easily be emended, and although the sage Agastya appears, also in India, in many works or episodes as the author or narrator, it is as yet impossible to say whether it was, like the parvans of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*,[55] etc., modelled upon, or even meant to be, an adapted version of a Sanskrit text. We do not even know whether it is a complete work or only a part of an originally longer composition. Although the contents of many passages—e.g., those about creation and pralaya, the Sāṃkhya doctrine of the elements, the manus and manvantaras, the daughters of Dakṣa, transmigration, heavens and hells, the character of daityas and gandharvas, the churning of the ocean, etc. etc.—can be traced in Sanskrit literature, no single Sanskrit book or part of a larger book has come to my knowledge which is in the main identical with the contents of this Javanese work. Moreover, other passages, especially those of a more theological character,—which are embedded in the frame-work of genealogies—are not always well represented

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in Sanskrit literature, however much they may resemble, in purport and character, and often also in detail, similar episodes of epic, Śāstric and paurāṇika books. It is these brief treatises of a didactic, theological or philosophical nature which, alternating with short stories or legends, constitute the essential part of the subject-matter. The document is decidedly Śivaitic in character, some passages tending towards Tantrism,[56] and shows that mixture of Sāṃkhya and Vedānta ideas which is common to many Indian works of the paurāṇika variety. It is not surprising that in several respects it appears to be related to the Vāyu-Brahmāṇḍa version of the paurāṇika themes dealt with, because it is that version which was, at least in part, translated and handed down in Java. The colophon stating that the work goes back to, or is an adaptation of, subject-matter contained in the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* points in the same direction. But which Agastyaparvan and which *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* are meant here, the Javanese texts or their Sanskrit prototypes?

Another riddle propounded by this work is its connection with the Agastya worship which we know to have existed in Indonesia as well as in India proper,[57] his role as a saint and the promoter of Hinduization and preacher of Śivaism in the island of Java being well attested by epigraphs, sculpture and literature.[58] Although the Agastyaparvan stands a fair chance of having enjoyed special popularity because of the spread of that worship, it does not shed much light on it. This is a matter for regret because many problems connected with the cult of that mythical figure in Indonesia are still awaiting a solution. Was for instance the late lamented professor Bosch[59] right in surmising that the inscription found at Dinaya[60] (760 A.D.) —which, dealing with the erection of a sanctuary for Agastya, is among the documents attesting to intimate relations between the dynasties in power and the cult of Śiva-liṅga—to prove the existence of close connections between the court-Brāhmaṇas and that liṅga cult? This supposition might be corroborated by an information contained in an Old-Javanese poem, *Harivaṃśa* (about 1150 A.D.), about a royal poet—probably also a court-Brāhmaṇa—who is said to be an incarnation of the Sage, his patron, however, being an incarnation of Viṣṇu.[61] Another unsolved riddle concerns the very character of this Agastya cult. It is for instance doubtful whether the name Haricandana which from the tenth century accompanies that of the Sage applies to another saint or is another name for Agastya himself.[62] (Fig. 1).

Śaiva Cults in Indonesia

It is much to be regretted that there are no Indian or Chinese records to inform us about the internal history of the Javanese people which left us only very insufficient data from which to reconstruct what really happened in these centuries. Thus the removal of the political centre from Central Java to the East of the island about 930 A.D., and, what is even more striking, the apparently complete collapse of culture attending it, are still a riddle, despite the more or less fanciful suppositions of European scholars to account for it. Anyhow, king Siṇḍok inaugurated a new era in the East and his charters make mention of the constitution of many sanctuaries which seem to have been Śivaite, because Śiva or Gaṇeśa are always praised in the exordia. What would be interesting to know is first, the exact character of this Śivaism in daily practice, then, its spread among the population, and in the last place whether and how far its leaders maintained a correspondence or were in other forms of direct communication with India in general and with leading Śaiva centres in particular. It is also worth noticing that during the reign of Siṇḍok's dynasty Śivaism and Buddhism do not only seem to have coexisted peacefully, but also to have begun to coalesce, just as in India the apparently increasing importance of Tantric elements tended to blur out the distinctions between the two

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persuasions. From the thirteenth century deceased kings are, in sculpture, represented either as Śiva or as Buddha; king Kṛtanagara (1292 A.D.), who is said to have reached, after death, "the place of Śiva-Buddha"—even as Śiva-Buddha. The religious situation seems to have been, at least in court-circles, very complicated: a ruler whose official, i.e., consecratory name, stamps him as an incarnation of Viṣṇu may after death be entombed as Śiva and as Buddha,[63] with part of his ashes in two sanctuaries. Here again the question arises as to how far this development has been influenced by relations with the Indian mainland. It has, in all probability rightly, been supposed that direct contact with India, though never frequent and intensive, was also actively maintained during this period, but which Indian centres, if any, maintained the contact, and was it in any form organized or, on the side of the Indonesians, invited or cultivated? This is not to say that we have no information whatever on this point. The Kelurak inscription (782 A.D.) had, for instance, mentioned a guru Kumāraghoṣa who came from the Bengal realm (Gauḍa) of the Pāla kings, and this man seems to have actually lived in Java. In almost all other cases known to us the scholars arriving from Northern India only visited this island. Some names have been rescued from oblivion: those of the Buddhist monks Dharmapāla (7th century), Vajrabodhi, Amoghavarṣa (first half of the 8th century) and Atīśa (first half of the 11th century),[64] besides the Chinese pilgrims who stayed in Sumatran Śrīvijaya. The part played by Nālandā, in this cultural contact, is well-known.[65]

Fusion of Śaivism and Buddhism

Literary documents dating from the Majapahit period (1293–1500 A.D.) furnish us with many welcome indications of this peaceful co-existence and syncretism, the Buddhist figure of Vairocana being for instace identified with Sadāśiva, Akṣobhya with Rudra, Ratnasambhava with Brahmā, Amitābha with Mahādeva and Amoghasiddhi with Viṣṇu. These divine beings occupy respectively the centre, the East, the South, the West and the North:[66] *there is no difference between Śiva and Buddha, the dharma being one and undifferentiated.* In the Kelurak inscription Mañjuśrī had already been said to be the same as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara. Remarkably enough, this doctrinal syncretism did not entail a fusion of cults, rites and institutions. The cultured classes were very well aware of this situation which was explained by the formula: Śivaism and Buddhism are brothers, of whom the former is the elder, the latter the higher and more perfect one. In a way this view continues to exist, up to the present day, in the islands of Bali and Lombok,[67] where, however, the historical development has resulted in a fusion of both creeds, although there still are "Śivaite" and "Buddhist" priests *(pedanda Śiva* and *pedanda Boda).* Since their mantras, ritual and sacred utensils, observances, etc., are different these functionaries fulfil their duties in a complementary way. Let us now return to ancient Java. A series of important works[68] have been preserved which in all probability were translated or written in the tenth and eleventh centuries and which show that the Javanese Śivaite priests and teachers were in need of manuals and reliable sources of information. The earliest works of this group extant seem to be those which consist of alternating Sanskrit stanzas and Javanese para-phrases. These works are, no doubt, of Indian provenance although their originals have not yet been found.[69] They were the beginnings of an extensive Javanese literature based on Indian books. From the *Bhuvanakośa, Bhuvana-saṃkṣepa, Bṛhaspatitattva*[70] and other treatises we now are able to gain an insight into the character of the Śivaite faith of those who studied these manuals. They do not represent the tenets of one single Śivaite school notwithstanding a certain predilection for applying the name *Śaiva-siddhānta* to the essentially reconciliatory doctrine they contain. Śiva himself is even said to argue that the

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FIG *Standing Image of the Sage Agastya.*

Śaiva (i.e., Śaivasiddhānta), Pāśupata and Ālepaka traditions[71] are of equal value and merit. These works are first and foremost text-books of what might be called "salvationary mysticism", manuals for the use of those who strive after the realization of their oneness with God in His highest transcendence called Paramaśivatattva. Hence the propaedeutic character of the theoretical knowledge of God and man. The Paramaśivatattva, which is represented personally as well as impersonally, is very often, in the usual manner, characterized by means of negative adjectives such as *aprameya, anirdeśya, anaupamya,* etc., but also in a positive way : some of these characterizations, as for instance *sūkṣma*—which was used in the meanings of "spiritual, immaterial, the absolute essence of God"—became naturalized in Javanese mysticism. As an immanent God Śiva is to manifest, in the world, in different forms just as space *(ākāśa)* assumes in jars, pitchers, etc., many shapes. In describing this immanent presence either as the trimūrti, or as a five- or eight-fold manifestation these works join the well known Indian Śivaite doctrines. A simplified form of the eight-fold yoga course is taught which, emphasizing the element of dhyāna, must lead the adept to come into meditative contact either with the immanent form of God, described as His "Light" *(prakāśa)* or with his body, that is with the world, which, being Śiva's manifestation, is pervaded by him.

Some important Śaiva texts

These texts are of special interest and importance because they fill up a gap in our knowledge of the history of Śivaism. They—and among them especially the *Bṛhaspatitattva*—contain doctrines which are, in general, related to those expounded in the Śaiva purāṇas but constitute an intermediate form between these and the later more philosophically minded systems, such as the *Śaiva-Siddhānta.*[72] Since the mystic experience admits of a distinction of several phases or grades, corresponding stages are also assumed to exist in God's nature. Hence such remarkable threefold distinctions as *śūnya, acyutaśūnya* and *śūnyānta* or Śiva, Sadāśiva and Paramaśiva, denoting successively higher stages of transcendence. Much emphasis is quite intelligibly laid on the parallelism

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between, or rather identity of, macrocosm and microcosm, because it is the adept's endeavour to make God's essence, in virtue of a thorough insight into this "parallelism", enter his own body. Special attention is also paid to what is called "sound mysticism", the doctrine of bīja mantras, etc., and the various practices of mudrā, nyāsa, etc., based on it. Mention may also be made of another philosophical Śaiva work, the *Gaṇapatitattva*,[73] which, being couched in the usual form of questions—Gaṇapati being the divine interrogator—contains a doctrine taught by Śiva himself who explains the mystery of the creation of the universe, the origin of man, the assignment of the divinities to different parts of the cosmos and the human body—Sadāśiva residing in the centre—, the varieties of yoga, *pratyāhāra, dhyāna, prāṇāyāma, dhāraṇā, tarka, samādhi,* the liṅga and the beliefs relating to it, the Tantric signification of monosyllables and letters of the alphabet, final emancipation, etc. Although in this case also no exact Sanskrit model has been found of the sixty Sanskrit stanzas of which the work consists, there exist in India, many passages which either throw a direct light on the Javanese book or provide us with an insight into the general background of the concepts dealt with. Thus there are interesting relations with the *Śivamahāpurāṇa*, the *Liṅgamahāpurāṇa* and the *Mālinī-vijayottaratantra*.

Another treatise bearing witness to the intensive interest taken by the Javanese in Indian religious, didactic and moralistic writings is the *Vratiśāsana*.[74] Being of uncertain date, it is a typical product of Indo-Javanese culture. Writing again literary Old-Javanese and mixing this text with numerous Sanskrit stanzas (mainly ślokas) followed by a word-for-word interpretation the author must have been a scholar of high standing because he had a thorough knowledge, not only of the subject treated but also of the style and composition of this literary genre. The book describes the duties and obligations of the *vratins*, i.e., of those who make vows and are engaged in religious observances. It enters into details regarding *yamas, niyamas, ahiṃsā* and various ascetic virtues such as ritual purity, chastity, ablutions, ordination, asceticism in general. In short, it is a compendium for the use of ascetics showing that the ancient Indian ideals of ascetic life must have made an appeal to the feelings of many Indonesians.

Javanese Mahābhārata and the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa

Javanese adaptations of texts which do exist in India may confront us with other difficulties. Many observations could for instance be made and many questions posed with regard to the—incomplete and abridged—translation (or paraphrasis) of the Mahābhārata into Javanese (+1000 A.D.). For which reason were definite passages omitted?[75] That the Bhagavadgītā episode of the Bhīṣmaparva—which on the whole is a meritorious attempt at translating and para-phrasing—was, comparatively speaking, rendered in a less incomplete way than other parts of these texts is—in view of the great popularity of this Gītā par excellence—not surprising, but why did the translator omit almost the entire chapters 12 and 13 and 15–17?[76] That the Javanese were also highly interested in the juridical aspects of the Hindu dharma may appear from the existence of a compilation, bearing the title Āgama and containing a considerable number of passages borrowed from the famous Mānavadharmaśāstra and other Indian sources, which obviously had found their way into the island of Java. Interestingly enough, the prescriptions and penal provisions were modified under the influence of the Indonesian view of punishable facts and penitential exercises.[77] Like those parvans of the *Mahābhārata* of which we possess Javanese adaptations the Old-Javanese *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*[78] is an abridged prose translation of a text—or a translation of an abridged form of the original Sanskrit?—written in the usual śloka style. The Javanese versions of these texts follow those Sanskrit passages which were translated very closely, although the number of variants and other minor

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deviations from those Sanskrit texts which were handed down in India are considerable.[79] These divergences are no less worth studying than the translational technique of the authors who, whilst omitting many details which for an understanding of the chief contents are superfluous, preserved the literal Sanskrit text of a great number of stanzas which were more or less accurately rendered into Javanese. This procedure may have sprung from the threefold desire to establish and guarantee the authenticity of the translation, while preserving the authoritative original, to enable the reader to consult the original texts or to make him dwell on the tenor and purport of stanzas which were considered the most important, and to facilitate the reader in finding the corresponding places in the same. The number of quotations often increases in difficult places, a procedure which impresses us as a remnant of a more ancient translational technique rather than an argument in favour of the supposed antiquity of these portions of the text. The importance of these Sanskrit quotations is self-evident : they constitute fragments of an independent tradition of these texts which may go back to about the tenth century A.D. A close study of this Javanese Purāṇa, moreover, leads us to the conclusion that it is on the one hand doubtless related to the Indian *Brahmāṇḍa-Vāyu* recension which according to Kirfel[80] originally formed a unity, but on the other hand in many respects different from it. It is in any case free from those additions which made the Sanskrit text of the *Brahmāṇḍa* assume the character of a late compilation. Hence its importance as a source of knowledge of the textual tradition of the purāṇas. Beside these problems which, once posed, are solvable, this Purāṇa confronts us also with serious difficulties. Why, to begin with, has it exactly been this representative of its class that has attracted the attention of Indonesian scholars and not those related works which in India proper enjoyed more general popularity? From which region of India did the original manuscript reach Java?[81] What was the use for its contents in the religious communities; what was its significance for Hindu-Javanese religious practices? Or to enter in some details : How are we to explain the fact that the story of Dakṣa's wife Prasūti and her twenty-four children agrees more closely with the short redaction of this episode in *Kūrma-Purāṇa* 8, 15 than with the more detailed Brahmāṇḍa-Vāyu version? Why are passages dealing with Agni (among these are Bmḍ. 1, 11, 44; Vā. 28, 38) omitted? It is further a curious fact that in places showing much diversity in detail between the Javanese text and the Sanskrit Brahmāṇḍa, there are sometimes also remarkable differences among the Sanskrit texts themselves. Some peculiarities of the Javanese work[82]—the fourfold arrangement of the Brahmāṇḍa-Vāyu text, which according to Kirfel[83] originated with the redactor of that recension, does not recur in the Javanese purāṇa—raise the question as to the origin of the Sanskrit text utilized by the translator. Was it perhaps not based on the text arranged by that redactor who must, according to Kirfel, have lived between ±335 and ±620 A.D.? If there has been such a redactor to whom all Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu texts trace back their descent, how should we, further, explain other deviations of the Javanese work, e.g. in places where it not only joins the Matsya recension of the cosmography, but also exhibits a more lucid and elaborate description which cannot be due to the ingenuity or phantasy of the Indonesian translator.[84] Another problem : the translation ends abruptly at a point (the middle of a meteorological exposition) where the Indian parallel texts do not even finish a chapter. Why? Is it, despite the colophon which says that the work is "complete" *(parisamāptam)*, only a fragment? Did the author die in harness? Has the rest been lost? As a matter of fact the paurāṇika pantheon and many elements of paurāṇika mythology and learning were, in Indonesia as well as in other countries of South-East Asia, known to those who created those products of literature and plastic arts which because of the fact that they have been preserved

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may, generally speaking, be supposed to have, at least for some time, enjoyed a certain popularity. The interest taken in these works confirms the conclusion drawn from the ancient inscriptions, part of which are written in good Sanskrit: the study of that language and at least part of its literature was cultivated in those circles, who had also adopted other elements of the Indian culture. How much of it was imbibed by the people is another matter, but anyhow the contrast, in the development of language, literature, art and religion, between Java and Bali on the one hand and those islands which were not, or only incidentally touched by the Indian influence, is unmistakable.

A satisfactory answer to the question, as to how much was imbibed by the general public is made more difficult by the circumstance that we often grope in the dark about the very nature of an ancient Javanese composition, about the author's aim and intentions in writing the book and the purpose it had to serve. We even are not always able to decide for which milieu a book was intended.[85] To what in several cases may, at least for the time being, escape us belong also the reasons why an interest was taken in particular themes and why these themes are found in combination. In some cases the Indian themes are clearly remodelled or extended after Indonesian patterns of thinking.[86] The frame story of the Koravasrama (±1500 A.D.) dealing with the revival of the Kauravas (Jav. Korava), who are to revenge themselves, is obviously conceived under the influence of the conviction that the existence of both Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas, that is of a pair of opposites or complements, is a necessity. Although Yudhiṣṭhira, Arjuna and Bhīma, well-known principal characters of wayang plays, cannot, at least in the Muslim period (since the sixteenth century), be said to be the centre of a religious cult, they are the bearers of moral norms and philosophical thoughts, which have for many centuries been imprinted on the hearts and minds of millions Javanese. Their characters, however, underwent a considerable change, Bhīma being also a prototype of a searcher after higher wisdom.[87] From this we may learn that in other cases also the possibility of interpreting a theme or episode in a mystic sense and of utilizing it for "initiatory" purposes has contributed much to their popularity. Just as the Indians, the Javanese have, moreover, been inclined to mould the course of life of rulers and other persons of importance on a mythical schema prescribed by the biography of the deity whose incarnation a ruler or other man was believed to be.[88] This biography was, however, not necessarily an invariable datum; it could be subjected to change and variation as a consequence of the development of the ideas and the mythologizing interpretation of historical facts.

Vaiṣṇava Cults in Indonesia

Śaivism was not, however, the only form of Hinduism known to the ancient Javanese aristocracy. In an inscription of king Erlanga (1019–1042 A.D.) mention is made of Śaiva, Buddha and Brāhmaṇa priests, a triad which in later documents—literary texts as well as inscriptions—is often to recur as *ṛṣi śaiva sogata*. It seems a plausible assumption to identify the ṛṣis with non-Śaiva ascetic adherents of a Javanized smārta Hinduism. The many serious lacunae in our knowledge of the history of East Java—its dynasties ruled till about 1500 A.D.—does not, however, allow us to determine the position of Viṣṇuism and its relations to the other persuasions. Although Viṣṇu and his religion are mentioned in inscriptions of the tenth century, they keep in the background. However, almost all rulers of the kingdom of Kediri (11th and 12th century) consider themselves incarnations of Viṣṇu.[89] In view of the well known parallels in India and Further India the conclusion that Viṣṇuism was very popular among all strata of society would, however, be premature : the aristocracy may rather have joined or imitated

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the ruling classes of other Hindu or Hinduized countries in this respect also. It is indeed not sufficiently clear how far this identification of the king with Viṣṇu[90] was actually attended by an increase in the spread of Viṣṇuism among the population in general and to what extent this increase—if it is an historical fact—was in particulars and peculiarities related to the spread of Viṣṇuism in India, where it indeed came to the fore at the beginning of the second millennium of the Christian era.[91]

That, on the other hand, the interest in epic and post-epic Kṛṣṇaite and Viṣṇuite subjects among the cultured classes should have nothing to do with the Viṣṇuization of the ruler, is, however, very improbable. The poets who left us the *Arjuna-vivāha* (11th century, but before 1035 A.D.), the *Bhārata-yuddha* (1157 A.D.) and other kakavins (the Javanese counterpart of Indian Kāvya works) were court-officials and their work, commemorating important achievements of Viṣṇu's former avatāras and related subjects, was to honour the god's present incarnation, the king, and to fortify this central functionary in the discharge of his royal duties. At the end of the *Bhāratayuddha* (52, 4) the poet declares that Viṣṇu, who in the days of yore was in his avatāra as bhaṭṭāra Kṛṣṇa invincible in battle, has now, out of compassion for the fate of the beautiful island of Java—which had suffered from war—assumed bodily existence in the person of king, also called bhaṭṭāra, Jayabhaya. It is the well-known Indian view of Viṣṇu's restoring activity (cf. e.g., Bhagavadgītā 4, 7 f.), of his readiness to appear as the saviour of the world in need.[92] A similar case was that of king Erlaṅga. The Old-Javanese text on the Calcutta stone,[93] referring to the catastrophe which befell the king's father-in-law in 1006 A.D., speaks of the *pralaya* of the island of Java, but young Erlaṅga, at the age of sixteen, destined to restore the unity of the realm, escaped from the chaos, "for he, as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, was protected by all the gods".[94] Neither this idea itself nor its application in actual practice by means of rewritten epic episodes are typically Javanese. What, however, remains to be instituted is a thorough comparison with non-Indonesian parallels in general and Indian parallels or examples in particular, in order to bring out how far the Javanese court-poets, both as poets and as servants of their god or ministers of his cult, followed their Indian models and in what respects they went their own way.[95] (Fig. 2)

Mention may in this connection be made also of the fact that the deity was adored, according to a custom which we also find in other parts of the Indian cultural area, under a name recalling that of the king (type Bhadreśvara, the king being called Bhadravarman)[96]—the difficulty is that the Indonesian names such as Pūtikeśvara do not create the impression of containing royal names[97]—and of an interesting find made at Ratu Baka (Java), viz. five inscriptions,[98] set up in 856 A.D. on the occasion of the execution of the same number of liṅgas, the god being glorified as Kṛttivāsas Hara, and Tryambaka. It has been surmised[99]—but this is, of course, a mere guess—first, that there have been eight (not five) liṅgas arranged round a central liṅga, and in the second place that this Javanese liṅga cult was connected with the Cambodian devarāja cult—characterized by the liṅga's being the protector and even the bearer of the royal dignity—which came to be in vogue in the same period,[100] another guess.

Sanctuaries Dedicated to Deceased Kings

The dedication of sanctuaries to deceased kings and the worship of their portrait statues—which would be, likely to have been transferred to a sacred place, there to reinforce with their virtue the concentration of beneficial energies—belong to those religious practices which may probably be regarded as extensions of south Indian influence into a milieu which was accustomed to ancestor worship.[101] This cult included also ceremonies called śrāddha and intended to

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bring about the final emancipation of the deceased. On that occasion a sanctuary was erected which was to remain the centre of a cult. It is easily intelligible that the *amṛta* (draught of immortality), the lotus (symbolizing life and vital power) and similar motifs are often represented on these monuments.

The Worship of Ganeśa

Among the other Hindu gods who appear to have enjoyed special popularity was Gaṇeśa, images of whom are not only found in Java but also in North Borneo (Sĕrawak), the last-mentioned being no doubt sculptured under direct Hindu influence.[102] There is, however, no evidence of an ancient Indonesian cult of this god; as far as we know, no temples have been dedicated to him alone. His images are, nevertheless, sometimes found in a niche beside Śiva sanctuaries. In view of the importance of the worship of Śiva as the Sun (Śivāditya) in the isle of Bali,[103] where the oneness of Śiva and Sūrya has become a fundamental religious conviction,[104]—compare the Indian identification and adoration of these two gods[105]—, it is hardly imaginable that the Sun was not an object of a cult or a form of adoration. There are indeed data which point to a ritual fusion of Sūrya and Kṛṣṇa in the East Javanese period.[106]

The worship of Goddess Śrī

A few words may also be said on the worship of the goddess Śrī as the special protectress of the rice-crop, the food par excellence, and, in addition to this, as a deity concerned with female accomplishments. Her figure has been held to hide, under a Hindu garb, an essentially Indonesian deity. In her Sundanese (West Java) form as Devi Śri she is believed to be able to descend from heaven. Although she was born from a tear of Deva Anta or Antaboga (i.e., Anantabhoga, the serpent of the nether world), she is described as a divine princess, closely related to the vidadaris (Skt. *vidyādharī*), a sort of kindly fairies who in part of the Archipelago were said to preside over love, and in Java are held to be able to revive the deceased, being, in all probability, a body of indigenous deities, who have taken over the role played by the apsaras in India. Like the inhabitants of other islands the Balinese believe Srī to have died when she had been forced to submit to Viṣṇu's love; after she was buried several plants sprang up from her body, the rice from her navel.[107] Śrī's name is very often found on ancient Javanese finger-rings and other ornaments. By engraving this name people no doubt intended to establish the goddess in them and to make the object a bearer of good fortune. I cannot, to my regret, expatiate on the peculiar Javanese "mixed" cults, the development of which may be ascribed to a variety of factors, most of which have been also operative in India.[108] The widely spread tendency to associate or identify various manifestations of similar divine power; the so-called doctrinal tolerance, i.e., the inclination not to reject, but rather to consider next best, strange cults and beliefs; the propensity to regard manifestations of power as complementary and to associate, for instance, divine figures so as to constitute classificatory systems;[109] the absorption, on the side of Buddhism, of Hindu deities who were relegated to subordinated positions in its system. The important element of mysticism[110] in these religions as well as the spread of Tantrism[111] strengthened the tendency to disregard the doctrinal differences between the creeds, and tended to consider them unessential as compared to the concept and experience of a deep spiritual oneness. It should, moreover, not be forgotten that the many gods of the Hindu-Javanese and Hindu-Balinese pantheons had no clear-cut individual characters. Partial identity of function, similarity in some respect or other may, not only in these islands, have induced people to identify various representatives of divine power. In Bali Śrī

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is said to be also Umā, Durgā, Mother Earth (Ibu Pṛthivī), etc., and these names are often regarded as indicative of different aspects of the nature and activity of one and the same goddess,[112] who as Śrī is especially interested in the ripening rice and the harvest, as Umā in the field, etc.,[113] another modification of the time-honoured coexistence of parochial gods of limited and specialised concern ("Sondergötter") and multi-functional greater figures and of the tendency of great divinities to absorb deities of minor importance. (Fig. 3)

Hindu Traditions in Bali

The isle of Bali[114]—which is the only place, where, in Indonesia, Hindu culture has survived up to the present day—seems to have been in direct contact with Hinduism before the Hindu-Javanese culture made its influence felt.[115] The oldest inscriptions—ninth century, etc.—are written in ancient Balinese interlarded with Sanskrit·[116] in the eleventh century Old-Javanese elements appear to have crept upon their vocabulary. This may reflect the beginning of a gradual cultural and religious penetration. About 1350 A.D. the island became politically dependent on the Javanese realm of Majapahit. The ruling and cultural classes adopted the Hindu-Javanese way of life, inherited many traditions and began to read and to preserve the ancient Javanese literature, carrying on the production of literary works in the traditional style. To this survival we owe the preservation of many manuscripts which in Java disappeared after the advent of Islam.

Some of the vexing problems with which we are confronted are the following. Since Bali was not on an Indian trade route, were those who introduced Hindu culture Indians or did they come from Java? Can we, relying on epigraphic evidence, maintain that the oldest Balinese known to us generally worshipped Brahmā, Viṣṇu and the five deities of south India : Śiva, Durgā (Pārvatī), Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, or were, what may seem probable, the indigenous cults still in existence? How far can the extant Hindu-Javanese-Balinese culture of the higher classes, that curious fusion of Hindu, (Hindo-) Javanese and indigenous elements, help us in compensating for the many lacunae in our knowledge of the Hinduized communities of ancient Indonesia, so as to enable us to form a more complete notion of their culture? How far had Hinduism penetrated all classes of the population of this distant island in the period preceding the Javanese influence?[117] From the spread of Hindu customs—cremation of the dead in its typically Balinese form,[118] which, with the exception of some remote villages, has replaced interment or exposure almost everywhere, is a point in case—we may infer that, as in India here also, the customs of the higher classes were imitated by those who culturally lag behind. How are we to account for the remarkable existence, in the isle of Bali, of the Indian varṇas,[119] the Brāhmaṇas who allege their descent from Javanese (Majapahit) immigrant Brāhmaṇas as a historical fact, the kṣatriyas, and the "gentry", viz. the Vaiśyas? (The large majority of the population are śūdras). To what extent have those who, in the course of time, contributed to the development of one of the most prominent characteristics of the Āgama Hindu-Bali, the modern indigenous name of this religion, which permeates the whole life of every individual and the entire organization of society, viz. the intricate system of correlation of human life, human acts and social behaviour with the organization of the cosmos,[120] utilized Hindu elements? To what extent are both Hindu and Balinese ideas ultimately influenced by ancient ideas common to all or most peoples of South and South-East Asia? So much is clear that several systems of classification and organization have coalesced, of which the presence of the Indian Trimūrti in a tripartite schema and that of Īśvara, Brahmā, Mahādeva, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Maheśvara, Rudra, Śaṅkara, Śambhu in an eight- nine-fold system may interest

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us here. Other important questions have a bearing on the development of the typically Balinese structure of the thousands of sanctuaries, the history of the "salvationary mysticism", the origin of the Sanskrit mantras used in the Balinese cult,[121] the complicated purificatory rites by means of holy water and other substances[122] which constitute a predominant element in Balinese religious concepts.[123] (See pl. 25)

Conclusion

In reading the above survey it must be borne in mind that every new archaeological find, every new text-edition, every still unknown inscription or new interpretation of already known data can radically change the picture of a given period. Much work remains to be done which will be of extreme interest with regard to the ancient Indo-Indonesian relations. Is it, to mention only this, not disappointing that as yet no one has felt himself attracted to the idea of making a thorough study of the relation of ancient Javanese architecture to the mother art in India on the one hand and the sister arts in Further India on the other?[124] It is an urgent necessity that the nowadays extremely limited circle of scholars who apply themselves to the various aspects of Indo-Indonesian culture will soon be considerably widened.

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11. I am inclined to subscribe to Nilakanta Sastri's opinion *(op. cit*., p. 125*)* that there is nothing to indicate that among the early colonists were many exiles driven to abandon their country in consequence of war, raids, political unsettlement, etc.

12. One of the difficulties with which we are confronted is the vagueness of geographical references and our inability exactly to decide which name belongs to which country. Thus, Suvarṇadvīpa is sometimes taken to apply to the island of Sumatra, sometimes considered to denote the East Indies collectively.

13. For references see G.P. Malasasekera, Dictionary of Pāli proper names, I, London 1937, p 350

14. C.O. Blagden, in *Epigraphia Birmanica*, III, p. 83 ff; G Ferrand, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1919, I, p. 239.

15. Edited and translated (into Dutch) by Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, Tantu Paṅgelaran, Thesis, Leyden 1924.

16 The names of these gods are, in this comparatively recent work, Indian—curiously enough Parameśvara, Śiva and Mahādeva are different divine persons—but the exploits ascribed to them are often widely different from what is known from Hindu mythology.

17. P. Pelliot, in *Bulletin de l'Ecole francaise d'Extreme-Orient*, 4 (1904), p. 157.

18. Tanty Paṅgelaran, p. 63.

19. See, e.g., M. Eliade, The sacred and the profane, New York 1959, p. 32 ff. Interestingly enough, there are peoples who during their wanderings carry with them a sacred pole, representing the cosmic centre.

20. See, e.g., B. de Zoete and W. Spies, Dance and drama in Bali, London 1952, p. 337.

21. See, e.g., S. Kramrisch, The Hindu temple, Calcutta 1946, especially, p. 277 ff.; H.G. Quaritch Wales, The mountain of God, London 1953, p. 120 ff.; H. Goetz, India, Baden-Baden 1960, p. 41, 115, R. Heine-Geldern, Weltbild und Bauform in Südostasien, Vienna 1930; H. Zimmer, The art of Indian Asia, New York 1955, I, p. 315.

22 W.E. Maxwell, in *Jr. Royal Asiatic Society*, 1881, p. 86; cf. also *J.R.A.S.* Straits Branch 10 (1882), p. 287 ff.

23. I refer to Nilakanta Sastri, *op cit.*, p. 113.

24. I refer to J. Tideman, Hindoe-invloed in Noordelijk Batakland, Amsterdam 1936.

25 R.C Majumdar, History and culture of the Indian people, III, p 641. For a discussion of this question see Krom, Hindoe-Javaansche geschiedenis, p. 88 ff.

26. Coedes, Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie, p. 33 ff ; Bernet Kempers, Ancient Indonesian art, p. 8 ff; Majumdar, Colonial and Cultural expansion in South-East Asia in R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar, The history and culture of the Indian people, III, p 639 ff.: P. Zoetmulder in W. Stohr and P. Zoetmulder, Dir Religionen Indonesiens, Stuttgart 1965, p. 231 ff.

27. B. Ch. Chhabra, Expansion of Indo-Aryan culture during Pallava rule, as evidenced by inscriptions. *Journal of the Asiatic society of Bengal*, 1 (1935), p. 1 ff.

28. J. Ph Vogel, The yūpa inscriptions of king Mūlavarman from Koetei (East Borneo), *Bijdragen Tall-, Land-en Volkenkunde* (The Hague), 74, p. 167 ff.; B. Ch. Chhabra, Three more yūpa inscriptions of king Mūlavarman, *Tijdschrift Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 83, p. 370 ff.

29 Not *bahusu-warṇaka* (Zoetmulder, *op. cit.*, p 232); cf. Rām. 7, 25, 8 *agniṣṭomo'śvamedhaś ca yajño bahusuvarṇakaḥ*.

30. Cf. already Pār. Gs 1, 17, 4.

31. For these inscriptions, see H Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, VII, The Hague 1917, p. 1 ff.; 129 ff.; J. Ph Vogel, Publicaties Oudheidkundige Dienst van Nederlandsch-Indie, 1 (1925), p. 15 ff.

32. See, e.g., the present author's Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, Utrecht 1954, p. 58 f.; 164 ff.; 189 ff., etc. and his remarks in Ancient Indian kingship from the religious point of view, Leiden 1966, p. 83 f.; etc.

33. The earliest inscription of Bayang (published in Inscriptions sanskrites du Campā et Cambodge, vol V) in Cambodia mentions the erection of a temple in 604 A.D in which the feet of Śiva were worshipped.

34. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 20 f.

35. W F. Stutterheim, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde*, 89 (The Hague 1932), p 288 f

36. Nilakanta Sastri, *op cit.*, p. 108.

37. For the symbolism see also W. Kirfel, Symbolik des Hinduismus and des Jinismus, Stuttgart 1954, p. 90, and my book Change and Continuity in Indian religion, The Hague 1965, p 412, n 466; p. 416, 418

38 H.A. Giles, The travels of Fa-hsien or Record of Buddhistic kingdoms, Cambridge 1923; see p 78.

39 For a discussion of "heresy" (which may include Pāśupata Śaivism, a persuasion dominant in Cambodia) see Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, VII, p. 137 (this article was however written in 1885) "Brahmanism" probably refers to undifferentiated smārta Hinduism

40. P. Pelliot, Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde, in *Bulletin de l'École francaise d'Extreme-Orient* (Hanoi), 4, p. 132 ff.

41. Kern, Verspreide Geschriften, VII, p. 199; Krom, o.c., p. 102 ff

42. N.J. Krom, Over het Civaisme van Midden-Java, Amsterdam Academy 1924 (58, 8).

43. C. Hooykaas, The Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa kakawin, in *Verhandelingen van het Kon. Instituut voor Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* 16 (The Hague 1955). The first 56% of the Javanese poem and the first 65% of Bhatti's work run closely parallel.

44 For the Javanese Rāmāyaṇa sculptures (Lara Djongraṅ; Panataran) see W.F Stutterheim, Rāma-Legenden and Rāma-Reliefs in Indonesien, München 1925.

45 C. Hooykaas, The Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa, Amsterdam Academy 1958.

46. Inscription of Kalasan (+778 A.D.); see Bosch, *Tijdschrift Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* 68 (1928), p 57 ff. and p 25 ff.

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47 The important Kalasan inscription (Prambanan, E of Yogyacarta) recording the foundation of a vihāra is also remarkable, because the Sanskrit text is written in pre-nāgarī script. It makes also mention of functionaries called *ādeśaśāstrin*, i.e., the Indian *ādeśin*, "fortune-teller, horoscopist".

48. For particulars see Zoetmulder, *op cit*, p 252

49. H. Kern, De Sanskrit inscriptie van cangal uit 654 Śāka. *Bijdragen Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* 34, p. 123 ff. (= H Kern. *Verspreide Geschriften*. The Hague 1914 ff, VII, p 115 ff)

50 See Bosch, in *Tijdschrift Indische Taal- Land-en Volkenkunde* 64 (1925), p 236, 271.

51 Kern. *Verspreide Geschriften, VII.* p. 122 n 4. Cf Harivaṃśa, 12393 *cakāra (mahādevaḥ) kuñjaram caiva kuñjarapratimākṛtim*: 12845 *kuñjaraḥ parvataś caiva yatrāgaśtyagṛham śubham*, Rāmāyana 4. 40. 34 cr. ed *kuñjaro nāma parvataḥ ·agastyabhavanaṃ yatra nirmitam viśvakarmaṇā*, Varāhamihira B. S 14. 16

52. The reading of this line of the inscription is uncertain because there is a lacuna : *śrīmatkuñjarakuñjadeśanihi [tava]ṃśāditīvādhrtam* (thus Kern, the correct reading seems to be . *ṅgāditīrthāvṛtaṃ* (see Chhabra, *op cit.*, p. 36). W F Stutterheim, proposing to read *nihitaṃ gangāditīrthāvrtam*, was of the opinion that the *deśa* mentioned in the inscription should be looked for in Central Java (*Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* 1939, p. 78 ff.). This is highly improbable Even when the *deśa* is Javanese it might—as professor Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit*, p 129 observes—have derived its name from a district in South India

53. A. Getty, Ganeśa, Oxford 1936, seems to overlook that Brahmā played, also in India, a very subordinate part

54. This Old-Javanese text was edited, translated into Dutch and annotated by the present author in the *Bijdragen Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* 90; 92, 94 (The Hague 1933–1936) and also published separately in one volume by the Royal Institute, The Hague. For a study of this work see also the periodical *Purāna*, 4 (Varanasi 1962), p. 158 ff.

55 See further on.

56 It has incorrectly been considered a Tāntric work which may shed light on the provenance of Tāntric rites and tenets in the island of Java (Th. G Th Pigeaud. De Tantu Panggelaran, Thesis, Leiden 1924, p 325)

57. See, e.g., A.K Nilakanta Sastri, A history of South India, Oxford 1955, p. 64 ff.; the same, South Indian influences in the Far East, Bombay 1949, p. 59, 128 f. A. Holtzmann, in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, 34, p 589 ff.

58 R Ng Poerbatjaraka, Agastya in den Archipel. Thesis, Leiden 1926; F.D K Bosch, Review of Poerbatjaraka's Agastya, in *Tidjdschrift voor Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* 67, p. 172 ff., K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, Agastya, in *Tijdschrift Indische Taal- Land-en Volkenkunde* 76, p 471 ff

59 He passed away, at the age of 80, the 20th of July 1967.

60. F D K Bosch, De Sanskrit inscriptie op den steen van Dinaja en Het lingga-heiligdom van Dinaja, *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, en Volkenkunde* 57, p. 410 ff. and 64, p 227 ff.

61. Harivaṃśa, edited and translated (into Dutch) by A Teeuw, The Hague 1950, 1. 2; 53, 1 ff.

62. Cf. J.G. de Casparis, Selected inscriptions II, Bandung 1956, p 290 ff.

63 Cf. Zoetmulder, *op. cit.*, p 266

64. I refer to Krom, *op. cit.*, p 118 f; 122; 248

65. See, e.g., the Nālandā inscription, Epigraphia Indica 17 (1924), p 310 ff For the relations with Nālandā see A.J Bernet Kempers, The Bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu-Javanese art. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde*, 90, p. 1 ff., also published separately (Leyden 1933); Krom, Hindoe-Jayaansche geschiedenis, p. 115; 118, etc.

66 Tantular, Arjunawijaya (not yet edited).

67. I cannot discuss here the pros and cons of those theories which try to explain this state of affairs (see, e g, W.H. Rassers, Śiva and Buddha in the Indonesian Archipelago Gedenkschrift Kon *Institut Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde*, The Hague 1926); they are generally speaking one sidedly based on ethnological theories without taking full account of facts and developments pertaining to the history of these religions in general.

68 See also H. Bh Sarkar, Indian influences on the literature of Java and Bali, Calcutta 1934. This often uncritical compilation, is based on secondary sources (see my review in De Indische gids, 1935, p. 637 ff.), is now in part antiquated For history of Javanese literature now see Th. G. Th Pigeaud. Literature of Java, I, Synopsis, The Hague 1967 and H Bh. Sarkar, The language and literature of ancient Indonesia and Malaysia, *Journal of Indian History*, 44, p 647 ff

69 A first but incomplete and, as a result of an insufficient knowledge of Sanskrit literature, defective attempt at studying and classifying this literature was at the time made by R. Goris, Bijdrage tot de kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balinesche theologie, Thesis, Leiden 1926 A more profound work is A. Zieseniss, Studien Zur Geschichte des Civaismus, I, *Bijdragen Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde*, 98, p. 75 ff.; II Die Śaiva-Systematik des Vṛhaspatitattva, New Delhi (Acad Ind. Cult.) 1958.

70. Works belonging to this category have now been edited, translated and profusely annotated by two Indian scholars, Dr. Sharada Rani and Dr Sudarshana Devi, who not only utilized the unpublished notes left behind by Dr. Zieseniss who died in World War II, but also took great trouble to collect a wealth of Sanskrit and Tibetan parallels in elucidation of these texts . Sharada Rani, Ślokāntara, Thesis, Utrecht 1957 (Int. Acad, of Ind. Cult, New Delhi), Sudarshana Devi, Vrhaspati-tattva, Thesis, Utrecht 1957 *(ibid)* The Sanskrit text of the Vrhaspatitattva is very corrupt in the manuscripts.

71 Cf. Zieseniss, *op. cit.*, II, p. 18. This scholar (*op. cit.*, II, p 19 ff) supposes the Ālepakas (elsewhere Vaimalas?) to have been a Śaiva community which regarded space or the atmosphere as the representative par excellence of the Highest Truth (they are called *antaropama*)

72. Cf also my book Die Religionen Indiens, II. Stuttgart 1963, p. 232 f

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73 Edited, translated and annotated by Sudarshana Devi Singhal, New Delhi (Int. Acad. Ind. Cult) 1958. Only one palm-leaf manuscript is so far known to exist. Strangely enough this work—like other Indian publications—seems to have escaped the attention of Dr Zoetmulder in preparing his above-mentioned book

74 Edited, annotated, etc. by Sharada Rani, New Delhi (Int. Acad Ind. Cult.) 1961

75. See also the remarks made by V.S Sukthankar, The Mahābhārata critically edited, I, The Ādiparvan, Poona 1933, p XXV f.; Raghu Vira, *ibid.* V The Virāṭaparvan, Poona 1936, p XI ff. and especially the detailed comparison instituted by S K Belvalkar, *ibid.*, VII, The Bhīsmaparvan, Poona 1947, p. LXXXV, between the Javanese epitome of the Bhīṣmaparvan and the Indian traditions of the same.

76 For these points, see my article The Javanese version of the Bhagavadgītā, *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde*, 75 (1935), p 36 ff.

77. See the introduction to the edition by J C.G. Jonker, Een Oud-Javaansch Wetboek, Thesis Leiden 1885 It is time to resume the study of this material

78. See the present author's publication written in German, Einige Mitteilungen über das altjavanische Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, Acta Orientalia, II (Leiden 1932), p 218 ff., an abridged adaptation of which appeared in *Purāṇa*, 2 (1960), p 252 ff

79 See the notes added to my edition On the relation between the Old-Javanese version of the 5th book of the Mahābhārata and the Indian Virātaparvan there is a meritorious book (in Danish) ; K. Wulff, Den Oldjavanske Wirāṭaparvan og dens Sanskrit-original, Copenhagen 1916

80 W. Kirfel, Das Purāna pañcalaksana, Bonn, 1927, p. x ff

81. For this purāna, see also R C. Hazra, Studies in the purāṇic records on Hindu rites and customs, Dacca 1940, p 17 ff

82. For details, see *Purāṇa*, 2, p. 259 ff.

83. Kirfel, *op cit* , p XIX

84. For particulars, see *Acta Orientalia*, II, p. 252 ff.

85. One should not, however, embroil the discussion of these difficulties by creating pseudo-problems such as for instance arise from attempts at distinguishing literary genres in the European fashion (see, e g., J.L Swellengrebel, Korawāśrama, Thesis, Leiden 1936, p 3 on the question as to whether this work is "narrative" or "didactic")

86. I cannot enter here into a discussion of the Indonesian reception, development and assimilation of Indian sculptural motifs expressive of religious "symbolism". The reader may be referred to the some-what onesided and in parts incautious and speculative book by F D.K. Bosch, The golden gern (The Hague 1960).

87. M Prijohutomo, Nawaruci, Thesis, Utrecht 1934; R Ng. Purbacaraka, Dewa-Ruci, in Djwa 20 (Yogyakarta 1940), p. 5 ff. For Bhīma see also W.F Stutterheim, Studies in Indonesian Archaeology, The Hague 1956, p. 105 ff.

88 See F D.K. Bosch, De mythische achtergrond van de Ken Angrok-legende, Amsterdam Acad 1964, whose views have not, however, convinced me completely

89. B.J.O. Schrieke, Ruler and Realm in early Java, in B Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies, II, The Hague 1957, p. 83 ff

90. See above

91. Speaking on the rise of Viṣṇuism in Further India (11th and 19th centuries) G. Coedès, Les peuples de la péninsule indochinoise, Paris 1962, p. 209 is affirmative on this point. It may be of interest to add that nowadays in Bali, beside the Śaiva and the Buddha priests, there is a slightly Vaiṣṇava *senguhu* (exorcist) with his special extra cult objects

92 The belief that the ruler was not only Visnu on earth, but also the protector of his realm and his subjects as well as the destroyer of inimical and demoniac power was well-known to the Javanese See, e g., the present author's notes on the Bhīsmaparwa, (Aantakeningen bij het Oud-Javaanse Bhīsmaparwa, Bandung 1937), p. 30.

93. Cf. H. Kern, *Verspreide geschriften*, VII, p. 83 ff. The record was found in the region of Surabaja (East Java) but removed to the Calcutta museum.

94. Passing mention may be made here of the messia's idea which is deeply rooted in the Javanese mind. Known as Erucakra such a figure, who was to bring peace on earth—i.e., on Java—and to usher in a "millennium", has, in the 17th century and after, come several times on the scene As already pointed out by Schrieke (*op cit* , p. 82) this concept corresponds closely to the idea of Viṣnu as the saviour of the world and the ruler as its restorer. In his book Drie Javaansche goeroes (Thesis, Leiden 1925) G.W.J. Drewes collected much material in this subject. See also E. Sarkisyanz, Russland und der Messianismus des Orients, Tubingen 1955, p 297 ff (Java); 308 ff (Hindu messianism)

95. It is a reason for regret that those few scholars who apply themselves to the study of ancient Indonesian culture were, and are, generally speaking, insufficiently acquainted with Sanskrit literature and the history of Indian religions This state of affairs has not rarely resulted in misrepresentations of some relevant facts

96. "There are hundreds of temples and shrines at Banares with names ending in—*eśvar* (*īśvara*) such as Tārakeśvar, Ratneśvar, Someśvar, etc., all of which are Śiva temples dedicated to some particular manifestation of the Supreme Īśvara" (E B Havell, Benares, London 1905, p 66).

97. For a discussion see Zoetmulder, *op cit.*, p 232 and the authors mentioned in note 4

98 Three so far published : J G. de Casparis, Selected Inscriptions from the 7th to 9th cent A.D , Bandung, 1956, p 244 ff

99. F D.K Bosch in *Bijdragen Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde*, 114, p 314

100 Ph. Stern, Le temple-motagne khmèr, Le culte du liṅga et le Devarāja, *Bulletin de l'École francaise d'Extreme-Orient*, 34, p 611 ff

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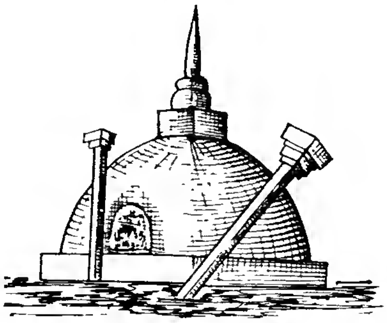
101. Cf. W.F. Stutterheim. The meaning of the Hindu Javanese caṇḍī, *J.A O.S* . 51 (1931), p 1 ff.; Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 134, Zoetmulder, *op. cit.*, p. 265 ff. It is however wrong to regard all Javanese pre-Muslim monuments called *caṇḍī*—the term may be supposed to represent the Sanskrit Caṇḍī, a well-known name of the goddess Durgā, out of whose body arose a large number of sanctuaries—as sepulchral in character or to describe them as "soul temples"
102. Krom, Hindoe-Javaansche geschiedenis, p 76, and, especially, Getty, *op cit.*, ch. VI.
103. For the complicated rites of the Balinese *sūrvasevana* which is, up to the present day, performed as a domestic as well as a temple ritual, see C. Hooykaas, Sūrya-Sevana The way to god of a Balinese Śiva priest, Amsterdam Acad. 1966 ("'the way to god' being an imperfect term for the detailed rendering of a ritual, the first half of which consists of all the preparations, to make it possible for the priest's soul to achieve unity with God ")
104 C J Grader, Studies in life, thought and ritual. (in Bali) The Hague 1960, p 407
105. See, e.g., Agni-Purāṇa, ch. 73. As is well known worship of the sun is also an element of Hindu pūjā See, e.g., C G. Diehl, Instrument and purpose. Studies on Rites and Rituals in South India, Lund 1956, p. 111 f (Śaiva ritual) and N R. Bhatt, Rauravāgama, I, Pondicherry, 1961, p 195 ff.
106. J.E.V. Lohuizen-De Leeuw, in Proceedings of the XXIII Int Congress of Orientalists 1954, p. 283 f. The authoress points out that whereas the oldest Indonesian images of the Sun god follow the Indian iconographical prescriptions closely, a change sets in towards the end of the Central Javanese period which in the East Javanese period resulted into a remarkable deviation from the Indian images, the Sun being now shown on horse-back, or as having the unicorn as its vāhana, an animal also found as a decorative motif in connection with illustrations of Krsṇa stories.
107 See K.A.H. Hidding, Nji Pohatji Sangjang Sri, Thesis, Leiden 1929. Gonda, Aspects of early Visnuism, Utrecht 1954, p. 220 ff.
108. Hinduism as a whole has in the course of time increasingly tended towards syncretism
109 For Bali, see Zoetmulder, *op cit* , p. 315 ff
110. This term to be taken in a broad sense.
111. Cf., e.g., Chatterjee, India and Java, I, p. 52 ff
112. Grader, Studies in life, thought and ritual, (in Bali) p 166
113. See note 112.
114. It is uncertain whether the contents of the brief note by Majumdar in History and culture of the Indian people, III, p. 642 really refer to Bali
115. Majumdar, in History and culture of the Indian people, V, p 753 seems to be somewhat too affirmative on this point
116. P.V. van Stein Callenfels, Epigraphia balica, Verhandelingen Bataviaasch Genootschap 66, 3 (1925), R. Goris, in Djawa 16 (1936), p. 88 ff
117. J.L. Swellengrebel (in Bali) Studies in life, thought and ritual, The Hague 1960, p 24 ff
118. P. Wirj, Der Totenkult auf Bali, Stuttgart 1928; K.C. Crucq, Bijdarge tot de kennis van het Balische doodenritueel, Thesis, Leiden 1928.
119 R. Goris, in *Mededelingen van de Kirtya Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk*, 1, Singaradja (Bali) 1929, p 41 ff., M Covarrubias, Island of Bali, New York 1938, p. 52 ff The use of the term "castes" in this connection is incorrect.
120 Swellengrebel, *op. cit* , p 36 ff.
121. See the hasty and defective publication by S Lévi, Sanskrit texts from Bali, Baroda 1933. Dr Hooykaas (London, formerly Jacarta) has collected a large number of mantras which will be edited, translated and annotated by Dr. T. Goudraain, Utrecht
122. J.H. Hooykaas-Van Leeuwen Boomkamp, Ritual purification of a Balinese temple, Amsterdam Academy 1961.
123. For Balinese religion compare also the recent book by C Hooykaas, Āgama-tīrtha, Amsterdam Acad. 1964 Āgama-tīrtha is the traditional name of the Balinese religion ("The religion of the Holy Water"). This book contains five studies, on Sarasvatī, Yama-rāja, Padmāsana, Śiva-liṅga and Śiva-rātri respectively
124. F D.K. Bosch, Hiranyagarbha, The Hague 1964, p. 16



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Sanskrit Texts and Indian Religion in Bali

T. GOUDRIAAN

Bali, The Land of Hinduism

ALTHOUGH IT IS generally known in India and elsewhere that the Indonesian island of Bali possesses a Hindu religion, Hindu priests and a Sanskrit tradition, notions are often less exact about the real state of affairs in this respect. Reliable studies of Balinese Hinduism have been published only intermittently, and our knowledge has thus increased only slowly. In recent years, important material has been brought to light by new publications; yet a comprehensive survey of the field is still awaiting its author. Particularly, about the character of the Sanskrit texts preserved in Bali there has been a great deal of misunderstanding—caused chiefly by the fact that the titles of Balinese manuscripts or text fragments often do not in the least correspond, according to general opinion, with their real contents.

Tāntric Śaivite Text

In a report published in 1849, the Dutch scholar R. Friederich wrote with enthusiasm about the existence of the Vedas in Bali.[1] He told his readers that the Balinese priests possessed in manuscripts form important parts of all the four Veda Saṃhitās, written by Bagawan Byasa (Vyāsa). They kept these manuscripts in secret and taught their contents to the young generations of Brahman priests only. Friederich succeeded in obtaining the priests' confidence in such a degree that they made known to him the Old Javanese Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa. He was not allowed, however, to have a look into their manuscripts called Veda. Had he been able to do this, he would have found out soon that this Veda in no way represented the Ancient Indian Veda, not even in a fragmentary shape; and in that case he would not have led later authors on a false track. The myth of the Balinese Veda still persisted long after other scholars like Brumund and Kern had found out the real state of affairs. The manuscripts kept back so persistently by the Brahman priests are usually written in a mixture of Old Javanese, Balinese, and Sanskrit loan-words; they contain prescriptions for all kinds of ritual, and mystical expositions; and they are interspersed with sacred mantras and hymns. The background of these Sanskrit fragments is chiefly Śaivism with a strong Tantric tinge. More than ten codices called Veda exist; a far greater number has another name, but more or less the same contents. There are also a few collections of Sanskrit hymns only.

The Meanings of Balinese 'Veda'

In most cases, the word Veda means practically no other thing than Pūjā. Thus the term

Veda-parikramā stands for the performance of daily ritual, also called *Sūrya-sevana*. Such a performance was attended by Sylvan Lévi and described by him in his book *Sanskrit Texts from Bali*.[2] The same ritual has been discussed with much more detail and precision by C. Hooykaas.[3] In the volume mentioned above. Lévi published also a *Buddha Veda*, which he presented as the daily worship of the Balinese Buddhist priests. This is a mistake; the Buddha Veda contains Buddhist death ritual, and incomplete at that. The daily ritual became known to Prof. Hooykaas only in 1959 by means of a copy from a manuscript called *Pūrvaka Veda Buddha*. Lévi pointed out that the text called *Caturveda* is in reality nearly identical with the *Nārāyaṇātharvaśīrṣopaniṣad*; its four chapters are called in Bali respectively Ṛgveda, Yajur or Jajur-veda, Sāmaveda and Artha (Atharva) veda. At that, the Upaniṣad has been handed down in Bali with such a number of lacunae and mistakes that the Sanskrit has become practically unintelligible. Further, the two hymns labelled *Ṛgveda* and *Yajurveda-stuti* in reality have nothing to do with what might be expected by their names.

Extant Vedic Texts in Bali

Thus, there is no Veda in Bali in the Indian sense; the only Vedic fragments really found there are:

(a) One pāda of the Sāvitrī : *bhargo devasya dhīmahi*;

(b) A śloka to the sacred thread found also in the Gṛhyasūtras; here again, the Balinese tradition is incomplete (see Lévi, *op. cit.*, p. XVI);

(c) The five names of Śiva *(Pañcabrahma)* and the usual litany directed to them, as found in *Mahā Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad* 277. It is present in Bali under the name *Brahmastava* (not yet edited).

It is necessary to add that these remarks apply only to the traditional corpus of manuscripts. At present, the Balinese have obtained more knowledge of the source of their Hindu tradition (thus the whole Śāvitrī has been taught to them, already some years ago).

(2) What is the real character of the Balinese Sanskrit Literature? A special position is taken by the dogmatic and mystic expositions of the Old Javanese branch of the Śaiva Siddhānta, such as the *Bhuvanakośa* (probably the oldest), the *Bhuvanasaṃkṣepa* and the *Bṛhaspatitattva*. They consist of Sanskrit ślokas accompanied by Old Javanese paraphrase or commentary. The manuscripts of these works have been preserved exclusively in Bali or Lombok. Work has been done in editing them and systematizing their doctrines by Dutch, German and Indian scholars. The results are, however, not yet definite.[4] These texts probably have been composed in the 9th century A.D., or not much later. A Buddhist work of this period, the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*, "The Holy Mahāyāna System", also contains a number of Sanskrit stanzas with their exposition in Old Javanese. It teaches a Tantric variety of Mahāyāna.

Balinese Books on Sanskrit Grammar

A more worldly wisdom has been handed down in the form of two śloka collections called *Sārasamuccaya* and *Ślokāntara*. Besides, there are fragments of grammars and grammatical exercises, which prove that the study of Sanskrit has in the past been seriously cultivated. At present, the Balinese priests have no grammatical insight into Sanskrit. They know the meaning of many words and are able to interpret some fragments by means of Old Javanese paraphrases which are in their possession. The paraphrases and interpretations are, however, many a time quite off the mark. They even until recently did not know the term "Sanskrit" but spoke of "difficult words".

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Mahābhārata and Purāṇa still recited

This is not the place to dwell on the rich literature preserved in Old Javanese, of a purely literary as well as of a more technical character, and often labelled with Sanskrit titles. This literature includes parts of a prose translation of the *Māhābhārata*, and a text called *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, which is, however, an adaptation of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. The motifs of the Old Javanese texts have nearly completely been furnished by Indian religion and mythology, and Old Javanese itself teems with Sanskrit words and phrases. Both the *Mahābhārata* and the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* in Javanese are still recited in Bali on certain occasions. The old themes have sometimes been adapted into more modern versions.[5]

Stutis and Stavas Recited in Rituals

(3) The greater part of the Sanskrit of Bali is found scattered in the ritual handbooks used by the priests; the "Vedas" mentioned above belong to the same class. The syllables of the Sanskrit alphabet are known together with their function in Tantric mysticism; there are Tantric bījas like *grīṃ, hrīṃ, gmuṃ*; and sequences of syllables constituting short formulae (thus, e.g., the Kūṭamantra : *Oṃ hrāṃ hrīṃ saḥ Parama-Śivādityāya namaḥ*). But above all there is a considerable number of hymns to the gods, called *stuti* or *stava*. They vary in length from two or three to about 25 stanzas. These *stutis* are said or sung on certain fixed points in the ritual, of which they constitute an inherent part. They have been partly edited in a provisory manner by Lévi, within them we find a mixture of different styles and even of different kinds of Sanskrit. Besides hymns written in a high-flown style of impeccable Sanskrit, there are also some pieces in a language which can hardly be called by that name. Their style consists of a medley of Sanskrit expressions without any coherence or syntactical order, strung together loosely as epithets, sometimes even interspersed with Indonesian words or prefixes. Between these two extremes, all intermediate varieties exist.

Some Examples of Modified Sanskrit

The following hymn of three ślokas may serve as an example of the second style. It is by no means common in the ritual, but found only in one manuscript, a collection of protective mantras. In the text given here, some peculiarities of the Balinese manuscript tradition have already been corrected.

1. *Oṃ Kālāgnighora trimukha byaḥ kṛṣṇavāyu piṅgalam*
   cakra Sudarśa ca mṛtaḥ atiṣṭha nāma rakṣantu
2. *Oṃ Mahāgni mahābhāraś ca jagrabhoktaḥ mahājñānam*
   raktavāyu mahāmūrti daṇḍāstra saṅ Śivaḥ smṛtaḥ
3. *Atiṣṭha mama rakṣantu atisa tami prayāntu*
   Mahākrūra pralīnare ātmarakṣa pūjāyukti.

The words of this hymn are so unclear that even the god or gods addressed are not easy to determine at first sight. The name Śiva is mentioned in pāda 2nd, accompanied by the purely Javanese word *saṅ* "holy." But the fact that the rod is called his weapon, and also the colour red in the word *raktavāyu* point to Brahmā. Further, *v*. I speaks of Viṣṇu, as is shown by the colour black (also in Bali, black is Viṣṇu's regular colour), and by the mention of his weapon, the disc *Sudarśana*. The text in pāda 1-*c* says : *sudarśa ca mṛtah*, but an emendation into *Sudarśana smṛtaḥ* would at least bring the meaning to light. Interesting is, that Viṣṇu is called "terrible like the apocalyptical fire" and "three-faced". These characteristics of Viṣṇu are repeated by other Balinese *stutis* and thus form an inherent part of the Balinese tradition about this deity. In

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the second stanza, which as we saw, has something to do with Brahmā; the word *mahāgni* may be observed. It is quite well possible that Brahmā should be called a "fire", because the deities Brahmā and Agni have been identified in Old Javanese and Balinese Hinduism. Thus a volcano in the east of Java is called up till now *Těnggěr Bromo* "Brahmā's Uplands", because Brahmā was brought into connection with the volcanic nature of the mountain. The overall meaning of the poem might be interpreted thus : Śiva, showing himself as a black and a red wind in the terrible shapes of respectively Viṣṇu and Brahmā, characterized by their attributes, is requested to protect the worshipper, in time of great danger, especially at the dreadful apocalypse (*pralīnare* ?). An attempt further to emend the words of the hymn into a correct Sanskrit would not only be impracticable and inadvisable but even faulty from the philological point of view. These three stanzas have never been correct Sanskrit, but have been produced by a Balinese or Javanese author with a fair knowledge of Sanskrit religious terminology, but without any idea of Sanskrit grammar and syntax—or if he had it, he did not use it. This is not to say, however, that some emendation of totally dark passages may not be ventured; for instance, in pāda 3b, instead of *atisa tami prayāntu,* I suggest *ātiṣṭha* (as in 3a; meaning?) *tama (= tamaḥ) prayātu.*

Chaste Sanskrit Recitals

(4) In contrast to the preceding *stuti,* the one given below is one of the best known of Balinese Sanskrit. It it called *Paṅakṣama Bhaṭāra* "means for asking the Lords' forbearance", and is recited on a certain point of the daily ritual of the Śaiva priest. Here the Sanskrit is much better and generally understandable.

1... *Oṃ kṣamasva māṃ Jagannātha sarvapāpanirantaram*
sarvakāryam idaṃ dehi praṇamāmi Sureśvaram.
2. *tvaṃ Suryas tvaṃ Śivākāras tvaṃ Rudro vahnilakṣaṇaḥ*
tvaṃ hi sarvagatākāro mama kāryaṃ prajāyate.
3. *kṣamasva māṃ mahāśakte hy āśṭaiśvaryaguṇātmaka*
nāśayet satataṃ pāpaṃ sarvaṃ ālokadarpaṇa.

Translation :

1. Oh Protector of the world, be gracious to me, who is enclosed by all kinds of evil; grant me this whole enterprise of mine; I bow to the Lord of gods.
2. Thou art the Sun, Thou art of Śiva's form, Thou art Rudra characterized by fire. Thou indeed art of all encompassing form; my enterprise comes into existence.
3. Be gracious to me, O Thou of great power, because Thy nature consists of the eight faculties of dominance etc. ; He will continually destroy evil; O Thou Who art mirrored by everything (?).

Generally speaking, the language of this *stuti* can be called reasonable Sanskrit (here again, the manuscripts have been corrected beforehand on several points of orthography). Yet the poem shows a certain lack of coherence, especially between the padas 1c–1d and 2c–2d. Moreover, vs. 3 contains several dubious features : the place of *hi* at the head of 3b; the unexpected third person is *nāśayet,* the peculiar syntax and use of words in 3d, which renders the meaning difficult to recognize. These arguments combined are apt to justify a suspicion about the real correctness of this Sanskrit. Probably the hymn in question is the work of an Indonesian poet who had a reasonable knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, but was not very versatile in the art of composing independent ślokas in that language. It is not impossible that he was an Indian; not all Sanskrit composed by Indians is flawless from the grammatical point of view.

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This *stuti* also furnishes an occasion for some other remarks. In the first place, the poem is an expression of a real devotion to a God, called by the names or epithets Jagannātha and Surveśara in *v.* 1; Sūrya, Śivākāra and Rudra in *v.* 2; and Mahāśakti in *v.* 3. The deity addressed is in fact the Supreme God of the Balinese, Śivasūrya or Śivāditya. A pre-Hindu sun-worship may have played its part in causing this emphasis on the solar aspect of the Hindu Śiva. It is noteworthy how Śiva and Sūrya have not only been identified, but are also worshipped expressly as a unity in duality. In general, the figure of Śiva and its characteristics are predominant; Śiva is known also as Rudra, as seen above, and freely addressed with other names such as Īśvara, Giripati, Pañcamukha, and Mahādeva.

Hinduism a Living Religion in Bali

Besides, attention is struck by the mention of the eight divine qualities of dominance, etc., in *v.* 3. These qualities : *dharma, jñāna, vairāgya, aiśvarya* and their opposites, are well known to the Balinese priests. Just like in India, these *guṇas* are worshipped on the occasion of the *Āsana-pūjā* during the performance of daily worship. In India they constitute a stage in the invocation of the deity, called *siṃhāsana*. In Bali, the function of the worship of the *guṇas* is the same : Śivāditya's lower manifestations have to be successively attended upon by the priest before he is able to reach God's highest nature. Just like in Indian *pūjā,* the priest's goal is to identify himself with the divinity during the performance of worship. The way to this identification in Bali is essentially an adaptation of Indian ideas. The fundamental difference between the two systems lies in the priest's activities after he has become the living abode of God : while in India he worships and entertains the *Liṅga* or image as a divine guest, the Balinese priest's task is to make holy water, cause the God to descend into it, and sell it to the people.

Of course, the hallowing of the water is known also in India, but there it does not constitute the central act of the ceremony. This fact gives to the Balinese way of daily worship, notwithstanding its striking similarities with the Indian method, a quite independent character.[6]

In order to avoid misunderstanding it should be added that Liṅga pūjā is also known, but its performance is non-obligatory.[7]

Different Forms of Pūjā

(5) What is said above about the worship of Śiva does not imply that his liturgy knows no variations. Beside the *pūjā* performed by the Śaivite Brāhmaṇa priests, there are the *pūjā kṣatriya* destined for the princes, and the ritual performance of the Buddhist priests. The *pūjā kṣatriya* has not yet been fully described; its manuscript tradition is unclear and defective. In general, it follows the line of the priests' worship, but in a simplified and shorter way. Although it often uses the same hymns, its manuscripts regularly show deviating readings. Thus, the hymn discussed above is not found as much in the *pūjā kṣatriya* manuscripts, but there exists a composition much resembling it in the first two verses. This might be illustrated by verse 1.

Oṃ kṣamasva māṃ Śivadeva Jagannātha hitaṃkara
Sarvapāpavimuktena praṇamāmyahaṃ Sureśvaram.

The Sanskrit of this verse is definitely worse than that of the Śiva priests' variant, and the same might be said of most other *stutis* of the *pujā kṣatriya.*

The most original feature of the *pūja kṣatriya* is, that it is of a rather Viṣṇuite character. The Viṣṇuite element is not found in the present verse (except perhaps the epithet Jagannātha,

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which is also freely used for Śiva), due to the fact that the Vaiṣṇava pūjā (just like its Bauddha counterpart) does not mind to use purely Śaiva *stutis* on some occasions. As a matter of fact, the designation "Viṣṇuite" does not imply any important dogmatic difference; it is reached chiefly by a change of the references to one or more of Śiva's manifestations to those used for denoting Viṣṇu, or by adding Viṣṇu's name to some expression. For example, the *Kavaca-mantra* :

Oṃ hruṃ kavacāya namaḥ

is found in the *pujā kṣatriya* manuscripts as :

Oṃ hruṃ Viṣṇukavacāya namaḥ

This Viṣṇuite character of the worship of the kṣatriya leads to the hypothesis that, just like the Śaiva Brāhmaṇa priest is able to identify himself with Śiva, the Vaiṣṇava earthly ruler considered himself an incarnation of Viṣṇu and actually endeavoured to reach identification with this deity during his ritual. It is indeed known that Ancient Javanese and Balinese rulers saw themselves and were seen by others as manifestations of Viṣṇu.[8]

Form of Balinese Buddhism

(6) There is still another variant of the verse discussed above: the manuscript called *Veda Buddha*, containing the daily ritual of a Buddhist priest, says this:

Kṣamasva māṃ Jagannātha sarvapāpavināśanam
sarvakāryaprāṇadevaṃ praṇamāmi Sureśvaram

There is nothing exclusively Buddhistic in this stanza; only two compounds have been changed and this is no improvement to the text. In fact, the Buddhist priests, as has already been remarked, without objection use Śivaite hymns: a token of the close state of amalgamation to which the two religions have come in Bali. Buddhism and Śivaism were welded already into a practically unified system during the Old Javanese period.

In other stanzas or mantras the name of Śiva or another deity of the Śivaite pantheon has been replaced by that of Buddha; and the Buddhists even possess a relatively small number of purely Buddhist hymns in ślokas, and incantations in the form of dhāraṇīs. Some of the ślokas have been written in good Sanskrit, thus e.g. the following one, the second of a hymn of five called Triratna.[9]

Namo Buddhāya gurave namo Dharmāya tāyine
namaḥ Saṅghāya mahate tribhyo'pi satataṃ namaḥ

No clumsy faltering here, but an ordinary, albeit simple, kind of Sanskrit. Interesting is the appearance of the curious word *tāyin* "protector, preserver". It is found in Indian Buddhist texts, e.g. in the introductory verse to Diṅnāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya* :

. . .praṇamya śāstre Sugatāya tāyine . . .

"having made a bow to the Teacher, the One Who has gone the right way, the Protector . . . ."

Still more striking is verse 4 of the same hymn; of this śloka Lévi could give only the first and the last quarter, but it was handed over completely in the manuscript on Buddhist daily worship mentioned above.

*Sarvapāpasya karaṇaṃ kuśala (*MS. *sukala) syopasaṃ (*MS. *tam) padā*
*svacittaparidāpanam (*MS.*—paridharmaṇam) etad Buddhānuśāsanam*

"Cease to do evil, learn to do good, cleanse your mind, such is the Buddha's teaching". This famous verse is found in a Pāli version as Dhammapada v. 183 with nearly the same words.

These instances may suffice to show that the corpus of Sanskrit texts of the Bauddha priests, although only small (its quantity is about one eighth of that of the Śaiva hymns), is

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by no means without value. It may be emphasized here once more, that the Śaiva tradition also contains pieces in very good Sanskrit, certainly of Indian origin. Another thing that should be stated here is that the grammatical correctness of the language is not normative for the value attached to these hymns by the Baliness themselves. On the contrary, some *stutis* composed in a defective kind of Sanskrit are highly esteemed by them.

Buddhism and Śaivism are Complementary

A few words may still be said about the relation between Śaivism and Buddhism. The grade of unity reached by these two religions is shown, e.g., by the fact that on certain ceremonies the Śaivite and the Buddhist priests operate together in a numerical proportion of four to one; while making holy water, the Buddhist priest sits in the south of the site concerned, and his Śaiva colleagues in the other three main directions of the compass and in the centre. But this does not mean that there is no difference between a Śaiva and a Buddhist. The situation is rather this: both are complementary to each other within one religious system. Illustrative in this respect is a Balinese myth which tells that Śiva and Buddha were two brothers. Śiva was the elder with the oldest privileges, but Buddha, the younger brother, was more gifted, especially with the faculty to asceticism.[10] The ascetical practices *(vrata)* of the Bauddha priest are indeed valued a little higher than those of the Śaiva. These Bauddha practices might be designed as a kind of "left path"; they are called *yoga*, while those of the Śaiva are named *bhakti*.

Beside Buddha, who is of course his main god, the Bauddha priest worships the five Dhyānibuddhas and other deities such as Prajñāpāramitā (identified with Sarasvatī) and Yama, who is considered to be one of the fear-inspiring *(krodha)* manifestations of the Dhyānībuddhas[11].

Balinese Hinduism is quite close to Indian Hinduism

(7) The Śaiva pantheon does not differ much from that known in India. Hymns are of course directed in the first place to Śiva in various aspects, as also to Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Agni, Sūrya and Candra, Kāma, Gaṇeśa, Varuṇa, Ananta, the ancestors, the Demons, and others. Of the female deities, Devī (addressed by various names), Sarasvatī and Gaṅgā (in connection with the holy water cult) play the prominent part. A special group is formed by those *stutis* which are directed to a number of gods together. Some of them are meant to accompany the *digbandha*, a magical act by which the evil powers from all directions are warded off with the help of the guardians of the regions of the compass. These guardians are not identical with the Lokapālas of classical Hinduism, but give clear evidence of the Śivaite nature of the Balinese pantheon. Their names, colours and spouses usually are as follows:

Region	*Deity*	*Spouse*	*Colour*
East	Īśvara	Umā	white
South-East	Maheśvara	Lakṣmī	pink
South	Brahmā	Sarasvatī	red
South-West	Rudra	Sanātanī	orange
West	Mahādeva	Śacī	yellow
North-West	Śaṅkara	Mahādevī	dark green
North	Viṣṇu	Śrī	black or dark blue
North-East	Śambhu	Mahādevī (?)	light blue
Centre	Śiva	Sāvitrī	many colours

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Above Śiva, Sadāśiva and Paramaśiva are sometimes thought to be present above each other. Except Brahmā and Viṣṇu, all male deities are manifestations of Śiva; of course, in Śivaite theology, Brahmā and Viṣṇu in real sense have no independent nature either.

Importance of Lokapālas in Bali

The scheme of the directions of the compass and their gods is very important for the Balinese and is found regularly in their ritual literature and art. Thus, the Lokapālas, represented by their colours, are given a place as adornment on ceremonial cloths and costumes. The regions are not indifferent: the North-East is favourable; the Southern regions are those of danger and death. Indeed the geographical situation fits in very well with this view: in the North-Eastern part of the island the impressive volcano Gunung Agung "Great Mountain" is situated; it is considered to be the dwelling-place of Śivāditya. The slope of this mountain lodges the important temple site of Pura Bĕsakih. Balinese mythology identifies the Gunung Agung with the Meru, which was brought over to this place by Paśupati. That it is indeed the pivot of the earth and as such has contact also with the nether world, is proved for the Balinese by its volcanic eruptions with sometimes disastrous consequences, as has been shown again in recent years. The abode of the demons is thought to be located on Nusa Penida, a small island lying to the South-East of Bali (for the eastern part of this island, to the south).

The Rāmakavaca and the Rāmāyaṇa

To return to literature: another kind of "protective *stuti*" is the *kavaca*. Just like in Indian poems of this type, a deity is requested to enter each limb of the worshipper's body by means of his divine manifestations. The finest specimen found in Bali is a *Rāmakavaca* of 22 stanzas in fairly good Sanskrit. The *kavaca* proper covers only the verses 1–8; the rest of the poem praises Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa and recommends their worship. It is quite surprising to find that vss. 15c–17d are nearly completely identical with two ślokas from Valmīki's Rāmāyaṇa (3,18,11 Critical Ed. and a variant)! The figure of Rāma has inspired already the Ancient Javanese (there exists an important court poem in Old Javanese called *Rāmāyaṇa*; it is an adaptation, partly from the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* partly from an unknown source, and up till now Rāma is one of the heroes of the shadow-play (*wayang*).

Pañca-Brahma form of Śiva

(8) We cannot direct attention to all interesting cases of Balinese Sanskrit. Let it suffice to say that the religious world-view expressed by the hymns, in particular those to Śiva, is akin to that of the Śaiva Siddhānta. Śivāditya is the universal God and source of all existence. In the shape of the triad Brahmā–Viṣṇu–Rudra he creates, governs and destroys the world. He is also known as the fivefold (Pañca) brahma: Īśāna, Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva (in Bali: Bāmadeva), Tatpuruṣa and Aghora. Fivefold is also the syllable *Oṃ*, the primeval sound-manifestation of the Absolute: *a-u-m-nāda-bindu*. The gods corresponding with these five parts are Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra (or Maheśvara), Sadāśiva and Paramaśiva. Interesting is, that the word *śūnya* may be used for denoting Śiva's most transcendental nature.

Other manifestations of Śiva (e.g., the classical eightfold one) are also attested. In general, the theological background of the hymns corresponds with that of the *Bhuvanakośa* and the other Old Javanese works analyzed by Zieseniss.[4] One will not find, however, any of the speculations laid down in the *Śivajñānabodham* and the south Indian literature inspired by it; when Śaiva Siddhānta was systematized thoroughly in Southern India, the contact with Indonesia had already been broken off.

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A few more words on the period when this contact has been realized and on its nature are of relevance here. India has begun to exercise its influence in Indonesia in the first centuries of our era. The spread of Indian culture was caused and stimulated by the trade expeditions which were organized from the subcontinent. Indonesian princes accepted the religious and cultural notions of the voyagers and began to invite Brāhmaṇas to their courts. Afterwards, the Hindu culture gradually spread among the upper classes of society. About the exact development of this process there is no certainty, but arguments in favour of the hypothesis sketched above with a few words can be adduced from an analogous situation in later times[12].

The acme of Hindu-Javanese civilization (and the usual term Hindu-Javanese should be understood as including the Buddhist element too) lies approximately in the 8th–10th century A.D. After that, there is a period of gradual "Javanization" of the Indian elements, while new developments in Indian religion and culture are not represented any more in Indonesia. The conclusion may be drawn that the contact with India was not prolonged any more now in the same way as before. The Hindu-Javanese period ended with the diffusion of Islam in the 15th and 16th century A.D.

Loan words from Sanskrit

In Bali, the signs of a Hinduized culture are found from the 8th century onwards. One might rightly speak of an independent Hindu-Balinese culture beside the Hindu-Javanese one of Java: some facts lead to the conclusion that Bali was Hunduized by direct influence of India without intervention from Java. One of these facts is that the oldest Balinese inscriptions are written in Sanskrit and Old Balinese. From about the year 1000 onwards, Old Balinese is gradually pushed aside by Old Javanese; a sign of the increasing dominance of Java over the much smaller Bali. In the 14th century, Bali even became a centre for the study of Old Javanese literature. The influx of Islam, which did not touch Bali, completed the role of this island as a preserver of Hindu-Javanese culture and literary treasures, a role which it has maintained up to these days. In the course of centuries a part of the Sanskrit heritage has been incorporated as loan words in the Balinese language (certainly in this process Old Javanese, which is full of Sanskrit words, played a part). Form, meaning and syntactical function of these loan words often differ considerably from the Sanskrit originals. For example, the Balinese word *mangsa* "to devour" is a descendant of Sanskrit *māṃsa* "flesh, meat"; *biseka* "name" comes from *abhiṣeka*; *gumi* "kingdom" from *bhumi*.[13]

The preservation of Hinduism in Bali did not imply that indigenous cultural values disappeared. There is indeed beside the great Hindu tradition a great deal of what has been called the "small tradition", limited by factors of geographical, cultural or familial environment; and in some respects the two traditions do not constitute an organic whole. Thus, the function of the Brāhmaṇa priest *(pedanda)* has not been integrated into the religious life of the people. The *pedanda* procures his holy water and is indeed held in high esteem; but while he is busy performing his ceremonies the laity does not pay attention to him. He does not officiate in the village and family temples, of which a great number exists. Liturgy in and care of these temples are entrusted to other classes of priests, notably the *pamangku*, who are of non-brahman descent. The word temple should not be understood as "religious building". The Balinese "temple" is an open yard surrounded by a wall or fence; it contains mainly some pavillions and pagodas and a huge stone seat for Śivāditya, who is not represented by an image.

Hindu Caste System in Bali on Indian Pattern

9. Many interesting and important subjects have to be left out from the present article.

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No attention was given to *Viḍi* (Vidhi), the Balinese counterpart of *daivam* or fate, sometimes conceived as a personal God; nor to the very important death ritual and the role played in it by the god Baruna (Varuṇa), Lord of the sea, who receives his sacrifices on the shore; nor to the representation of Hindu mythological motifs in modern Balinese art; only a few words on the Balinese class division cannot be omitted. The Hindu division of society into the four classes of Brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras is found also in Bali (there are no "out-castes"), although the Indian situation should not be projected without understanding Balinese society. The vesyas (Vaiśyas), for example, are a group of indigenous aristocrats and as such hold a higher position like that of their Indian namesakes. The sudras (śūdras), although formerly often exploited by the kṣatriyas, always maintain their awareness of belonging to a respectable and privileged society. Indeed the Balinese are proud of their individuality and cultural inheritance. Anyone who has been the worthy demeanour of the *pedanda* walking about in a Balinese village, will intuitively understand something of India's contribution of human values, which cooperated with the indigenous culture of this remote island in shaping what is known at present as "Agama Hindu Bali".

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A Survey of Palaeographic Relations Between India and the Philippines

JUAN R. FRANCISCO

Introduction

AT THE HEIGHT of cultural contacts between the Philippines and neighbouring regions—particularly with Malaya, the Indonesian archipelago and Borneo—in protohistoric times,[1] there were elements in the culture that were significantly Indian in character. These elements may be classified into many categories, but the most important of these would be linguistic, archaeological, and perhaps also ethnographic and palaeographic.

Antecedent to the discussion of these categories, I wish to discourse on the probable data on the influx of Indian cultural elements into the Philippines. It must be stated here in the first place that these Indian characteristics of Philippine culture reached the Islands via the intervention of the regions lying between these two culture areas. That is, Indian elements in this culture did not reach the Philippines directly. It is, therefore, relevant to say that the date of the influx of Indian influence in the Philippines would be in relation to this movement in these intervening regions.

Sanskrit loanwords in the Philippine languages

With very few, if not meagre, evidences many scholars—both in the Philippines and abroad who studied early Philippine relations with other regions in pre- and protohistoric times—pointed out that the Indian substratum of Philippine culture arrived in the Islands between the 2nd or 3rd century B.C. and the years after the third century A.D.[2] These dates seem to be rather optimistic considering the fact that Indian (Hindu) culture began to filter into South-east Asia—at least in terms of the datable evidences—from the third or fourth century A.D.[3] From the linguistic point of view, the influx of Sanskrit loanwords into the Philippine languages may be explained only in relation to the appearance of the first Sanskritized Malay language inscriptions in South-east Asia—more appropriately in Northern Sumatra—in the late seventh century A.D. These inscriptions are generally known to have been inscribed by a Śrīvijaya monarch in (1) Kedukan Bukit (Palembang), (2) Talang Tawo (Palembang), (3) Karang Brahi (Jambi), and (4) Kota Kapur (Bangka). The first three are in Northern Sumatra, while the fourth is from an island (Bangka) off the coast of the Island. These are dated between Śaka 604 and Śaka 608 (682–686 A.D.). All these inscriptions contain Sanskrit words, which found their way into the Philippine languages. Another inscription which is of later date but which also contains Sanskrit words which found their way into the Island languages is written in very Sanskritized Javanese found in Sukabumi near Kadiri in East Java. It is dated Śaka 726 (804 A.D.).

"With the dates of the Old Malay Inscriptions 682–686 A.D., and the Old Javanese inscription, 804 A.D., our point of reference is set. If by these dates we already become aware of the integration, rather naturalization, of Sanskrit words into the Old Malay and Old Javanese languages which belong to the Malayo-Polynesian family, we may attempt to set the introduction of Sanskrit words into the Philippine languages at a date between 900–1100 A.D. Within this period, we may reasonably say that the Sanskrit words travelled—by the process of slow percolation : the culture drift and stimulus ...."[4]

Buddhist Images find their way in Philippines

Archaeological dating seems to converge with the linguistic date. The archaeological evidence of Indo-Philippine contacts in protohistoric times are discovered in widely located areas in the Islands. In Southern Luzon, there is the Avalokiteśvara-Padmapāṇi clay medallion from Calatagan, Batangas, which had been dated iconographically within the Buddhist-Siamese art of the 12th or 13th century A.D.; and in terms of the associated materials excavated with it, it is decidedly 14th-15th century in date. In the Central Philippines (the Bisayas[5] Islands), there are the bronze Lokeśvara statue from Cebu and the golden Garuḍa pendant from Brooke's Point, Palawan. The former is dated together with the Calatagan medallion within the 12th and 13th century A.D. owing to its significant iconographic relation to Buddhist Siamese art. The latter belongs to a period covering the early years of the Majapahit or even the later years of the Śrīvijaya hegemonies—the 13th and 14th centuries A.D.

In Southern Philippines (Agusan Province), there is the golden Tārā image. It has tantric connections, and therefore, may fall in date within the early part of the 14th century A.D. These stray datable archaeological artifacts would then fall within the 12th and 14th centuries; and, therefore, would converge in date with the linguistic evidences. It is, indeed, significant to note that these two sets of evidences shall give a very clear picture of the influx of Indian elements of culture into the Philippines.

With regards to the date of the influx of Indian customs, manners and traditions—if there were any—into the Islands, I have, more or less, arbitrarily set the date as pre-Hispanic. This is due to very hazy resemblances of these cultural elements, owing to the principle of culture change as cultural elements are integrated in another culture milieu. I have, in fact, described these as analogous, but not necessarily fully influenced by Indian systems.[6]

With regards to the date of the introduction of writing in the Philippines, two sets of evidence may be adverted to here: the ethnographic and archaeological. Ethnographically there are two groups in the Philippines who have preserved their systems of writing in the face of constant pressures of Spanish and American cultures. The probable date of their introduction in the Islands is difficult to establish. However, with the discovery of a locally made pot with inscriptions around its mouth, and associated with Chinese and Siamese porcelain wares belonging to the 14th and 15th centuries, it is almost certain that the probable date of the introduction of writing into the Islands may be set. In a monograph-length work, I wrote in part concerning the date of the pot as well as the probable date of the introduction of writing in the Philippines :—

> "... All the association of the single artifact has been with these Chinese and Siamese wares which may be dated as falling into the period between the late 14th century and the end of the 15th century or the early part of the 16th century.
>
> "In spite of its associations which more or less would make the 14th century as its *terminus ad quo*, it may be still assumed that the script itself may have been introduced

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far earlier than that date considering the fact that writing in the South-East Asian region was already widely used from the early centuries of the present era. It may be assumed further that the earliest date within which it has been introduced into the area would be towards the early part of the 12th century.

"Collating the date of the inscription—the introduction of the script used in it—which is between the 12th and the 14th centuries with the dates of the assumed introduction of Sanskrit (between the 10th and the 12th centuries A.D.) and the appearance of archaeological artifacts with marked Indian or Indo-Malaysian characteristics (between the 12th and 14th centuries), it may be assumed with an amount of certainty that the use of writing may have reached the Philippines almost contemporaneously with the other aspects of Indian culture.

"It may also be pointed out that the comparative cursiveness of the scripts still in use among the Mangyan and the Tagbanuwa, as well as the very close affinity between these scripts and the Calatagan script may be due to the late introduction into the Philippines, whose development was curtailed but the influx of new cultural systems in the area which were not tolerant enough to allow the newly acquired culture tool to flourish."[7]

Philippine Scripts in the Perspective of South-East Asian Developments

The history of writing in the Philippines is always tied up with that in South-East Asia. In so far as the origins of South-East Asian scripts are concerned, it is no longer a debatable problem, except in few instances that a new view comes up with sweeping generalities.

Studies made on the origin of the Cham alphabets[8] are quite extensive and proved that they are of south Indian provenance, until in 1932 R.C. Majumdar sought to establish that they are of the northern Indian origin resembling the Kuṣāṇa type and character.[9] However, in 1936 K.A. Nilakantha Sastri viewing the subject on a much broader perspective, apart from the palaeographic aspect alone, showed that these alphabets belong to the south Indian palaeographic traditions.[10] The debate between these two Indian scholars lasted for a few years, when in 1948 Georges Coedès wrote that the south Indian provenance of the Cham alphabets is more likely, because these showed the influence of Pallava scripts more than the Kuṣāṇa writings.[11]

The four rock inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman dated 5th century A.D. and those found at Ci-Aruton, Jambu, Kebon Kopi near Buitenzorg and Tugu near Batavia, all from Western Java used a system of writing very much affiliated with the Pallava scripts and the Vengi writing.[12] In close affinity with the Western Javanese scripts these are used in the inscription of Mūlavarman in Eastern Borneo and dated palaeographically to the 5th century A.D.[13]

The Sumatran (Redjang, Batak and Lampong) and the Buginese (Celebes) scripts appear to be more indigenous in character, but palaeographic studies on these systems of writing point out to their affinities with Kawi writing, or more appropriately, they are descended from the writings of Western Java.[14] The Sumatran system of writing appears to have been the origin of Philippine scripts (see below for more details), the former being descended from Western Java, which writing also was derived from south India.

Six Views Concerning the Origin of Scripts in Philippines

Palaeographic scholarship in the Philippines has advanced as many as six views concerning the origins of Philippine scripts. First of these views is by Isaac Taylor, who dates the introduction of writing into the Philippines, particularly the Tagalog at some time before the 8th century

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A.D., which he believes to have come from the coast of Bengal. In his study, he includes a text illustration showing resemblances of the letters, *ga, ka, nga, ta, ma, ha* and *u* in Kistna, Assam and Tagala *(sic)*.[15] The inference that may be drawn from this illustration is that Tagalog script may have been derived either from Assam, or from the Krishna River, in Andhra Pradesh in south India.

The second view is expounded by Fletcher Gardner. He believes that Philippine scripts, particularly Mangyan and Tagbanuwa, have been derived from the Aśokan alphabets.[16] This view seems to have been anticipated by T.H. Pardo de Tavera, who supports a similar view and expounds it in a work published in the late 1800's.[17]

The third view is advanced by David Diringer. He shows that it is the alphabet of the inscriptions used in the Ci-Aruton of King Pūrṇavarman (Western Java) that constituted the earliest forms of Philippine syllabic writings. This alphabet underwent changes, and was brought to the Islands by the intervention of Buginese writing.[18] This view is further supported by Harold C. Conklin[19] and Robert B. Fox.[20]

The fourth view is expounded by Constantino Lendoyro, who writes that all the systems of writing are indigenous because they were products of the inventive character of the early Philippine peoples.[21]

The fifth theory is expounded by V.A. Makarenko. He argues that the last of the "six waves of migration that passed through the Philippines archipelago from the Asian continent ... (in) approximately ... 200 B.C. ... were the Malayans and the Dravidians..." who influenced the development of a Filipino script.[22]

A Critical Review of These Views

All these views were subjected to a very severe scrutiny and found wanting in terms of the various factors that may have obtained during the period that Philippine scripts may have been introduced. The time of their introduction into the Philippines was far too early considering that the other corroborative evidences belong to a much later period, or that palaeographically, the intervening scripts do not belong to the same tradition. The former reason applies very much to the first, second and fifth views, while the latter to the third view. The fourth may even be more significant in this context, because it calls for a very highly developed culture of the Filipinos. It may well be the answer to the question whether the early Filipinos *really* had a culture. But we may dismiss this view (the fourth), because palaeographically, Philippines' scripts are very much akin to the northern Sumatran writings. And, thus we come to the sixth view, which became apparent in the course of intensive studies of Philippine systems of writing.

This theory may be described but briefly—in the process of quantification of the resemblances and fundamental similarities of basic formstrokes of a great percentage if not all of the symbols for each letter, I have reached the conclusion that the Sumatran scripts—extant as they still are—appear to be basically the same as the Philippine scripts, particularly extant writings of the Palawan Tagbanuwa and the Mindoro Mangyan. The inference that may be drawn from this discovery is that either the Sumatran scripts were the origins of the Philippine writing, or *vice versa*, considering the fact that there were movements of culture from one region to another and back. Both may be later contemporaneous developments of an earlier system of writing which was the common ancestor. This common ancestor may be one of the many systems of writing in the area.

There are seventeen symbols in Philippine syllabic writing. In the comparative quanti-

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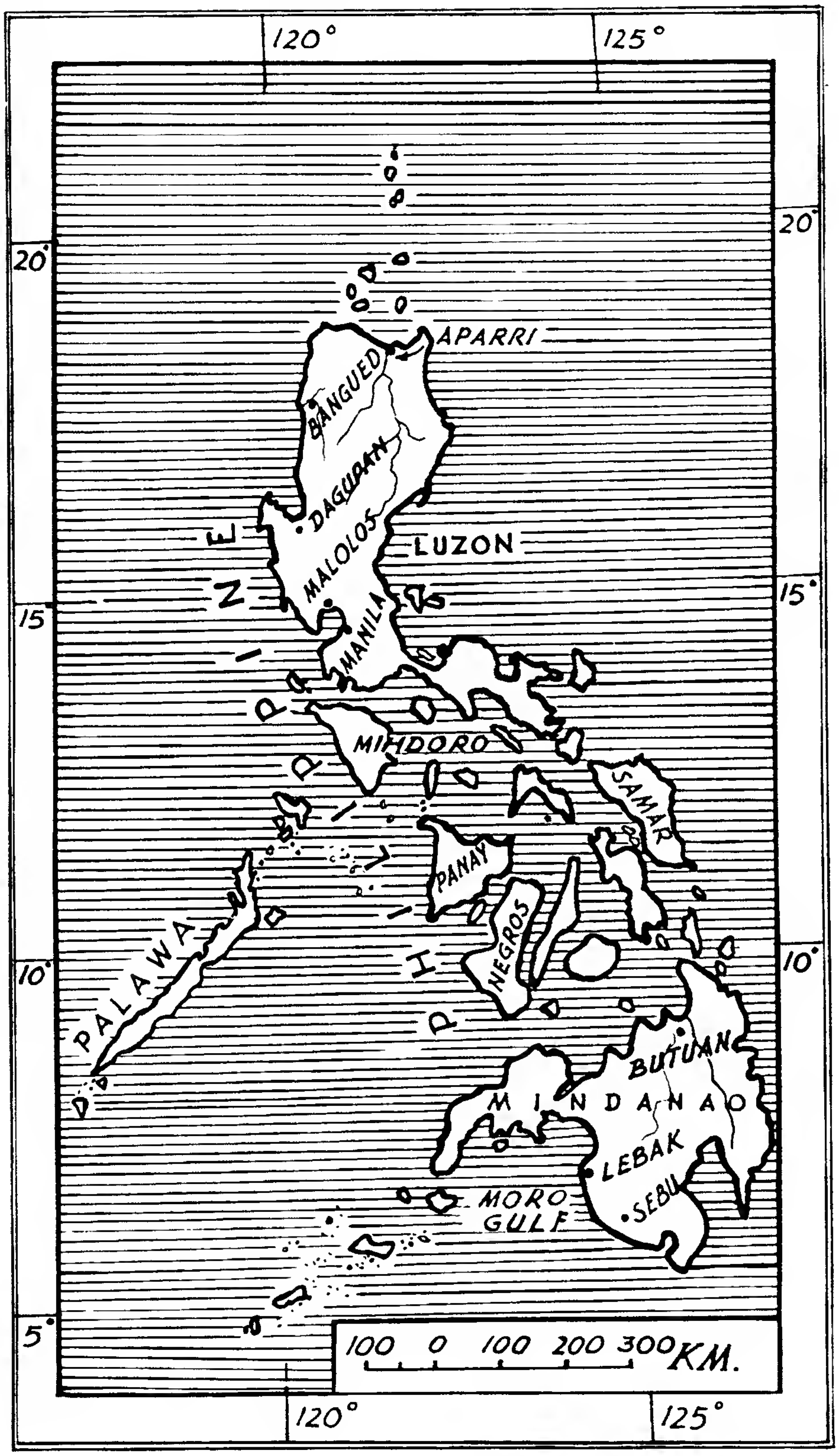
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fication, it was found out that fourteen out of the seventeen possible correspondences appear to be established in affinities. But, in terms of their extra-Sumatran kinships, it is still the south Indian Pallava-Grantha scripts that claim ancestry of these scripts, via the intervention of the scripts used in the Pūrṇavarman inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman.

General Considerations on the Role of the Scripts

A. The influx of writing into the Philippines as a cultural tool is indeed viewed only in terms of its advent and development in the intervening regions, i.e., the Malaysian Peninsula and the Indonesian Archipelago. Its introduction, however, has been subject to various views and theories and sometimes confusion is the result. One view argued for the direct Aśokan influence upon Philippine systems of writing, another for an Assami-Kistna affinity, yet another for a direct Tamil ancestry. Another view argued for the invention theory which, however, has been shown to have no valid base. The south Indian Pallava-Grantha has been accepted by scholars, but with the modification that the system had its intervening development in Western Java, through the Bugi forms. I have accepted the Pallava-Grantha provenance, but differ on the intermediary forms. I think, in terms of the available data I have examined, in contrast to the Bugi origins, the Philippine scripts have their early developments in the Sumatran systems of writing. The main evidence advanced for the Bugi provenance is that both this system of writing and that of the Philippines write open-ended syllables. The Philippine-Sumatran affinity is based on the resemblances of basic form-strokes in both syllabic writings and on both writing open-ended syllables.

The problem or problems connected with the Calatagan Pot script are both archaeological and palaeographic as well as linguistic. It being acquired through pot hunters creates doubt as to its archaeological relevance, palaeographic authenticity and linguistic antiquity. The solution of these problems would be simple if there would be other inscribed pots belonging to the same age, scientifically excavated from the same site. So far, there are no other pots of the same provenance with identical or similar inscriptions. This may be partly due to complete stoppage of excavation in the area.

At this juncture, it may not be amiss to mention the latest notice of new groups, apart from the Buhid and Latag (*Hanunoo,* Conklin) Mangyan, in Mindoro, who have preserved their system of writing. These groups are located in Central Mindoro Oriental, just north of the Buhid. A study of the tracings sent by Fr. Antonio Postma, S.V.D., who had been working among these groups for the last ten years, shows that these scripts belong to the same palaeographic tradition as the other Philippine scripts. But they (the Central Mindoro Oriental Mangyan scripts) are far more cursive than the neighbouring Buhid and Latag scripts, as well as the Tagbanuwa and other Philippine scripts. They partake of both the lineo-angular and curvi-linear characteristics which are found in both Buhid and Latag, and Tagbanuwa. The cursive character of the scripts may indicate that the Central Mindoro group may have been the earlier recepient of such a culture tool.

Indian Influence has Survived in Philippines

B. The period between the 7th and the 16th centuries was one of *great activity* in the Philippines, because it was at the time when the Great Traditions—Indian, Arab and Chinese—began to exert influence upon the whole cultural configurations in the Islands.[23] In no time in the proto-history of the Philippines had there been changes of vast magnitude than this period. India, for her part in these tremendous changes in the Philippines, at this time can be

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traced only through the intervening regions; but it was one that had far-reaching effect in the entire picture that the Islands now have. Among the most significant elements is the system of writing, which enriched the means of communications from protohistoric times up to even the present among at least two ethnic groups that have preserved this type of writing. One of these groups has even advanced to the point of using the system of writing in participating in the most advanced of democratic institutions—the process of electing officials to public office.[24] It is to the credit of this group—the Tagbanuwa—for their cosmopolitan outlook, and at the same time to the credit of the government that it has recognized the capabilities of this people, who in spite of the handicaps because of their classification under the cultural minorities group, have exhibited capacities for integration into the mainstream of Philippine life.[24]

Indian Language and Script were first adopted by Maritime Communities

The widespread use of writing in protohistoric times lead to many implications in the entire cultural history of the Philippines. The first recepients or users of this cultural tool were the coastal and riverine communities, which by reason of their location were primarily maritime or fishing in economy. Nevertheless, either way they could not have avoided the influencing power of equally maritime communities that lived on trade and traffic. The ethnic groups that still write in an ancient script are now mainly mountain peoples, but it cannot be denied that in the past they have been coast dwellers. Their literature—whether it be in songs and tales—gives the fieldworker a vivid picture of their coastal habitations and maritime activities. Their being in the mountains now is a result of their exodus in the face of newcomers, who were more advanced in technology, and thus pushed them inland. It was, of course, a slow and long process.

The Language brought homogeneity into the Philippine Culture of Indianized Character

Another implication is that writing argues further for the view that Philippine culture is homogenous. This homogeneity becomes significant in terms of its implications to the languages which used this system of writing. It has been referred to elsewhere in this essay that writing has and had a widespread use in the Islands. It has been referred to also elsewhere in this essay that all these systems of writing belong to the same polaeographic tradition showing similar if not identical palaeographic traits. This system of writing used to write the various languages of the islands would imply, if not entirely prove, the simplicity and unity of the phonetic systems of Philippine languages with very slight divergencies. These divergencies would be merely due to the idiosyncracies of a particular language due perhaps to its relative geographic isolation, or else could be attributed to the insular nature of the Philippine country.

The simplicity and unity of the phonetic systems of Philippine languages may be expressed in terms of the problems relevant to the symbol representation of sounds in the script. The first significant problem is the representation of the *pepet* and the front rounded vowels, which are written in the script with the symbol for the *u*-vowel (high back rounded). Secondly, the representation of the diphthongs is certainly another problem in all of the scripts in use. The non-distinction between the liquid and trill is another problem which has not been overcome by the scripts. All this, apart from the writing of open-ended syllables (i.e., the non-indication of the consonantal endings in actual writing), would argue for the homogeneity of Philippine culture in terms of palaeography.[25]

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India's Contribution to Islamic Thought and Culture

N.N. BHATTACHARYYA

The Antiquity of India's Relations with Western Asia

WE HAVE ABUNDANT references to a very close contact between India and the Islamic world. Long long before the advent of Islam, even as early as the third millennium B.C., India had cultural bonds with Mesopotamian civilization.[1] The extreme antiquity of India's trade with the western world is an established fact. According to Sayes, the commerce by sea between India and Babylon must have been carried on as early as about 3000 B.C., when Ur Bagas, the first king of united Babylonia, ruled in Ur of the Chaldees.[2] Indian teak wood is believed to have been found in the Babylonian remains of the third millennium B.C., and Hewitt is of the opinion that this wood must have been sent by sea from some port of the Malabar coast.[3] Herodotus informs that Babylonia imported precious stones from India.[4] The *Bāveru Jātaka* (no. 339) speaks of the visit of Indian maritime traders to the kingdom of Bāveru (Babylon), which may refer to the Seleucid empire established in 312 B.C. with its capital at the city of Babylon or to the much earlier Babylonian empire.[5] An interesting sidelight is thrown upon the methods of Indian navigation by the reference to the direction-giving crows *(diśā kāka)*. This practice was also known to the Babylonians and Phoenicians.[6]

The Achaemenian empire included Northern Africa in the west and Gandhāra and Sindhu in the east. In view of the fact that the Indian soldiers in the army of Kerxes fought on the Greek soil, the conclusion becomes obvious that the tract between the Mediterranean and the Arabian seas was quite familiar to the Indians. In the days of Seleucus the Mesopotamian centres of commerce were Babylon, Ctesiphon, Seleucia and Ossis. The main commerce between the early Seleucid empire and India was borne partly by the land route, the northern one passing through Bactria and the southern through Gedrosia, Carmania, Persis and Susania, and partly by sea route from Gerrha on the west coast of the Persian gulf.[7] Also there were various river routes from the Persian Gulf towards southern Turkey through Iraq, Jordan and Syria.[8] The trade between Egypt and Yemen began about 2300 B.C. and between Yemen and India about 1000 B.C.[9] Though Egypt was directly accessible by sea yet there was probably no direct trade relation between Egypt and India. Indian and Egyptian merchants used to meet half way, probably at Yemen and Eden, and transhipped one another's goods. Like the Indian route to Egypt stretching along the Red Sea, the route through the Persian Gulf was controlled by powerful Arab tribes engaged in trade between the Indian and the Egyptian traders as is mentioned by Agatharicides (2nd century B.C.)[10] and the *Periplus*.

It should be pointed out in this connexion that after the conquest of Tyre, the capital city of the Phoenicians, by Alexander the Great, and the foundation of Alexandria, the Egyptians came to the field of trade, and after the successive decline of the Jewish, Phoenician and Persian power in Western Asia, they retained with the Arabians a monopoly of this commerce for about 900 years between Alexander's death and the conquest of Egypt by the Muslims in the year 640 A.D. It may also be pointed out here that Phoenician trade with South India has been traced from the fact that peacocks brought by Hiram's ships to Solomon were called *tuki* derived from Tamil *Tagai*. In pre-Islamic days Indian spices were imported in large quantities into Arabia and Indian wares were sent at the mart of Batene. Arabic words like *Quaranful* are derived from Indian names like *Karan-phul*. The word made of Indian steel is proverbial in Arbic literature.[13]

Thus we can safely come to the conclusion that there were trade relations between India and Western Asia from times immemorial, though it is difficult to say whether this intercourse continued unbroken since the epoch of the Indus Civilization down to the historical period. Trade relations presuppose cultural relations and with the development of Indian trade in the tract between the Mediterranean and the Arabian seas, which later became the seat of Islam, some aspects of Indian culture could exert great influence upon the inhabitants of the said region. In the Ṛgvedic age, Afghanistan and its neighbourhood were culturally a part of India, and in the same age, the ancient culture of Iran was hardly distinguishable from that of India.[14] The Boghaz Köi inscription of the fourteenth century B.C. is a remarkable evidence of a very close cultural contact between India and Western Asia, but what was the real nature of this cultural contact in the subsequent Vedic age is difficult to suggest at the present state of our knowledge. Scholars have only speculated upon this question.[16] Some forms of Brahmanical religion, however, prevailed in Western Asia. According to the Syrian writer Zenob there was an Indian colony in the canton of Taron on the upper Euphrates, to the west of Lake Van, as early as the second century B.C.[17] The Indians built there two temples containing images of gods about 18 and 22 ft. high.[18]

Reference must be made in this connexion to the spread of Buddhism in Western Asia, Africa and Europe as early as the days of Aśoka (c. 272–232 B.C.) who sent embassies to Antiochus II Theos of Syria and Western Asia, Ptolemy II Philadephos of Egypt, Magas of Cyrene, Antigonas Gonatas of Macedonia and Alexander of Epirus or Corinth. (It should also be pointed out here that there is evidence of the existence of Brāhmaṇa theosophists at Alexandria during the Kuṣāṇa period.[19] V.S. Wakankar has published the eye-copy of a Brāhmī inscription of the third century A.D. discovered in Egypt and now preserved in the Cairo Museum.[20] A hoard of Kuṣāṇa gold coins was found at the monastery of Dabra Dammo in Abyssinia.[21] "The existence of Buddhism on the Persian borderland is demonstrated by the ruins of a Buddhist monastery in the terminal marshes of the Helmund in Seistan. That Buddhism had a strong hold in Parthia has been shown by many references in the Chinese annals . . . Al-Birūnī has definitely stated that in former times Khorasan, Persia, Iraq, Mosul and the country upto the frontier of Syria was Buddhistic."[22]

Indian Concepts in the Semitic World

In the domain of myth and legend and of cult and ritual there were many features common to India and the Semitic world. This may be regarded as a natural effect of commercial intercourse.[23] Here reference may be made to the flood legends,[24] the cosmogonic myths,[25] the earth and corn myths,[26] matrilocal religion[27] and many other culture-traits.[28] Myths and legends relating to the mysteries of creation, of life and death, to the birth of the child, to the cradle

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and the death bed, to the domains of theogony and apotheosis entered Western Asia from different sources including India and were re-echoed in Islamic mythology, changed, altered, and adapted, so as to suit the spirit of monotheism.

Rabbinic myths, legends and tales have entered Islamic literature and Mohammed and his commentators have largely drawn from Jewish sources. On the other hand, many legends of the *Talmud* and the *Midrash* are directly or indirectly adopted from Indian sources. As for example, in the Purāṇa we have the cosmographic conception of seven firmaments and seven underworlds.[29] This reminds us of the Hebrew conception of seven heavens *(Villon, Rakia, Shekhakim, Szebhul, Maon, Makhon* and *Araboth)* and seven underworlds *(Eretz hatachtonch, Adamah, Arka, Ge, Neshia, Zija* and *Tebel)*. One should not fail to recall in this connexion the Indian cosmographical speculations—Brahmanical,[30] Buddhist[31] and Jain.[32]

The myth of Shemhazai and Azael, a tale of Jewish origin which, in Mohammedan literature, is told of Harut and Marut resembles strikingly to the story of Sunda and Upasunda in the *Mahābhārata*. Of Indian origin may be the story of king Solomon and Asmodeus which was taken over and brought to Europe, where it appeared first in the *Gesta Romanorum*. Of Indian origin may also be the legend of Abraham and Nimrod.[33]

Hindu Treatises Translated

Indian literature, at first translated into Persian, was later translated from Persian into Arabic, the most prominent example of which is *Pañcatantra* which was rendered into Arabic by Ibn-i-Maquffa. A number of standard Hindu treatises on medicine, astronomy and mathematics were translated in Arabic by the order of the Abbasid Caliphs. These included such famous works as the *Caraka*, the *Suśruta*, the *Nidāna*, and the *Aṣṭāṅga* of Vāgbhaṭa. The *Caraka* was translated by Abdullah, son of Ali, while the name of the translator of the *Suśruta* was Mankh (Māṇikya or Māṇika) in Arabic who cured Harun Al-Rashid of a severe illness and was appointed by the grateful Caliph the head of the royal hospital. Among other Indian visitors to Abbasid Baghdad reference should be made to Sabeh, son of Bahlah, a physician who cured Ibrahim, cousin of the Caliph; Dhan who was employed in the Barmakiah hospital of Baghdad and was a translator of Indian sciences into Arabic Shanuk (Cāṇakya?) who was the author of a number of treatises on poison, astrology and astronomy, morals and veterinary science; and Kan-kah who wrote four books on 'age', 'secret of nativity', 'cycles of the year' and 'beginning of the year'.[34]

About 154 A.H. (771 A.D.) an Indian traveller, who came to Baghdad as a member of the political mission which Sindh sent to the Caliph Al-Manṣūr, introduced a treatise on astronomy, a *Siddhānta* (Ar. *Sindhind*) which, by order of Al-Manṣūr, was translated by Md. ibn-Ibrahim Al-Fazāri who subsequently became the first astronomer in Islam.[35] This is mentioned by Al-Bīrūnī[36] who also refers to another embassy to Baghdad led by a "well-known Hindu scholar" in 161 A.H. (778 A.D.) who communicated to Ya'kub Ibn Ṭārik the Hindu traditions regarding the distances of the stars.[37] These Hindu scholars brought such works on mathematics as the *Brahma-sphuṭa-siddhānta* and the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* of Brahmagupta, and it was thus that the Arabs first became acquainted with a scientific system of astronomy. The famous Al-Khwārizmi (850 A.D.) based his widely known astronomical tables *(Zīj)* on Al-Fazāri's translation mentioned above. Al-Khwārizmi was the first exponent of the use of numerals, including the zero, in preference to letters. These numerals he called *Hindi*, indicating their Indian origin. His work on the Hindu method of calculation was translated into Latin *(De numero indico)*. The translation has survived while the Arabic original has been lost.[36]

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The Mu'tā-Zilā School was Influenced by Buddhism

As we have pointed above, long before the advent of Islam, the cults and rituals of Western Asia were partly influenced by Indian ideas. We have referred to the existence of Brahmanical temples in Western Asia and the wide prevalence of Buddhism in the said region. A few years after the death of the Prophet a controversy arose regarding the interpretation of the Qurān. The *Mu'tā-zilā* school wanted to base the principles of the Qurān on the ground of reason. The chief exponent of this school was Wasil Ibn-Ata. It is said that he was well acquainted with Buddhist ideas. The Abbasid Caliphs were patrons of the *Mu'tā-zilā* movement and with the decline of Abbasid power through the movement gradually lost its force, it could at least prepare good grounds for the emergence of three schools of thought of considerable importance; the Mu'takallamins who wanted to rationalise all the sayings of the scriptures, the Pha'lāsifās or *Hukāmās* who believed in philosophical solution of the religious problems and were greatly influenced by Greek ideas, and the *Sufis* who were followers of the path of mysticism (Tasabbuf) and believed in spiritual emotion, meditation and prayer.

Parallelism between Sufism and Vedānta

The term Sufism came into existence in the second half of the eighth century. Before that, the *Tasabbuj* was followed by various ascetic sects like the *Zuh'hā'd*, the *KKas'sas*, the *Śak'kaun*, the *Nāśmāk* and others. It is generally believed that the followers of Sufism had their inspiration from the Indian wandering ascetics. An earlier form of such influence is manifested in *Zuhd* or asceticism which was in fact proto-Sufism.[39] "The presence of wandering Indian monks was a factor of practical importance to the adherents of Islam as early as the time of Abbasid Caliphate."[40] "The *Aghāni* has preserved for us at least one portrayal of an unmistakable Buddhist view of life and the *Zindiq* monks described by Al-Jahiz were either Indian *Sādhus*, Buddhist monks, or their imitators."[41] The *Aizūdiyā* form of Sufi thought according to which the Supreme Being is manifested in everything *(Hāmā Osat)*, the individual soul and the universal soul existing in undifferentiated relation, resembles Śaṅkara's interpretation of the Vedānta, while the *Suhūdivā* school according to which everything is derived of the Supreme Being *(Hāmā āsosat)* is akin to Rāmānuja's Viśiṣṭādvaitavāda. As Titus has rightly pointed out, "... here the contribution seems to be made in thought, religious imagery of expression, and pious practices, which came from both Buddhist and Vedāntic sources."[42] It is known that Buddhist works were translated into Arabic during the Abbasid period, specially in the reigns of Al-Manṣūr and Harun Al-Rashid.[43] The ministers of the Barmakiah family who enjoyed great power during the Abbasid Caliphate induced Indian scholars to come to Baghdad and engaged them in the work of translation. The founder of this family was a Buddhist high-priest in the Naubehar (Nava Vihāra) in Balkh. Although converted to Islam they had great leanings towards their old culture.

The Muslims in the Beginning Were Quite Receptive

India could exert greater influence on Islamic thought and culture as the Arabs were ready to learn more and more from India. Unfortunately, with the decline of the Abbasid power by about the middle of the ninth century, the direct intercourse between India and Baghdad was practically cut off. Towards the close of the ninth century the Samanids of Transoxiana rose into importance and their capital Bukhara, together with the city of Samarkand, rivalled and almost eclipsed Baghdad. Finally, with the fall of Arab power, the leadership of Islam went into the hands of the Turks as a result of which Islamic culture and learning were decen-

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tralised. The new situation thus created was not very favourable to the spread of Indian thought in the lands dominated by the Turks who were not so respectful towards Indian culture as the Arabs.

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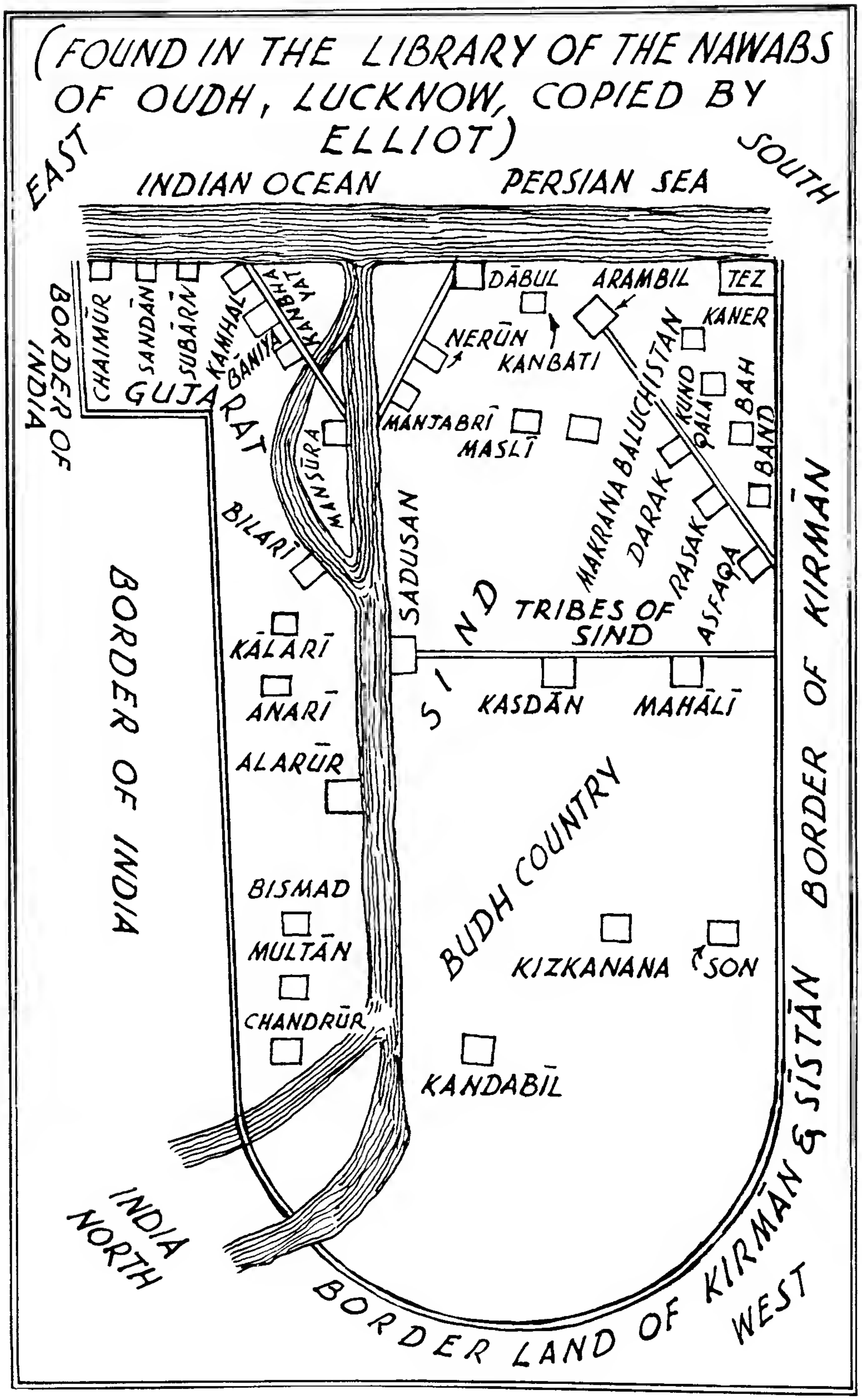
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India's Contribution to Arab Civilization

W. H. SIDDIQI

THE ARAB CIVILIZATION, in modern parlance, did not exist during prehistoric times. It formed part of the Semitic and the non-Semitic groups of people who inhabited the region now called Arabia. It may be stated at the outset that the term 'Arabia' stands for the whole of the Arabian peninsula and the adjacent areas of southern Iraq. In the following pages an attempt has been made to study India's contribution to the Arab world in its wider perspective.

Before the dawn of civilization, Arabia formed a wedge of semi-barbarism between Egypt and Sumer. Apparently it was a barren, forbidding land, acting as a natural barrier to the intrusion of early civilized man. But in spite of its inhospitable land and climate there are certain evidences which prove that in prehistoric and protohistoric times India influenced the Arab culture and civilization.

The topographical peculiarities of Arabia played particularly important part in determining the course of history of the Arabs. The geographical situation of India, until the development of the Atlantic Board countries, was favourable for her to become the natural meeting place of different civilizations. This enabled her from the earliest times to play an important role in the transmission and diffusion of ideas. This transmission was a two-way traffic in the course of which Indian ideas and achievements in sciences as in other fields such as religion, art, literature and culture travelled abroad with as much facility as those of her neighbouring and far flung countries impinged on her own endeavours. And for this constant interchange of ideas and techniques Albīrūnī rightly remarked : "If a science or an idea has once conquered the whole world, every nation appropriates a part of it; so also the Hindus."[1]

Trade and Commerce

India had maintained links with Western Asia and Iran even before the rule of the Achaemenids. India's contact with the areas beyond her border was maintained through the north-west passes. Pāṇini refers to the "Uttarāpatha", i.e., the Oxus-Ganges road which was connected with the network of roads of the Achaemenids empire.

Besides this land route, the sea also played a prominent part to connect India with the Western countries. Mrs. Rhys Davids writes : "The early commerce between India and Babylon was largely via the Persian Gulf." Rome and Egypt were linked with India through the Red Sea. There was a network of roads across the desert between the Nile and the Red Sea. The roads were well equipped with large caravan sarais and hotels for travellers. The Sabaeans and the Gerrhaeans of the Persian Gulf prospered as traders and the intermediaries for a long time between the east and the west. They made use of both sea- and land-routes through the desert of Arabia. Petra was the centre of many routes. Roads ran also from Petra to South-Arabia, one via Lance Come to Arabia Endemen and to Hadramaut by coastline and another to Hadramaut by an inland way. Both Indian and Chinese goods were carried by these routes. Pliny has mentioned different stages of routes connecting Arabia with India. Rostowzev also points out that "Ephesos, Smyrna, Miletus and many other cities on the great roads from Syria to the coast of Asia Minor derived a large part of their revenue from the transit trade, as a result of their connection with the Syrian territory and through it with India, Persia and Arabia". Of these routes to India from the West, the Red Sea route, the Persian Gulf route and the overland route, the Romans preferred the Red Sea route for its being free from difficulties of desertways and from Parthian rivalry.

The Arab civilization grew up intensively as well as extensively on the riches of Indian trade and commerce. The nomadic Arabic tribes became partially settled communities and some of them lived within walled towns, practised agriculture and commerce, wrote on wood and stone, feared the gods, and honoured the kings.[2]

With the decline of the Babylonian and the Egyptian civilizations Indo-Arab relations received much impetus and Arabia served as the highway of trade between India and the Hellenistic world. Indian and Arab ships came braving the winter wind with such luxuries as pearls, beryls, ginger and pepper.[3] Besides, Indian ships carried black wood, ebony and teak to the Roman market and with the latter were built ships in the Persian Gulf. The town of Siraf on the Gulf was entirely built of Indian teak wood.[4] Black wood, one of the products of Punjab, was also exported from Baryggza to Oman.[5]

The growth of maritime commerce between India and the Roman Empire continued through the efforts of the Arabs during the early centuries of the Christian era. Indian merchants went on distant voyages and made India a centre of commerce. Through land routes via Arabia these merchants were able to introduce Indian commodities to the western world. During this period India remained the principal market for silk for the Western countries through Arabia. Besides, several varieties of thin cloth of silk of various colours, Indian precious stones, corals, amber, glass, gold, embroidered rugs, spices, perfumes and pepper, etc., were carried by the Arabs who sold them to the Romans and other western peoples, including the Ethiopeans.[6] The word *kostos* among the ancients, can be explained from the Sanskrit *kuṣṭha* and hence it is most likely that India first yielded this aromatic which the ancients also received from Syria and Arabia. It continued to remain a principal commodity supplied from India to the inhabitants of the Roman Empire.[7]

Basra Served as the Gateway of India

The Indian navy is recorded to have visited Ubla, near Basra which was known in those days as the 'gateway of India'. During the Gupta period Indian exports included, precious stones, pearls, silver and gold as well as articles for day-to-day use.[8] The Arab tribes were now settled and consequently their trade with India received a fresh impetus. This fact also finds an allusion in the pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. The growing trade and commerce with India and China enriched the Arabs who developed economic and cultural institutions in their old cities. Mecca, the Prophet Muhammad's birth place, rose in eminence and became an important trade centre. Its importance in the subsequent times increased since it dominated the trade routes after the decline of the south and the decay of Byzantine shipping in the Red Sea.[9] Merchants from east to west met at this place and took away merchandise through this part of the world and in these transactions the Arabs acted as the active intermediaries. Besides, the kingdom of Hadramut conveyed Indian goods to the Nabateans, i.e., the Arabs of the Suez and the north-west of Arabia, who served as an intermediary between India and Rome and exerted great influence on the Red Sea coast up to Leucercome and also up to Euphrates along the borders of Syria and Arabia. During the first two centuries A.D. Petra was the seat of commerce, and an emporium of Indian commodities.[10]

The trade ties between India and Arabia strengthened in the later period. The post-Harṣa period witnessed the development of many new arts and sciences.[11] The Arabs under the Islamic revolution spread over the larger part of the world and started functioning as an important intermediary between the East and the West and Baghdad became a centre of commercial activities long before it was made the capital of the eastern Caliphate by the caliph Manṣūr.[12] Consequently, the city of Ubla (ancient Apologos), situated at the confluence of Euphrates and Tigris, gained much importance and became an attractive emporium of Indian commodities. Also, there were many markets and godowns of Indian *saj (sāgwan)* woods which was used in ship-building.[13] Indo-Arab trade gave rise to many new ports and cities such as Basra and Siraf. As said earlier, the former became such a big centre of Indian trade that the people named it as 'Gateway of India'.[14] Initially the Indo-Arab relations, were largely commercial. But, later on, gradually, there also grew cultural and religious links.

Materials of Export to the Arab World

Among the important Indian commodities imported by the Arabs were swords, iron, ivory, pearls, jewels, teak wood, cane, bamboo, camels, Sindhi fowl, velvet, cotton and silken textiles, camphor, sandalwood, mushk, *'itr, tody,* ginger and a variety of spices and various kinds of medicines. Mas'ūdī and Bushārī, have recorded that fine shoes of Cambay (Kanbārat) were imported in abundance and were very much liked by the Arabs.[15] Abī Dulf Musir bin Mulhil who visited India in A.H. 331 (942–43 A.D.) records that from Travancore (Madras) was imported earthen ware called Ghazāyar and was known as China ware in Arabia.[16] Besides, the Arabs imported a sort of poison which was named as *besh* by Qazwīnī.[17] *Besh* is nothing but a corruption of the Sanskrit word *Viṣa,* meaning poison. Sulaimān, the merchant traveller who visited India in the eighth century A.D. informs us that extremely fine Indian cotton cloth which could pass through a small finger ring was imported by the Arabs and distributed throughout the then known world.[18] According to Mas'ūdī peacocks were very much liked by the Arabs and a large number of them were carried to Iraq for breeding purposes. But those born there were devoid of Indian beauty and attractive colours of plumage.[19] The Arabs also imported black salt from India in large quantity.[20] In the early Islamic period Indian merchants increasingly dominated the Arab markets and gradually established their own supply centres. This resulted in the opening of many new bazars of Indian merchandise, the most important being those at Dubai, Oman, Sana's Ma'arib, Qasr Ghamdan and Najran. There grew up four chief centres of sea-trade with India, namely Ubla (Basrah), Suhar, Jar (Bahrein) and Aden. Indian commodities became so popular in Arabia that some of the items were abundantly consumed and, in course of time, they acquired a permanent place in the Arabic language, idiom and literature. A few of them are adopted in poetry and poetic expressions connecting certain emphatic adjectives. Indian swords of different varieties were variously termed as *Saif al-Hind, Hindī, Muhannid, Hiduānī, Handuwānī.*[21] Likewise, Indian spears and light straight bamboos were very much adored.

From time immemorial the Arabs had a great liking for scents and perfumes and they

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were enamoured of the Indian *mushk*, *henna* and *ood* and these were popularly known as *Hindī*. There were certain goods which were Arabicised because of their common use, as *kāfur (kapur)*, *zanjbeel (zanjbeer)*, *filfil (pippal)*, *sāj (sāgwān)*, *qust (kuṣṭha)*, *dāzī (tārī)*, and *qaranful (karṇa-phool)*. Besides, the fowl of Sindh was a favourite dish of the Arabs, who gave a particular name *dujaj-Sindhi*, to add distinction to it. Similarly, imported textiles from Sindh were designated as *musannidah* by the Arabs to distinguish them from other varieties of cloth. The cloth used for bed-sheets, *lungīs*, and *tahmads* were imported from Sindh in large quantities. Further, it is really interesting to know that our Hindi words *pot* and *kurta* were adopted by the Arabs as *fot* and *qurtuq*. The love of Arabs for Indian commodities was so much that they used to name their favourite fair daughters as *Hindā* and *Saifi-Hindī*, after their dreamland—India.

Indians Settled in Arabia

The Indians used to go to Arabia in pre-Islamic and Islamic periods and some of them permanently settled there. They seem to have migrated in different stages. Some of them were accompanied by their women. The Arabic histories record some of them as *Zut*, *Meid*, *Siyābajab*, *Ahamira* and *Aswirah*. The *Zuts* have been identified as Indians who had migrated to Arabia in the ancient times. They have been described as 'of swarthy complexion and marital people of Indian origin.'[22] There is evidence to show that the Jats joined the Iranian army and later permanently settled in the coastal area of Basrah and Bahrein.[23] The fourth Caliph 'Alī appointed the Jats incharge of the entire Muslim treasury at the time of the famous battle of Jabal.[24] Later Amīr Mu'āwiya rehabilitated them in the coastal cities of Syria and Walīd bin 'Abdu'l-Malik took them to Antakiya (Antioch) where they settled permanently.[25] Further, we are informed that the Jats were settled in Iraq and Arabia, and 'Āisha, the beloved wife of the Prophet, was treated by a Jat physician who cured her.[26]

Similarly, the Meid, essentially the Indian sea pirates of the western coast, joined the Iranian army and subsequently settled in Arabia and according to Syed Sulaimān Nadvī, they were employed by the Arabs as guards of their ships and boats.

Among the third group of Indian settlers were the Siyabaja or Sibabaja. They were specially employed as the auxilary force on the Arab boats and merchandise-laden ships during voyage on the high seas. *Lisān-al-'Arab* describes them as "strong and brave" Indians.[27] They were also employed as jail wardens. It is learnt that these Indians were harmoniously integrated in the social and cultural life of the Arabs and they have been praised in Arabic poetry as "dependable protectors".[28] And it was due to the strong protection from these people that the Arabs successfully carried their maritime trade and occupied a place in the history of the middle ages. There was yet another class of Indians in Arabia which was known as *Ahmara* or *Hantra* "the red-clad people from Sind", most probably due to their saffron-coloured robes. According to *Tārīkh-i-Tabarī*, some of the Ahmarīs were renowned commentators of religious philosophy during the first Caliph Abū Bakr Siddīq. Since they were engaged in scholastic persuit they must have interpreted Buddhist philosophy to the Arabs.[29]

Moreover, the Arabs appointed many Sindhis as their cooks for their food preparations were unsurpassed. Jāhiz adds that it was a matter of pridefor the Indians that the Arabs preferred a Sindhi in matters of accounts and banking. These Sindhis were preferably appointed treasurers and cashiers by the Arabs and Rūmīs and Khurāsānīs were never given the keys of the treasures. These people were found most honest and were supposed to be auspicious for treasurer's job.[30]

Besides, there were the *Aswiras* who were most influential among the Indian settlers.

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The term *Aswira* was derived from the Sanskrit word *aśvavāra* and meant a cavalryman.[31] They occupied high positions in the Iranian Army and adopted Iranian fashions although they preserved their Indian identity for quite some time. The Arab poets eulogised their courage and bravery.[32] Thus these Indians were not confined to one place but formed a sizable population which was settled in different places including the cities of Yamama, Najran, Mecca and Medina.[33]

We learn from the *Tuhafatu'l-Mahājirīn*[34] and *Jawām'ul Hikāyāt* that Indians welcomed the Arab merchants and gave land in the suburbs of many important towns where they could build their houses, mosques, store-rooms and graveyards. To this group also belonged the Mappilas or Mopalahs of Kerala who settled in India long before the Muslim invasions. Besides, in 714 A.D. many Iraqis fleeing from the high-handedness of Hajjaj bin Yusuf, came to Konkan and settled there.[35] According to Mas'ūdī thousands of Muslims from Basra and Baghdad migrated to Symore near Bombay and made it their home.[36] This influx of people must have revolutionized Indo-Arab relations.

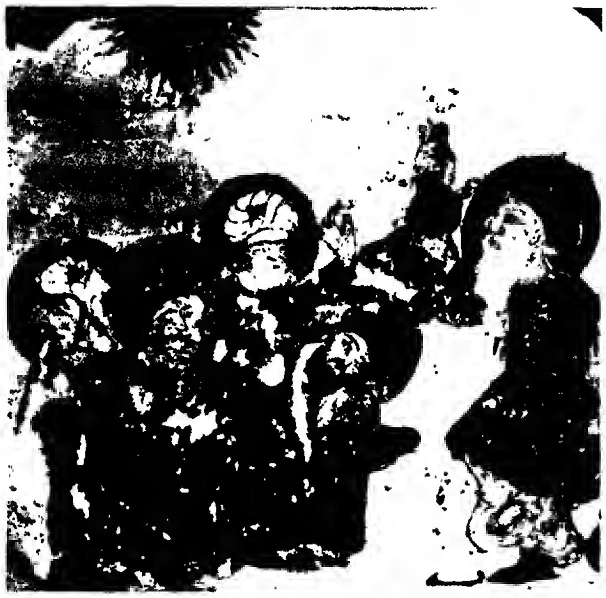

FIG 1 *Nobles enjoying Indian Music*

Historians' Account

Among the famous Arab travellers who visited India and left historical accounts of their travels were, Sulaimān the Merchant, Abū Zaid Sirāfī, Abū Dulf bin Muhalhil, Buzurg bin Shahryār, Mas'ūdī, Istakharī, Ibn-i-Ḥauqal, Muqaddasī, al-Bīrunī and Ibn-i-Battuta. A study of their records reveals the amount of appreciation of the Arabs for Indian art and sciences and their influence on the Arab civilization. It will be of interest to quote from some of these records.

Abū 'Umar Jāhiz of Basra, a distinguished 'Arab philosopher and scholar (d. A.H. 255/868–69 A.D.), who was one of the great admirers of Indian art and literature, paid his tribute in his *Risālat-i-Fakharu's-saudān 'alal-Baidān* in the following words:

"I have found Indian people extremely advanced in astrology *(jyotiṣ)* and mathematics *(hisāb)*. They have got a particular type of Hindī script. They occupy very prominent position in the field of medical sciences and possess such secret knowledge that they can cure serious uncurable diseases. They are excellent in carving stone statues, making coloured paintings on the *mihrābs* (niches) of the buildings. They are the inventors of the *shatranj* (chess) which is one of the best intellectual games. Their swords are extremely fine. They are fond of swordsmanship and are masters of this art. They can neutralise the effect of poison by their *mantras*. Their music is attractive and one of their musical instruments is made of Kadu and one string (wire) which serves the purpose of both *sitār* and *jhānjh* at the same time. It is called Kankla(?). There are many types of Indian dances which are very popular."[37] I have not been able to identify this name but the description seems to be that of the famous *ektārā* which is still common in India.

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Y'aqūbī (d. A.H. 234 or 897 A.D.) the famous Arab historian refers to Indian achievements in these words :

"The Indians are men of science and thought. They surpass all other people in every science; their judgement on astronomical problems is the best ... In the science of medicine their ideas are highly advanced. And a large number of books which deal with their principles ... And they have a large number of other books which are too many to be mentioned".[38]

Astronomy and Geography

India's greatest contribution to the Arab civilization was the introduction of technical knowledge and scientific ideas to the West Asian countries. The Arabs achieved remarkable progress in maritime trade, knowledge of geography and chemistry by virtue of their study of Indian astronomy and mathematics. They had a division of the ecliptic into twenty-seven or twenty-eight parts,[39] suggested evidently by the moon's period in days. And it was certainly borrowed by the Arabs from Indians.[40] From India went two important works namely the *Brahma-sphuṭa-siddhānta* (better known to the Arab world as *Sind-Hind*) and *Khaṇḍa-khādyaka* (known as *Ārkand)*.[41] These books reached Baghdad in A.H. 154/771 A.D. through Indian scholars who helped Al-Fazārī and Y'aqūb bin Ṭārīq in rendering them into Arabic. It is said that in 773 A.D. an Indian astronomer inspired the Caliph Manṣūr for the study of Indian astronomical works.[42] And the Caliph was extremely impressed by Indian astronomy. A later influx of Hindu learning in the same direction was the intellectual influence exercised by the ministerial Barmak family under Harun ar-Rshīd. Notable Indian influence is evidenced from Al-Fazārī's *Kitāb-uz-Zij* (tables) compiled in the second half of the eighth century A.D. The Cupola of the earth *(Qubbatu'l Ayīn)* recorded as *Arīn* which according to Kramers is a corrupt reading of Ujjayinī (Ujjain)[43] and points to the direct Indo-Arab contact in the field of astronomy.

Translation Bureau Established

In the time of Caliph al-Māmūn, the real scientific age of the Arabs began. Māmūn's (813–833 A.D.) liberal patronage harnessed the advancement of science along with all branches of learning. The great 'Translation Bureau' *(Baitu'l Hikmat)* had already been established under Hārūn ar-Rashīd where learned scholars and translators of all nationalities and religions were employed for rendering books on scientific subjects into Arabic.[44] The writings of the ancients were collected from all countries regardless of cast, and translators were paid the weight of the books in gold.[45] Among the translators were two well-known Indian scholars, namely, Manka and Ibn-i-Dahan (Dhan or Dobān) who rendered valuable services for translating Indian scientific works into Arabic. Moreover, with the help of Indian scientists astronomical observatories were established in 803 A.D. at Baghdad and Damascus which produced real works on astronomical and geographical subjects. And it was Indian astrology which flourished at the court of Baghdad. It was the growing need for accurate observation of the moon, and the direction of the prayer that made the Arab Muslims interested in astronomy. And within a short span of time, they equipped themselves with the knowledge of astronomy and geography by studying scientific works of the ancients. But what was borrowed from India was more important and conclusive.[46] Muhammad bin Mūsā al-Khwārizmi at the instance of Caliph, prepared an abridgement of *Sind-Hind*, and translated Brahmagupta's *Siddhānta*. Subsequently, Ya'qūb bin Ṭāriq incorporated in his *Tārikh-al-Aflāk*, principles of Indian astronomy.[47] A little later Ārya Bhaṭṭa's and Varāhamihira's works on astronomy were also studied and incorporated into the Arab's scientific literature.

The Arabs observed diligently, designed new instruments and displayed more practical activity than did the Greeks. The Baghdad school represented the Indian scientific approach and spirit. After the decline of Baghdad in the tenth century A.D. many works of the Indian astronomer-geographers centred round the Buwaihid courts. In the same period, Sa'id al-Andalūsī a Toledan astronomer and historian of science, for his *Kitāb-i-Tabāqāt al-Umam* (The book on categories of nations) borrowed material from Indian scientific works. But the second half of the eleventh century A.D. is significant in the history of mankind as a period of great intellectual renaissance in Arabia and Persia. In the advancement of all aspects of astronomy and geography, stands out the dominating figure of Abū Raiḥān Muḥammad ibn-i-Aḥmad Al-Bīrūnī (973–1048 A.D.) who was one of the very greatest scientists of Islam.[48] Once he wrote : "I do not scorn to accept truth from whatever source I can find".[49] Having a command over the Sanskrit language he exploited the best sources of Indian sciences including mathematics, astronomy and chronology. He described the earth, its axis and its movements, and threw much light on the Indian contribution to the general geography of India.[50] The theory of the movement of the earth was apparently borrowed by Al-Bīrūnī from Ārya Bhaṭṭa, who in the fifth century A.D. suggested that the earth revolved round the Sun and rotated on its axis.[51] His *Qānūnal-Mas'udī* (compiled in 1030 A.D.) is the most important work on astronomy which is largely based on Indian astronomical ideas. He also utilised the knowledge of Indian geology and minerology.[52] Besides, Al-Bīrūnī translated *Sūrya-siddhānta* of Varāhamihira. To this period also belonged the celebrated scientist, astronomer and physician Abū 'Alī Sīnā (A.H. 428/1036 A.D.) who advanced the knowledge of physics and astronomy with the help of Indian and Greek sources.[53]

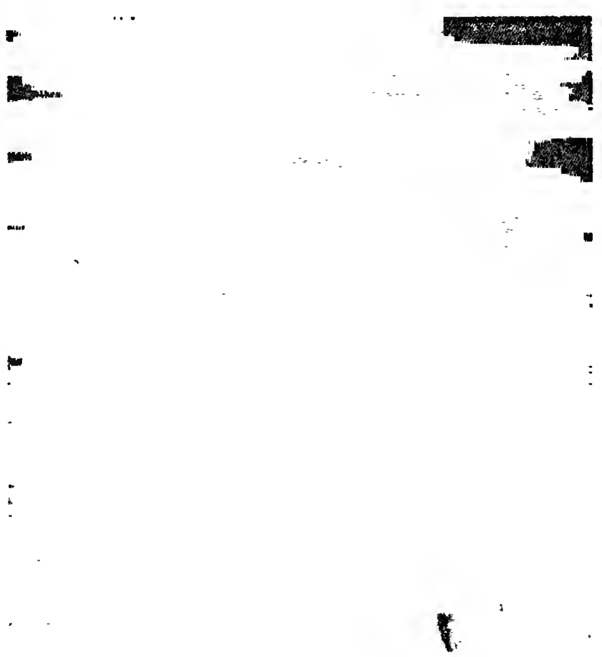

FIG 2. *A page from Persian Astronomical ms*

Mathematics

An important contribution of India to Arab civilization was mathematics.[54] The Arabs borrowed extensive as well as intensive knowledge of mathematics from India in as much as they named this discipline as *hindisa* (pertaining to India).

The mathematicisn or engineer is called in Arabic a *muhandis* (i.e., expert in mathematics), apparently derived from *hindisa* or Indian mathematics. The Arab writers translated many important Indian works on algebra in the eighth century A.D. One of the greatest tools of civilization is the sign of Zero—the foundation stone on which all our mathematics rests. It is certainly an Indian invention.[55] The Arabs borrowed the decimal system from India and revoulutionized mathematics.[56] They introduced it in Europe in the twelfth century A.D. In the field of algebra and trignometry, Indians were pioneers from whom the Arabs borrowed their knowledge.[57] Muhammad Ibn-i-Jubair Al-Battānī studied the Indian use of ratios since the jaigent from Ārya Bhaṭṭa's geometry and introduced them among the Arabs. Scholars like Al-khwārizmī, Ibn-Washiya and Abū Mash'ar, incorporated the knowledge of algebra and other branches of Indian mathematics in the Arab sciences. They are also credited with introducing to the European world the value of π which the Indians equated with 3.2277 and 1.4159.[58]

Religion

Generally the Holy Quran is popularly believed to contain Arabic words alone; but apart from Persian, Syriac, Coptic, and other words it also includes Sanskrit words. According to Sulaiman Nadvi at least four Sanskrit or Hindi words have been frequently used in the *Qu'ran* : *'ambar, mushk* (i.e. *kasturī*), *zenjabīl* (ginger) and *kāfur* (Camphor or *kapur*).[59] Certain scholars have pointed out that the name of Buddha is also mentioned in the Qu'ran as Fil-Kifl (of Kapil, i.e. belonging to Kapilvastu) along with other prophets such as Moses, Abraham and Jesus. The other Hindi words which are largely used in secular Arabic literature are : sandal *(Chandan)*, *tanbul* (betel or *tāmbula*), *qaranful (karṇaphūl)* or clove, *nilofar, bel, jāyafal, itrifal, balilah, halila, kaifas (kapās), shit (chhint), narjil (nārikela), ambuj (āma), fulful (pippalī* or pepper), etc.[60]

Buddhist Influence on Muslims

Buddhist influence on the Muslims increased during the Abbasids. Their ministers were known as Barmaks or Barmakis. Originally they were Buddhists and heads *(pramukha)* of the Nava-Vihāra at Balkh which, according to *Masaliku'l-Absar-fi-Mamaliku'l-Amsar* of Al-'Umarī, was founded by an Indian king. The last *Barmak* was brought up in India and received his education in Kashmir before he was appointed Minister at the court of Baghdad[61] which had become a centre of Hindu learning. The name of the city itself is of Indian origin for *Bagh* is Sanskrit *Bhaga* means God, *da* in Sanskrit means "to give" and hence Baghdad is the "gift of God."[62] It was founded and built by Caliph Al-Mansūr in A.H. 145 (762–63 A.D.) and was designed on a scientific basis with the help of Indian engineers and architects. It was one of the first Muslim cities which was circular in plan.[63] Thus, India seems to have influenced Arab town planning also.

Buddhism had certainly influenced Arab's religious thought as stated above. Many Buddhist texts *(Jātakas)* were translated into Arabic and Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* was edited and modified by Arab writers. Thus the legend of Śākyamuni Gautama the Buddha entered into the religious thoughts of the Arabs.[64]

According to Islamic tradition, Adam, the first man and prophet, descended on Indian soil from heaven and received here the first Divine Message from God.[65] The Muslims also believe that Adam's eldest son *Shith* is lying buried at Ayodhya. Besides, we find many similarities in the religious practices of Arabia and India. The Islamic *sijda* (prostration), *ahrām* (garb of worship during the Haj), tawāf (circumambulation) of Ka'ba have close resemblance to the mode of worship of the Buddhists. It might have been one of the reasons why the Prophet said : "From India comes the divine fragrance to me."[66] The Caitya arches may have been responsible for the development of the *mihrabs* of early mosques. In so far as the religious thought is concerned India's contribution to the development of Muslim mysticism is beyond doubt. Nazzam, Ahmad, Fadl al Hudaibi and Amr bin Bakr al-Jahiz, introduced the ideas of 'beautific vision', the goal of Hindu search for God.[67] The works of Jahiz are influenced by Indian thinkers and *yogīs*. The celebrated Sāfī Mansur's revolutionary declaration *Anal-Haq*

(I am the truth) is the literal rendering of the Upaniṣadic Mahāvākya *So'ham asmi*.[68] He is said to have visited India and upheld the doctrine of *hulul*, i.e., the incarnation of the divine in man. A venerated lady Rabia Basari also followed the Mansur's doctrine and attained high spiritual position. Another Sūfī, Bāyazīd Bistāmī learnt the doctrine of Nirvāṇa, *fanā*, from a Sindhi mystic. Thus, it may be observed that most of the doctrines and practices of Vedānta, of unity, *aikyam, Wahdatu'l-Wajud,* of spiritual journey, *patha, suluk,* of realization of Truth through four stages—*jāgrat, svapna, supta* and *turīya* or *nāsut, jabrut, malkut* and *lahut* of meditation, yoga *Zikr* of physiological discipline, *prāṇāyāma, habth-i-dam,* etc. were incorporated in Islamic Tasawwuf and led to the development of different Sufistic orders.[73] The Madariya or bi-shar'a sect, founded by Badi'ud-Din Shāh Madar a native of Arabia, was dominated by Indian features.[74]

Conclusion

It may thus be stated in conclusion that not a single aspect of Arab culture and civilization has escaped the influence of India, whether it was science or arts or literature or philosophy and religion.

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India in the Eyes of Early Muslim Scholars

ARJUN DEV

THE PERIOD BETWEEN the decline of the civilizations of the ancient world and the rise of modern Europe after the renaissance, saw the growth of Muslim civilization and its supremacy in the fields of politics, trade, science and learning. The establishment of a vast empire under the Caliphate, though short-lived, facilitated the coming together of the intellectual and scientific traditions of various cultures. The Muslim scholars, both Arab and non-Arab, synthesized these traditions. Through the work of these scholars, Muslim civilization became the main link between the ancient civilizations and the modern world. The main contribution of Muslim scholars consisted in their elucidation, synthesis and transmission of the wisdom of the ancient civilizations. This contribution, according to Prof. Browne, 'has made mankind, and especially Europe, their debtors.'[1]

The Arabs of the period of *jāhilliya,* the pre-Islamic period of Arab history, were illiterate and unfamiliar with the art of writing. At the time of the rise of Islam, there were only 17 persons in the entire tribe of Quraish who were able to write. The Arabs, united by Islam, started on their quest for knowledge. They were, on the whole, 'quite modest in their claims to knowledge, and sought it wherever they could find it."[2] The Ummayad price K͟halid ibn Yazid ibn Mu'āwiya in the early period of the Caliphate is reported to have studied astronomy, medicine and alchemy with the help of a Greek monk.[3] Al Ghazzālī (d. 1111 A.D.), the famous theologian and philosopher of Baghdad, expounding the duties of the true believers, quoted two *hadiths* (the traditions of the Prophet). One of these makes it the bounden duty of every Muslim to seek 'knowledge'. The other bids man to 'seek knowledge, even if it be in China.'[4] Writing remained unpopular for about a century after the establishment of the Caliphate and knowledge was mostly transmitted orally. Thus, to obtain knowledge it became necessary to travel and to meet people who had knowledge. Travelling in search of knowledge 'rendered necessary at first by the circumstances of the case, gradually became a fashion, and finally almost a craze.'[5] This craze was sanctified by such traditions as : "Whosoever goes forth to seek for learning is in the Way of God until he returns home; the Angels blithely spread their wings over him, and all creatures pray for him, even the fish in the water."[6]

The foundations of Muslim civilization, its learning and science, were laid by these travellers 'in search of knowledge' *(fī talabi'l— 'ilm).* The development of Islamic learning and science was deeply influenced by Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, India and Greece and the knowledge and achievements of these ancient civilizations provided the foundations on which to build. The Muslim scholars translated and studied the ancient works in various fields of knowledge and strove to synthesize and further develop those fields of knowledge. They travelled to other countries and wrote about other peoples and cultures. The Arab conquest of Persia in the middle of the 7th century marked the ascendancy of Persian influence which had far-reaching consequences. Sir William Muir, in his *Life of Mahomet and History of Islam*, writes "With the rise of Persian influence, the roughness of Arab life was softened; and there opened an era of culture, toleration, and scientific research".[7] The development of Muslim learning and science reached its culmination during the period of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs (749–1258) with their centre at Baghdad and has been termed by Prof. Browne as the period of 'Philosophical and Cosmopolitan Islam.'[8] In this period Muslim civilization 'became the inheritor of the ancient wisdom of Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, India and Greece.'[9]

The achievements of ancient Indian civilization played a considerable role in the development of science in the early Islamic civilization. Muslim scholars pursued their study of Indian sciences by translating the works of Indian scholars. A number of Muslim travellers and scholars who came into direct contact with India helped in the dissemination of knowledge about India through their accounts. The present paper is intended as a survey of the approach with which the Muslim scholars and travellers viewed India in the early centuries of Islam.

Observations of Early Arab Travellers

The knowledge of India which had reached the Islamic world is reflected in many writings of the early Islamic period. During the 7th and 8th centuries many Arabs travelled to the coast of Gujarat, the Gulf of Cambay and the Malabar coast. They acquired information regarding Indian religions, people, animals and various other aspects. Things unusual struck them and many unbelievable things came to be accepted. One of the early writers whose writings contain interesting accounts of India was al-Jahiz. He was born in Basra in about 776 A.D. and moved to Baghdad in about 815 A.D. where he began writing a large number of works dealing with theology, philosophy, sciences and *belles-lettres* basing himself on the information gathered by him orally or in writing from others and on his own observations. Following Aristotle, he took to the study of animals. In his famous book *Kitāb al-Hayawān* (Book of Animals) he devoted a long chapter in praise of the elephants and their training, the effects of poisons, etc. In this work he mentions an Indian belief that the young of the rhinoceros puts out its head from the mother's belly to feed on the surrounding vegetation before being actually born and withdraws it again when it is satisfied.[10] He quotes from Indian books already translated into Arabic, particularly *Kalila wa Dimna* and the *as-Sindhind (Great Siddhānta)* and admires the *Khutut al-Hind*, that is the Indian numerals.[11] In his work titled *Kitab al-Bayan wa-t-tabyin*, he recoginses only four civilized nations namely the Arabs, Persians, Indians and Greeks, possessing morals, culture, wisdom and science and characterizes them as follows: "We know oratory only in Arabic and Persian literature; as for the Indians, they have only ideas *(maani)* deposited in works, in books eternally lasting without being ascribed to a known man or a renamed scholar; these books are handed down and constantly current and consist of quoted literature *(adab)*; the Greeks have philosophy, logic, etc.[12] He wrote a booklet entitled *Fakir as-Sudan ala l-Bidan* (Superiority of the Black over the White). To support his theory, he wrote : "As to the Indians we find them at the first place in astronomy, mathematics—they notably possess the Indian numerals—and medicine; as for the latter, they are the ones to own its secrets and owing to it they practise wonderful treatments. They are able to cut statues, carve painted figures . . . they have the game of chess which is the noblest game and demands high sense of organisation and intelligence; they have admirable music and the *kankala*, that is a one-stringed instrument which replaces all the strings of the lute and the

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cymbal; they know various dances ... magic, fumigations. ... They have a script which can represent the sound of all the languages, as well as various numerals. They have much poetry, long discourses, deep knowledge of philosophy and *belles-lettres*: it is from them that the book of *Kalila wa Dimna* comes. They are clever and brave, and have more qualities than those of the Chinese. They have beauty, charm and temperateness; their women became poverbial. It is in India that astronomical calculations originated and later were taken by other nations. When Adam came down from Paradise, he went to their country."[13]

A group of scholars called *Ikhwanu's—Safa* (The Brethren of Purity) who were supreme at Baghdad in the middle of the 10th century prepared about fifty treatises which were published in about 970 A.D. covering the entire field of contemporary knowledge in their encyclopaedic work, besides Greek and Persian authorities, they utilized the works of Indian scholars.[14]

Fihrist, registers Indian Works Translated

One of the most remarkable works in Arabic language was the *Fihrist* composed by Ibn al-Nadīm Warrāq of Baghdad in 988 A.D. The author describes it as "the Index of the books of all peoples of the Arabs and non-Arabs whereof somewhat exists in the language and script of the Arabs, on all branches of knowledge. ..."[15] This work is a historical and bibliographical work of great importance as it throws light on the introduction of foreign learning into Islam and for the life and work of the most outstanding figures both Muslims and non-Muslims, in the realm of science.[14] The *Fihrist* gives a list of Indian works which were translated into Arabic under the patronage of the Barmecides.

Accounts of Mansūr-al-Hallaj, Visit to India

We have said before that travel in search of knowledge became almost a craze with the Muslims. The accounts of India left by these travellers helped to promote the understanding of the Islamic people about India. Many among them were drawn to India by what to them was unusual there. For example, Mansūr-al-Hallaj, one of the greatest heretics of Islam and great traveller who was executed in 922 A.D., visited India in order to see the celebrated Rope Trick.[17] Many of these travellers were sailors and geographers and their accounts helped in the growth of geographical knowledge. Indian geographical concepts seem to have influenced the development of Islamic geography. J.H. Kramers[18] considers the geographical concept "that the known hemisphere of the world had a centre or 'world summit', situated at an equal distance from east, west, north and south" of great importance in the development of geography. According to him, "Al-Battāni speaks of this 'cupola' of the earth as an island, but another author of his time (Ibn Rusta) already knows it as the 'cupola of Arīn'. The word Arin is a misreading of the Arabic transliteration of the name of the Indian town Ujjayinī (Ozene in Ptolemy's geography) where there had been an astronomical observatory, and on the meridian of which town the 'world' summit'—originally an Indian conception—was supposed to lie". The Arabs remained the greatest geographers of the eastern world for a long time and Vasco de Gama was shown the way to India from the east coast of Africa by a pilot, Ahmad Ibn Mājid.

Sulaiman's Observations regarding India and China

The early Arab travellers and geographers throw considerable light on Indian geography, social conditions and practices, trade and products, economic conditions, religion, aspects of political life and what to them appeared a strange phenomena. One of the earliest accounts

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is by the merchant Sulaiman who made several voyages to India and China and wrote the *Salsilat-t Tawārīkh* in 851 A.D. His account contains description of the funerary practices, the practice of *satī*, ascetics, etc. He writes detailed descriptions of ascetics some of 'whom stand naked with the face turned to the sun, having nothing on but a panther's skin' and claims to have seen a man in this position and found him in the same posture sixteen years afterwards.[19] He also says that the "principles of the religion of China are derived from India. The Chinese say that the Indians brought Bauddhas into the country, and that they have been the real masters in matters of religion."[20]

Abū Zaidu-l Hasan speaks of Complete Freedom of Religion in India

Sulaiman's work was modified and completed by Abū Zaidū-l Hasan of Sīrāf in the 10th century. His account refers to the presence of religious groups other than Hindus, moral conditions, absence of *purdah* and the conditions at the court. About freedom of religion, for example, he writes; "There is a numerous colony of Jews in Sarandīb, and people of other religions, especially Manicheans. The king allows each sect to follow its own religion."[21]

Ibn Khurdadba wrote in the early 10th century a work on topographical and geographical researches entitled *Kitabu-l Masālik wa-l Mamālik* (Book of Roads and Kingdoms). The portion dealing with India refers to the riches of India, the classes of Hindus, the religious conditions, etc.[22]

High Standard of Morality in India praised by Al-Mas'udi

One of the most important accounts was written by al-Mas'ūdī of Baghdad. He was a great traveller, having travelled up to Morocco and Spain in the west and China in the east. His work *Murūju-l Zahab* (Meadows of Gold), completed in 947 A.D., was based on his travels and observations. He also acknowledges to have received informations from Abū Zaid also whom he met at Basra in 916 A.D. Sprenger, in the preface to his translation (published in London, 1841), considers him "the prototype of all historians to whom they refer, and on whose authority they rely in the critical estimate of many facts which form the subject of their labours".[23] In this work he discusses Indian theories about lands and seas.[24] He begins chapter VII of his work "by stating it to be the general opinion that India was the portion of the earth in which order and wisdom prevailed in the distant ages."[25] Like Abū Zaid, he also writes about the Indians' abstinence from drink. "The Hindus abstain from drinking wine, and censure those who consume it; not because their religion forbids it, but in the dread of its clouding their reason and depriving them of its powers. If it can be proved of one of their kings, that he has drunk (wine), he forfeits the crown; for (he is not considered to be) able to rule and govern (the empire) if his mind is affected."[26] The accounts of all these travellers testify to the good treatment that the Arab traders received from the Indian rulers. Mas'ūdī, like the others, also refers to the respect paid to Islam by the Indian rulers.[27] Two other travellers, al-Fārsī, of Istakhr or Persepolis and Ibn Haukal of Baghdad journeyed through many countries and met each other in the valley of the Indus.[28] Their accounts, *Kitābu-l Akālīm* of al-Fārsī and *Ashkālu-l silād* of Haukal, contain information on Indian geography, rivers and towns, currency, the idol in the famous temple at Multan, etc. Another interesting account of India called the *Marvels of India* was written by the Persian sea Captain Buzurg Ibn Shahriyār in about 950 A.D. in Arabic based on his own recollections and the accounts of other travellers.[29] Al Idrīsī, a Moroccan traveller of the 11th–12th centuries wrote his geographical work after he had settled down in Sicily. The information on India contained in his work *Nuzhatu-l-Mushtak* was

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derived mostly from other works. It contains information on products and trade of India, social customs, castes, institution of marriage, etc. Some of his statements are extremely valuable for the light that they throw on the general estimate which the Muslim writers had of the Indians of the period. He writes : "The Indians are naturally inclined to justice, and never depart from it in their actions. Their good faith, honesty and fidelity to their engagements are well-known, and they are so famous for these qualities that people flock to their country from every side; hence the country is flourishing and their condition prosperous."[30]

Alberuni Dilated upon All Aspects of Life in India

The greatest Muslim scholar to write on India, and one of the most profound scholars of all time, was Abū-Raihān Muhmmad Ibn Ahmad Alberuni. He was born in 973 A.D. in Khwārazm, (modern Khiva) and, after the conquest of the area by Mahmud of Ghazni, was brought to Ghazni along with a number of other learned men in 1017 A.D. He was familiar with a great deal of literature on India before he came to India. In India he stayed at different places, studied Indian religions, science and philosophy, society, customs and manners, geography, with the help of Indian scholars, and wrote his great work, *Kitāb ul Hind* on India.[31] His other well-known works are a comprehensive encyclopaedia on astronomy entitled *Qanūn al-Mas'ūdī* and the *Chronology of Ancient Nations*.[32] His work on India is a profound anthropological work, "one of the most scientific and objective studies of man and his society made in the medieval times."[33] It found the basis of Ibn Khaldun's famous work, the *Prolegomena*, and his general observations on human history.

Sachau in his preface to *Alberuni's India* writes : "Apparently Alberuni felt a strong inclination towards Indian philosophy. He seems to have thought that the philosopher both in ancient Greece and India, whom he most carefully and repeatedly distinguishes from the ignorant, image-loving crowd, held in reality the very same ideas, the same as seem to have been his own, i.e., those of a pure monotheism; that, in fact, originally all men were alike pure and virtuous, worshipping one sole Almighty God, but that the dark passions of the crowd in the course of time had given rise to the difference of religion, of philosophical and political persuasions, and of idolatry."[34] According to Sachau, the bonds of common suffering at the hands of Mahmud drew him to India. He writes : "If the author and his countrymen had suffered and were still suffering from the oppression of King Mahmud, the Hindus were in the same position, and perhaps it was this community of mishap which inspired him with sympathy for them. And certainly the Hindus and their world of thought have a paramount, fascinating interest for him, and he inquires with the greatest predilection into every Indian subject, howsoever heathenish it may be, as though he were treating of the most important questions for the souls of Muhammadans,—of free will and predestination, of future reward and punishment, of the creation or eternity of the Word of God, etc."[35] According to him, Alberuni's work "represents a scientific *renaissance* in comparison with the aspirations of the scholars working in Baghdad under the first Abbaside Khalifs.[36]

A detailed study of Alberuni's account of India is not intended here: only certain aspects of his approach to his subject and some observations will be indicated. In the preface, he asserts his fidelity to truth and points out the defects in various types of evidence and concludes by saying : "That man only is praiseworthy who shrinks from a lie and always adheres to the truth, enjoying credit even among liers, not to mention others.

It has been said in the Koran, "*Speak the truth, even if it were against yourselves*" (Sura 4134); and the Messiah expresses himself in the Gospel to this effect : "*Do not mind fury of kings*

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in speaking the truth before them. They only possess your body, but they have no power over your soul" (cf. St. Matt. x.18, 19, 28; St. Luke xii.4). In these words the Messiah orders us to exercise moral courage. For what the crowd calls courage—bravely dashing into the fight or plunging into an abyss of destruction—is only a *species* of courage, whilst the *genus*, far above all *species*, is *to scorn death*, whether by word or deed."[37]

He believed that everything that existed in Arab literature on the religions and doctrines of the Hindus was "second-hand information which one has copied from the other, a farrago of materials never sifted by the sieve of critical examination." The only author he praised for "a simple and exact report of the subject" was Abul'abbās Alerānshahrī who had composed a general history of religions and who "himself did not believe in any of the then existing religions. but was the sole believer in a religion invented by himself. which he tried to propagate.[38] He wrote the book "as a help to those who want to discuss religious questions with them [Hindus], and as a repertory of information to those who want to associate with them." He says that he wrote this book "on doctrines of the Hindus, never making any unfounded imputations against those, our religious antagonists, and at the same time not considering it inconsistent with my duties as a Muslim to quote their own words at full length when I thought they would contribute to elucidate a subject. If the contents of these quotations happen to be utterly heathenish, and *the followers of the truth*, i.e., the Muslims, find them objectionable, we can only say that such is the belief of the Hindus, and that they themselves are best qualified to defend it." He regarded it not a polemical work but *"a simple historic record of facts.'*[39] At the end of the book he reiterates the purpose by saying, "We think now that what we have related in this book will be sufficient for anyone who wants to converse with the Hindus, and to discuss with them questions of religion, science, or literature, on the very basis of their own civilization."[40] This approach may be seen in his treatment of various subjects. Writing about the differences which divided Hindus and Muslims, he mentions the feelings of contempt in both the communities, but adds, "By the by, we must confess, in order to be just, that a similar depreciation of foreigners not only prevails among us and the Hindus, but is common to all nations towards each other."[41] He describes the caste system in detail,[42] and precedes the description of the Indian caste system with a discussion on the relation between state and religion and society and on the activities of kings of antiquity in relation to the division of society into classes. For example, he says, "The kings of antiquity, who were industriously devoted to the duties of their office, spent most of their care on the division of their subjects into different classes and orders, which they tried to preserve from intermixture and disorder. Therefore they forbade people of different classes to have intercourse with each other, and laid upon each class a particular kind of work or art and handicraft."[43]

Hindu Conception of Mokṣa

He quotes a passage from the Gītā on Hindus' belief in God and the passage reminds him "of the definition of philosophy as *the striving to become as much as possible similar to God.'*[44] He considers some of the beliefs of the common people in India as "simply abominable" but adds that "similar errors also occur in other religions", even in Islam.[45] He discusses the Hindu belief of salvation *(mokṣa)* and seems to believe that the capability to attain it was open to all. He writes : "According to the Hindu philosophers, liberation is common to all castes and to the whole human race, if their intention of obtaining it is perfect. This view is based on the saying of Vyāsa : "Learn to know the twenty-five things thoroughly. Then you may follow whatever religion you like; you will no doubt be liberated."[46]

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One of the important works to appear after the death of Alberuni was the *Kitāb al—milāl wan Nihāl* of al-Shahrastānī 1076–1153 A.D., a historian of religions. The importance of this work is due to its detailed account of Buddhism. Alberuni had described Brahmanism in detail but he was less informed about Buddhism. Shahrastānī's work gives an account of Indian religions and is particularly important for its accurate description of Buddhist religion.[47] His work is thus an important supplement to the work of Alberuni.

The Travel Accounts of Ibn Battuta

The most famous Muslim traveller of the later period (14th century) was Ibn Battuta, a Moroccan religious scholar. Born in Tangiers in 1304 A.D., he set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He journeyed to North and East Africa, the Middle East, the South-East Asia, India, China and Ceylon, Central Africa and the Iberian Peninsula. He was one of the greatest travellers of history. His travels covered about 77,640 miles of which more than 14,318 miles were covered in the course of his travels through India, the Maldive Islands and Ceylon.[48] He came to Morocco in 1349 and wrote *Tuhfat-un-nuzzar fi gharaib-il-amsār wa 'ajaib-il-asfār* in 1355.[49] Ibn Battuta's account cannot be compared to Alberuni's work in its comprehensiveness and scientific approach. However, the account is colourful and provides a useful portrayal of the life of the period. Mahdi Husain considers it as an "abundant source of information" for unfolding judicial, political, social and military institutions, the postal system and roads, the agricultural produce, the court manners, trade and shipping, habits and manners of the people, etc."[50] Though himself a theologian, he saw India not as a doctrinaire would see it, but with curiosity and wonder and to understand.

Indian Achievements Helped The Islamic Civilization In Several ways

The first few centuries after the rise of Islam were marked by fruitful contacts between the old civilization of India and the civilization which emerged in Arabia, Middle East and Central Asia. The achievements of Indian civilization played a considerable role in the development of Islamic civilization and in its achievements in sciences and other fields of knowledge. The Islamic civilization had been a melting pot where a number of traditions, particularly Greek, Indian and Persian, met and were sought to be synthesized and further developed. The Islamic civilization, as it developed, also became the instrument for the dissemination of the achievements of the ancient civilizations to rest of the world, particularly in the West. Thus through the works of the Islamic scholars, the legacy of ancient Indian civilization became a component part of the legacy of entire mankind. The travellers, though less scholarly and penetrating, made available by their accounts to the Muslims and others descriptions of various aspects of Indian life which were strange and unusual and thus helped develop the understanding of people in different parts of the world about the Indians.

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Guru Nanak's Travels in the Middle East

SURINDER SINGH KOHLI

The Great Indian Missionary of the Middle Ages

OUT OF ALL the Indian saints Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikh Religion, travelled most widely. He covered thousands of miles, all on foot, passing through plains and deserts, crossing rivers and valleys and climbing hills and mountains. He made sea journeys also to distant lands. He is said to have left his native place four times on long journeys, known as *Udāsīs*. His first *Udāsī* was towards the east, when he passed through U.P., Bihar, Orissa, Bengal, Assam, Manipur, Lushai Hills etc. During his second *Udāsī* he covered the southern states including Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala etc. During this journey, he went to Ceylon also. His third *Udāsī* was towards the north, passing through Himalayan ranges and visiting Kashmir, Leh, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, etc. During this journey he went to Kailash Mountain and Mansarovar Lake and visited the important monasteries in the Tibetan Plateau. His fourth *Udāsī* was towards the West or the Middle East. In this essay, we propose to detail his travels in the Muslim countries of the Middle East.

Guru Nanak's Message

Wherever the Guru went, he propagated lofty ideals and highest human values like the old Indian sages. He was steeped in the religious lore of yore and was an ardent preacher of *Dharma*. He was an exponent of ancient Indian Culture, the Vedic Culture of the *Upaniṣads*. He wrote the *Japujī* and *Āsā dī Vār*. During his discourses, he dwelt upon ethical greatness and spiritual supremacy.

He created *Sangats* or holy congregations in the places he visited. He wanted to create a common brotherhood of human beings through these congregations. In these gatherings there was no colour bar, no prejudices of caste and no distinctions between the rich and the poor. All human beings were children of God and could attain spiritual greatness and oneness with the Lord through love and devotion.

The Guru Reaches Arabia

It was in 1517 A.D. that the Guru started on his journey towards the West. After touring extensively in various parts of North-western India for several months, the Guru boarded a ship at Sūrat (in Gujarat) for Aden in 1518 with his life-long companions Bālā and Mardānā. He stayed for a few days at Aden where a golden-pinnacled temple can still be seen towards the east, about half a mile outside the city. From Aden, he took another ship for Jedda, where he reached after about three days. Here also there is a house in memory of the visit of the Guru, which is situated on the river bank towards the east of Eve's mausoleum. In Aden and Arabia, wherever there is a place in memory of the Guru, it is known as the mosque of *Nanak Pir—Wali Hind.*

A Wonderful Incident in Mecca

In Arabia, the Guru clothed himself like Arabs. He had a staff in his hand, a prayer-mat on his shoulder, the holy book under his arm and a long blue shirt reaching to his feet etc. He looked like a Sufi and everywhere people considered him to be a true *faqīr*. From Jedda, the Guru proceeded towards Mecca on foot. He reached Mecca late in the evening and fell asleep near Abraham's Memorial behind the *Kābā*. When the sanitary inspector Jiwan Khan came in the morning, he admonished the Guru for sleeping with his feet towards the House of God. The angry attendants dragged the feet of the Guru in the opposite direction, but a wonderful thing happened there. They saw the *Kābā* on the same side as they had put the Guru's feet. They were wonder-struck and fell at the feet of the Guru. The fact that God is all-pervading, dawned upon them. The chief theologians of Islam, who were present at Mecca at that time namely Maulvī Mohammad Hassan, Qāzī Rukn Dīn, Imām Jaffar and Pīr Abdul Bahav held discourses with the Guru regarding spiritual matters. The substance of these discourses was noted by Sayyad Mohammad Ghaus Salas Faquīr in his book in Persian, which was translated into Punjabi by bhāī Bhāna, according to Gyani Gyan Singh. The Guru stayed at Mecca for about a year. It is said that about one and a half mile from *kābā*, on the road to Amra, near the mosque of Baba Farid, there is another mosque in the name of *Nanak Pir Wali Hind*. There is a well and also a *ber* tree in this mosque.

At Mecca, Qāzī Rukn Dīn asked the Guru whether he was a Hindu or a Muslim. The guru replied that he would not be tolerated if he called himself a Hindu. He was not a Muslim either. He was a component of five elements. He was then questioned about his sect, to which he replied that he had started a Pure Discipline in the Iron Age (Kaliyuga). He remembered only One Lord, who was beyond the ken of Vedas and *Katebs*. He was then asked as to which of the two religions viz. Islam and Hinduism, is a true religion. The Guru said that the only true religion is the religion of God. The deeds of the individual are judged in the court of the Lord and no Incarnation or Prophet can save him. A further question wanted to elicit the nature of final emancipation and the qualities of a person who attains it. The Guru said, "Pray with utmost humility and see the Lord in everything. Perform good actions. This is the right path. When the duality ceases, there is no difference between God and soul. If one feels the duality i.e. good and bad, heaven and hell, there is no emancipation for him."

His Discourses Heard from Mecca to Medina

From Mecca, the Guru proceeded towards Medina. When he reached there, he asked Mardānā, his companion, to play upon his rebec. When the Muslims heard the music, they, in great rage, came forward to hurl stones on the Guru, whom they looked upon as an infidel, because music is not allowed in Islam. But, on seeing the Guru, their fury melted away and they could not stone him. Imām Jaffar, the eleventh descendant of Hazrat Ali sought the forgiveness of the Guru. On his request, the Guru left his wooden sandals there, which are said to be held in great reverence there even now. It is recorded in "*Makke Madine di Goshta*" (Discourses in Macca and Medina) that when Imām Ghaus, Ashraf and Azim came to see the Guru, they saw the holy book with the Guru and asked him about its usefulness. The Guru replied that the holy book is like a goat. The Qazis, Maulvis, priests, Pandits and fanatics become quarrelsome after reading it. They get only bones as food. Those who earn their living

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out of its study, they eat meat. Those who are desirous of getting honour after its study eat the fat and those who worship the Lord after studying it and see His Light in everything and identify themselves with Him, they are *faqīrs* full of knowledge and they eat the essence. The Imams then told the Guru that his words were very effective and if he embraced Islam after repeating the *Kalma* of the Prophet, the world would follow him. The Guru retorted that he read the *Kalma* of that true Prophet, who had the four elements *(Arbā-anāsar)* as his true friends *(yār)*, through whom the whole world is equally benefited. Secondly, the soul was a Prophet and mind, intellect, *Chitta* (thinking principle) and ego were its four friends *(yār)*, we have faith in them and whatever we desire, we can get that done by them. The Imams questioned again, "Whose discipline do you follow?" The Guru replied, "I follow the discipline of Truth". The Imams asked again, "Whose *Kalmā* do you repeat?" The Guru said," I repeat the *Kalmā* of God and True Guru." Many other questions were put and the answers of the Guru made the Imams speechless. The Guru advised them not to show any aversion for music, because it gives pleasure to the soul. The Guru stayed at Medina for four months. His followers built a mosque there, which is known as the mosque of Nanak Pir or the mosque of *Wali Hind*. About three miles from this place stands the mausoleum of the Prophet.

Religious Discussion with the Caliph at Baghdad

After visiting several minor places, the Guru reached Baghdad in Rūm. He stayed near the mosque of Baba Farid on the eastern side of Baghdad. He sang one of his hymns, which touched the hearts of hundreds of people present there. Abdul Qadir and Bahawal, the noted *pīrs* visited him. The Caliph of this place was very atrocious and miserly. When he came to know of the visit of the Guru, he went to see him. The Guru, on seeing him coming, began to collect the broken pieces of an earthen vessel. The Caliph asked him about the utility of his action to which he replied that the faqirs wanted a bed of these pieces in the next world for the austerities, therefore he would send them there. The Caliph was surprised. 'How could it be possible to send anything to the next world'. The Guru told him that if his wealth would reach there. he would also see that these pieces would also arrive there. The Caliph got the point and said, "Though nothing accompanies the soul, but the mind never feels satisfied." The Guru at this juncture is said to have sung his hymn entitled *"Nasihat Nāmā"*, which contained an advice to the Caliph.

The Caliph was greatly impressed and he began to give in charity all the wealth he had collected. Earlier he had imprisoned many faquirs. When he approached the Guru for an offspring, the Guru advised him to release all the imprisoned faqirs, which he did. The Guru stayed at Baghdad at the request of the Caliph till the birth of his son. When the child was born, the Guru was presented a *chola* (shirt) of silk, on which the wife of the Caliph, with the help of other expert ladies, embroidered the sacred verses from the Holy Quran, Bible, Toret and Zabūr. A head-dress was also presented. A temple was also built to commemorate the memorable visit of the Guru. The memorial in Baghdad contains a tablet on which the following lines are inscribed :—

"See, the Lord hath fulfilled our wish and this place of Nanak hath been built afresh."

Everywhere The Guru sang his Hymns

From Baghdad, the Guru went to Halib, the then capital of Rūm. Here also he sang one of his hymns. The religious fanatics tried to forbid him, but in vain. When their pīr Mohiyud-Din came for the purpose, he was so much enchanted, that he could not utter a word. The people,

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who came with him also softened down and began to sing. The Pīr was highly impressed. When the king heard about this incident, he asked his preceptor Pīr Abdul Rehman Rūmī to test the Guru himself. The Pīr sent his disciple Sayyad Ahmad Ghaus. When the disciple reached the place of the Guru, Mardana was reciting the following hymn of the Master :

Pātālā Pātāl Lakh Āgāsā Āgās

"There are lacs of nether-worlds and lacs of skies."

He said to Mardana, "O! Punjabi Faqir! Why do you utter such lies? The Prophet has told us about fourteen regions *(Chauda Tabak)*". The Guru, having heard these words, said, "God has shown me lacs of regions." The disciple went back to the Pīr and told him what the Guru had said. Then the Pīr came himself, whom the Guru gave the knowledge of the lacs of regions. Bhai Gurdas, the Sikh theologian, has connected this incident with the visit of the Guru to Baghdad. According to him, the Guru showed the lacs of upper and nether worlds to the son of the Pīr. He even brought the *Karah Prasād* (sweetmeat preparation of flour, sugar and ghee) from a congregation in the lowest nether world, so that the Pīr might be satisfied about the actual journey.

The Pīr of Halib informed the king about the spiritual greatness of the Guru, the king came to see the Guru. He was also greatly impressed and became a disciple of the Guru. A mosque of *Wali Hind* is said to exist there even now near the mosque of Baba Farid.

The Guru in Persia and Central Asia

From Halib, the Guru proceeded towards Persia and crossed the Euphrates. Passing through Teheran, Isfahan, etc., he went to Turkistan. He visited Tashkent, Bokhara, etc. It is said that at some places, he is still remembered as *Wali Hind.* The Guru went to Samarkand also, where there is a mosque in his memory. It is stated in the chronicles that the Guru visited all the important places in this area. Then he came to Afghanistan.

It is said that the Guru reached Kabul in 1519 A.D. where a place still exists in his memory near the palace and mosque of Babar. At this place, when the Guru sang his hymn in the early hours of the morning, Babar himself came to see him. He was greatly impressed. He offered fruit and rubies. The Guru said, "I possess rubies of detachment, knowledge, truth, contentment, patience etc., and fruit of love, prayer, devotion, etc. Your fruit and rubies are of no use to me." The king said, "Shower your blessings on me, so that I may become the king of India, where the Lodhi kings are perpetrating great atrocities on the Hindus. I have already unsuccessfully invaded India. I shall do my best for my subjects." The Guru said, "God will help you."

It is recorded in the *"Annals of the Delhi Badsnanate"* translated from an old Assamese chronicle "Padshah-Buranji" by Shri S.K. Bhuyan that Timur was blessed by a prophetic faqir who said, "I confer on you the Padshahship of Delhi for seven generations." According to old Sikh chronicles, these words were spoken by Guru Nanak to Babar.

The palace of Babar, mentioned above, is situated at a distance of two miles towards the south of the city of Kabul. The Guru also went within the city of Kabul. There is a Gurdwara at the place at which he stayed.

In Afghanistan, the Guru visited several other places, where he is still remembered with great reverence. Then passing through Khyber, he returned to his native land.

From the above we see that during his journey in the Middle East the Guru visited Aden, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Persia, Turkistan and Afghanistan, where he met kings, high dignitaries and people to whom he conveyed his universal and practical concept of religion. He held aloft the banner of great Indian Culture in several countries of the world that he visited.

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India's Contacts with Africa from the Earliest Times

AMBA PRASAD

Introduction

VERY LITTLE IS known of India's contacts with Africa in ancient, medieval or even early modern times. This is explained by the lack of available data on the subject. In contrast, we have ample evidence of India's contacts with South-East, Central, and West Asia and some good studies based on the available evidence have been made. One can almost say that the ignorance of India's earlier contacts with Africa is colossal. That does not mean that the contacts did not exist. In fact a detailed study of the Western Indian Ocean contacts will reveal that the West Coast of India, the Arab littoral bordering on the Indian Ocean and the East and South Coast of Africa formed the three arms of a triangle and that these maritime contacts have existed from very early times. In order that a correct perspective may emerge of Asian and African history, a study of these contacts is of utomost importance.

The Discovery of Monsoon is a Landmark in Indo-African Trade Relations

The connection between India and Africa has, at all times, been helped by nature and geography. The direct distance between Mombasa and Bombay is only 2,500 miles. The duration of the monsoons blowing for six months from the north-east and for the next six months from the south-west was a source of tremendous power to the sailors, the vessels had only to set their sails and point their bows towards Africa during November and February, and after a brisk trade, had to set their bows in the opposite direction. And in this way trade was going on for centuries. This knowledge of the direction of the monsoons was long known to the Indians and the Arabs and when Hippalus discovered this secret in 47 A.D. for Europe, the winds came to be called Hippalus by Europeans.

The Historical Perspective

The contacts between India and Africa can be studied historically, though both chronology and historicity of evidence is sometime vague and uncertain. One has to take the aid of so many sciences in order to be able to give a connected and fairly reliable account. Archaeology, anthropology, numismatics, sociology, folklore, linguistics, have all to be pressed into the service of the historian. In this way the materials present a problem—they are so scattered and in so many languages, that it is indeed a task to collect them, sift them and present them in the form of a connected historical account. The task is attempted in the short span of a paper with the background of these difficulties in mind. A bigger volume will alone do justice to it.

The history of these contacts can be studied in five periods namely (a) before the first century A.D., (b) from the first century to the 8th century, (c) from the 9th century to the 15th century, (d) from the 16th century to the middle of the 19th century and (e) from the middle of the 19th century to the present day. This periodization has been worked out on several considerations which, of course, cannot be considered in a survey article like this.

PERIOD (A)—UPTO THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

Before the first century A.D. our evidence may not be as reliable as of the later period but, if properly co-ordinated, we get a fairly accurate picture of Indo-African links. "Asia is the undisputed homeland of civilization", says Sir Mortimer Wheeler and adds "Africa may well be the homeland of man himself".[1] Though the final verdict cannot yet be given, the earliest 'Man', who was the first tool-maker, may have lived in Africa some 1.75 million years ago. But, whereas this 'Man' remained food-gatherer in Africa, Asian 'Man' went ahead and became a food-producer, beginning perhaps some nine thousand years ago. Of the five main groups of Africans of which African population is composed, the Negroes (West African or Bantu) or the Hamitic Negroes, the Bushmen, the Hamites, the largest group is that of the Negroes. The original home of the Negroes has sometimes been suggested to be Asia (India), Europe and Africa itself. Though it is difficult to say anything with finality, it might be said that the occurrence of 'sickle-cells' in a group of Indian population supports the Indian-home theory.[2]

Cammiade and Burkitt have noticed a remarkable affinity between various implements belonging to the Palaeolithic Age that are found in south India and similar ones that are found in South Africa. Cammiade had gathered large quantities of pre-historic implements from various localities in South India and the Deccan and Burkitt, who had specialized in the Stone Age implements of south Africa, have together elucidated the sequence of these finds from a typological study in a number of articles published in *The Antiquity*. Drawing attention to various parallelisms that are found to exist between the south Indian types and those of Africa, they have come to the conclusion that "close connection existed in those days between the two races."[3] Later studies by D. Clarke, V.D. Krishnaswami and H.D. Sankalia confirm it.

Africa and its People in the Vedic and Purāṇic Literature

According to a writer there are references in Indian religious literature to certain people of Africa which shows knowledge of Africa in Vedic and post-Vedic times and, probably, the existence of a close link between India and Southern Rhodesia. He mentions that in the *Aitreya Brāhmaṇa,* there are references to 'Mishnar' or Mashonaland in the context of its gold and elephants.[4] We know from later historical evidence that the region abounded in gold and elephants. The same writer also mentions that there is a reference to the 'Jhuls' in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa,* along with their physical characteristics. This tallies very much with the physical characteristics of the 'Zulus' of Africa.[5] But these points cannot be over-stressed.

The Indo-Egyptian Relations in Protohistoric Times

That India's contact with Egypt was perhaps the earliest and goes back to 2500 B.C. or even earlier may have some truth. This evidence comes from two sources : (a) the language and (b) the use of the cowrie shell. Homburger, in a learned paper entitled : "Historical conclusions from a study of Indo-African Language", says that "the first dynastic Egyptians came from the Indus Valley, following some traders who had preceded them. It is difficult to say if they had been preceded by the Yellowish Khois (Hottentots) who peopled the country called Kash and were driven South by the Egyptians and, later, by the Blacks, who came over from

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India by small groups."[6] Of course, archaeologically it cannot be proved.

The evidence provided by the use of the cowrie shell as a means of currency and coinage is most remarkable. The cowrie shell is not a native of the Atlantic Coast but was brought there from the Maldive Islands near the Indian Coast. According to Mrs. Leakey, cowrie shells from the Maldive Islands, were found in an Iron Age settlement near Nakuru in the Kenya Highlands, establishing the possibility of very old trade contacts between India and Africa. According to another authority, "The Indians who traded with Egypt used the cowrie shell for money... This system dates as far back as the 28th century B.C."[7] Another scholar has supported this view in these words: "When it is realized that almost the only positive records of maritime achievements before 2000 B.C. relate to the Egyptians, it seems that the Egyptians were trading with India and China, using cowrie as a means of foreign currency," and has added that "it would not long before the Egyptians would introduce it into Africa and, with it, their own system of reckoning by sixes."[8] However, this view is also largely speculative.

Indo-African Trade : the Sanskrit and Pali Literature

Among the literary sources, one can point to a considerable volume of religious and semi-religious literature of India, the two epics (the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*), Piṭakas and Jātakas (*Sutta-piṭaka* and *Baveru Jātaka* in particular) and the Purāṇas, which provide some clues to Indian Ocean activities of Indians. The writings of the Greeks covering the period from 800 B.C. to the first century A.D. also provide further evidence. In his study of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sylvain Lévi has pointed to the existence of a folk-lore of the Indian Ocean, of stories current among the mariners of the distant countries to which either their voluntary sailings or the freaks of winds had carried them. Pali scriptures mention a vigorous sea-faring activity. One Jātaka describes as many as 700 merchants, who sailed from Bharukaccha (Baroach) in one vessel under the guidance of a blind pilot.[9]

The Writings of Wilford and Speke

A subject of great interest, though controversial, is provided by the writings of Wilford and Speke. The former published two of the most important results of his researches in Volume III of the Asiatic Researches in 1801. First, that the Nile was clearly a Sanskrit word[10] and second, that the Hindus were familiar with the source of river Nile and christened it 'Amara' and also with the Wanyamvezi or 'Men of the Moon', from whom they heard of the Tanganyika mountains and their association with the Tanganyika lake.[11] He gives details of the source and the course of the River Nile and mentions its tributaries as also the tribes which were living on its banks. River Nile has been described as 'Mahacali' and has many other epithets, all implying different shades of black or dark azure. He also says that the source has been very correctly and elaborately described, with a mythological explanation as to why the country near the source was called *Candrasthāna*, or the land of the Moon.

Besides these two points, he mentions the activities of Indian traders in this region with a great deal of detail. He writes, "Nothing was ever written concerning this country of the Moon, as far as we know, until the Hindus who traded with the east coast of Africa, opened commercial dealings with its people in slaves and ivory, possibly sometime prior to the birth of our saviour when, associated with their name (Men of the Moon), sprang into existence the Mountain of the Moon. The Men of the Moon are hereditarily the greatest traders in Africa, and are the only people who, for love of barter and exchange, will leave their own country as porters and go to the coast and they do so with as much zeal as country-folk go to

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the fair. As far back as we can trace, they have done this and will do so as heretofore . . . The Hindu traders had a firm basis to stand upon for their intercourse with the Abyssinians, through whom they must have heard of the country of Amara, which they applied to the Nyanza and with the Wanyamvezi or Men of the Moon from whom they heard of the Tanganyika and Karagua mountain."[12]

Later, Speke in his *Journal of the Discovery of the Nile* published in 1863, wrote, "Col. Rigby gave me a most interesting paper, with a map attached to it, about the Nile and the Mountains of the Moon. It was written by Lt. Wilford", and added, "This, I think, shows clearly that the ancient Hindus must have had some kind of communication with both the Northern and Southern ends of the Victoria Nyanza".[13]

In the second edition of his book, Speke dropped reference to this map and this paper, as he believed it to have turned out to be a forgery.[14] Recently two eminent British historians on Africa have also expressed their doubts about its being authentic information.[15] Wilford also acknowledged that, when writing his earlier paper, he had been the victim of an 'elaborate imposition' by a pundit who produced a 'forged manuscript' to prove the existence of ancient knowledge of Egypt among the Hindus.[16]

But this does not necessarily mean that ancient Indians had no knowledge of the people of the Mountain of the Moon, of the Great Lakes and, possibly, the source of River Nile. It only means that the particular manuscript was not one of the Purāṇas but was some other document which contained fairly elaborate and accurate information about them. Even if the document was not as old as the extant Purāṇas, it must have been prepared much earlier than 1800 A.D. and, in any case, it served as a guide to Speke, who is known to have discovered for Europe the source of River Nile. There is no doubt that there is no reference in any of the eighteen Purāṇas to this, but it is possible that the tradition of knowledge of this part, which formed the subject of the manuscript, might have existed from ancient times.

Indo-African Trade: the Graeco-Roman Sources

The Greek evidence coming down from the middle of the second century B.C. proves the existence of sea-trade conducted in fairly large vessels belonging to Indians. Agatharcides of Alexandria noticed Indian ships arriving at a Sabaean port from Patala on the Indus. This evidence is further confirmed by the testimony of Eudoxus who visited India towards the end of the second century B.C.[17] Thus Graeco-Roman writings are quite fulsome about Indian trade connections with Egypt, the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. Even going back to the sixth century B.C. one can establish conclusively that the discovery of Indian timber in the buildings at Nimroud and the dating c. 604–538 B.C. go to prove the existence of sea-trade in large ships between India and the Euphrates. Probably they were there a great deal earlier.

PERIOD (B)—FIRST CENTURY TO THE 8TH CENTURY A.D.

We have still more reliable evidence of Indian links with Africa from the first century A.D. The *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, written in Greek by an anonymous author,[18] seems to be an account of an eye-witness who travelled by sea through the Gulf of Aden, rounded the Cape Guardafui and sailed southward along the shores of what are now the countries called Somalia, Kenya and Tanganyika.

The testemony of the *Periplus* is that the inhabitants of this coastal region were savages but describes their markets as part of a close-knit network of Indian ocean trade. Ships sailed there from Egypt in July, other ships came direct from India. To the African market towns,

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across the seas from Barygaza[19] ships used to bring the products of their own places—wheat, rice, clarified butter, sesame oil, cotton cloth and girdles and honey from the reed called Sachhari. Indians imported from Africa ivory, tortoise-shell, rhinoceros-horn, palm-oil in great quantities. It is quite likely that the Indians introduced sugar[20] and cocoanut[21] into Africa.

Besides the trade in these commodities, the important thing to note is that these products "were regularly shipped in Indian vessels from the Gulf of Cambay".[22] The *Periplus* refers to the port called then Avalites (modern Zeila), on the coast of Somaliland. In this harbour, mention in made of about twenty maritime craft, large and small, which were navigated by Rajput or 'Hindu pilots.'[23] Thus, the Indian vessels played the most important part in this trade. It may also be noted that some of the Indian ships discharged their cargoes in the African ports, but others trans-shipped them at sea, thus establishing a network of trading activity connecting India, Red Sea area (especially Muza) and Egypt and the Roman World, of which the centre was India. Pliny complains of Roman gold flowing to India; the balance of trade in India's favour amounted to £ 500,000 annually. Indian pearls, emeralds and "the web of women air", as the Indian muslin was called in these parts, adorned the aristocratic ladies of Rome and the price she paid was indeed a heavy one.

At the same time it cannot be gainsaid that there were Indian settlements in the trading centres in Africa at this time. The *Periplus* tells us of a trading colony of Greeks, Indians and Arabs settled in the island of Socotra, possibly the same composition held good in respect of Zeila, Adouli and Azania.

That this pattern of trading must have continued from the first century A.D. to the sixth century A.D. is borne out by the testimony of the *Christian Topography* by Cosmas who was an Egyptian monk. The work was written in 545 A.D.[24] Though it is a work on science and astronomy, and though it seeks to construct an impossible theory of the universe, its usefulness lies in this that it mentions imports into India of certain African commodities. It refers to the import of frankicence, cassia, calmus into India from the coast of Ethiopia. The notable places of trade mentioned in India are Sindh, Saurashtra, Chaul and Male.

PERIOD (C)—9TH CENTURY TO THE 15TH CENTURY A.D.

The period from ninth century is marked by the rise of Islamic power. The Indian ocean was full of Indian and Arab maritime activity till the sixteenth century when European nations started playing a major role in this western Indian Ocean trade. The evidence is more ample and is also relatively more reliable for this period. The Arab and Persian accounts, and some linguistic, numismatic and archaeological sources also come to the aid of the historian. For the later phases of this period even European accounts can supplement other sources.

The Chronicles of Kilwa Kisiwani,[25] Pate, Lamu and Mombasa are important sources, though their value is almost entirely for reconstructing political history, not economic or cultural history. African archaeology does not, in the present state of our knowledge, provide sufficient clues to the trade relations; certain inscriptions have been found and are of some value.[26] Quite a large number of coins belonging to the ruling dynasties of East Africa have been collected. But only two Indian coins have so far been found; one found at Mofia is of a small state of the mid-thirteenth century south India and the other from Mogadishu is of Shah Firuz al Bahmani (1397–1422).[27] As for the Indian sources, there is hardly any direct information available on India's relations with Africa. Inscriptions there are but they throw more light on land grants; written works are of a literary or of a juristic character; there are charters granted to the merchants engaged in sea-trade and these give an idea of the trade and privileges

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enjoyed by big merchants.[28] But, much of the evidence from India remains to be collected and sifted. The temple records or royal family records called granthāvalies from Kerala, with which Africa had close links, and family papers of certain old families in Gujarat and Kathiawar, have to be tapped as an important source.

But in the medieval period we have sufficiently extensive and trustworthy evidence of contemporary accounts. These are in five languages mainly—Arabic, Persian, Chinese, Portuguese and Italian. Persian and Chinese sources are few but are quite useful on the subject of Indian ocean trade. Hudul-Al Alam by an anonymous geographer is the most valuable Persian source.[29] The Arab geographers are particularly noteworthy; they belonged to several countries but are linked by the unity of language and religion and besides their knowledge of geography, trade and shipping of the oceans, some of them show a remarkable knowledge of nautical science. Among these, special mention may be made of the following : Ibu Haukal (c. 960),[30] al-M'sudi (c. 956),[31] al-Idrisi (c. 1100–1666),[32] Abul-al-Fida (c. 1273–1331), Ibu Batuta (c. 1325–54).[33] The work of Marco Polo (c. 1293) of Venice is particularly valuable.[34] The Portuguese accounts travels of Vasco da Gama (1497–1524)[35] and Barbosa's Book[36]—are valuable for the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century.

The Chola Kingdom in South-east of India had become a sea-power in the ninth century. In the early part of the eleventh century, its ruler claimed to have conquered 12,000 islands. He certainly ruled the Maldives which supplied cowries to African continent. The Cholas may have given their system of weights also to Africa. Between the ninth and twelfth centuries, Chola traders must have spread in Western Indian ocean as they had done in the Eastern Indian Ocean. But in the thirteenth century the West Indian Ocean was becoming a part of Islamic culture.

Merchant Colonies on the East African and West Indian Coasts

The presence of Indian settlers in this period in certain towns along the East Coast of Africa is pretty clear from the available evidence. Mogadishu was inhabited by pure Arabs in 1229. A century later when Ibu Batuta visited it, he found it "an enormous city" with inhabitants who were "merchants."[37] Some Indian merchants must have found their way there. Malindi was another important port town. In the 10th century it appeared that it was a 'non-Arab city'[38] though merchants from different parts of Indian ocean area visited the port. When Vasco da Gama visited it towards the end of the fifteenth century, he found a considerable community of Hindus whom he described as "Indian Christians" out of ignorance.[39] According to him, they ate no beef. The Portuguese also found some vessels of the Banias settled in Cranganor, Malabar. In Mombasa port-town there were some Hindus but at that time they were temporary residents and Vasco da Gama found them 'held in much subjection.'[40] But the Portuguese noted many ships of Cambay here. Possibly it was becoming the headquarters of the Gujarat traders in the sixteenth century. There was also some rivalry between the Hindu and Muslim traders. Further south of Mombasa was the port of Kilwa. Quite a strong element of Hindu settlers was included in its population. Vasco da Gama recorded the opinion of the pilot who piloted his ship to Calicut that half of Kilwa belonged to the Muslims and the other half to the Hindus.[41] Another town further south was Sofala, partly settled by the Arabs of Oman and partly by the Indians.

Thus one finds that Indians were to be found in the various port-towns on the East African Coast. Though the predominant element was that of the Arabs, there is no doubt that they were mixed up with Persians, Bantu and Indian elements. The culture that developed was composite

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culture. It seems most likely that Indians attempted to build independent settlements of their own also. El Idrise (12th century) mentions the town of Soiouna, of moderate size, peopled with Indians and natives. Abu-al-Fida (13th century) also refers to the town of Seyonna where the king of Sofala was residing. It was probably Sena which was known for the export of gold and iron.[42] Another settlement, as pointed out first of all by Sir John Gray the well-known historian-Judge, was by the Wadebulis. It is quite probable that they were mariners and merchants from Dabhol, a port on the West Coast of India. It has so far not been possible to establish the date for the arrival of the Wadebulis.[43] It is probable that they migrated to East Africa in the sixteenth century.[44]

In the medieval period, there were certain important Indian ports which figured prominently, in connection with Indian ocean trade, particularly with Africa—Cambay and Somnath in Gujarat, Calicut and Cannanore in Kerala. Cambay was the centre of trade for the clearing of goods of Gujarat. Cloth was its most important export. The importance of Cambay was realized by Albuquerque when he said that "the trade of Africa was interwoven with that of Cambaia."[45] Calicut was becoming the entrepot for the trade of the Indian Ocean.

The two merchant classes most important in this trade were the Banias of Gujarat whose activities extended from Gujarat-Kathiawad coast to Konkan and Malabar coast in India and the East coast of Africa and the Arab littoral on the Indian and the East coast of Africa and the Arab littoral on the Indian Occean. The other class was that of the Arabs who had settled down in Indian port-towns and had become Indian merchants in the true sense of the term and were patronised by the local Hindu kings. They produced enterprising sailors, their superiority in nautical sciences was well-known. The Banias employed them on their ships. Marco Polo and Barbosa have made ample mention of the trading genius of the Banias.[46] It is an important feature of the Indo-African trade of this period that the functions of the trader and the carrier were often combined. It was a usual practice for the merchants to have their own ships. The Portuguese have noted that some Indian merchants owned forty ships, a few owned as many as fifty ships.[47]

Items of Export and Import

African demand for Indian goods came from two sources, from the people of Africa in the interior and from the fashionable city-dwellers of the coast. The African people were fond of Indian cloth and Indian beads; the coastal communities desired, besides these two commodities, gold, embroidered silks, copper, Indian spices and some precious stones. The Book of Duarte Barbosa says: "Here (Zimbabwe in Rhodesia) in the town of Benaametapa is the King's most usual abode in a very large building, and thence the traders carry the inland gold to Sofala and give it unweighted to the Moors (this is in reference to Indian traders) for coloured cloth and beads, which are greatly esteemed among them, which beads come from Cambay."[48] In Safola and Kilwa, food-stuffs came from the interior but in some of the northern towns these were imported from India.[49] Millet, rice and wheat were taken by the Indian merchants from India to Malindi and were the products of Gujarat and Konkan.

As has been mentioned earlier, Indian cloth was being exported to Africa from India from very early times. This trade seems to have continued unbroken as, in the medieval period also, cloth is mentioned as the principal article sent to Africa. The Bantu people liked coloured cloth and the nobility and high class ladies expressed their liking for silks with threads of gold. Fine varieties of cloth—muslin and silk—were in demand in coastal towns.

India imported gold and ivory from Africa in large quantities. The other commodities

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India imported from Africa were rhinoceros-horn and skin, ambergris, gum, pearls and tortoise-shell. We find numerous references to the abundance of gold in Africa from the tenth to the fifteenth century but specific references to gold trade with India were made by Alberuni in the eleventh, Marco Polo in the thirteenth, Iba Al Wardi in the fourteenth and Bargosa in the early sixteenth century.'[50] The presence of so much gold in India in medieval times is explained by the import of African gold into India. The Bantu people had gold so much in abundance that they gave gold in exchange for Cambay cloth without weighing it.[51] India had her own ivory and exported it to Ormuz, but it was inferior in quality to the African ivory. So, India imported ivory mostly from the ports of Mogadishu, Malindi and Sofala.[52]

There is no evidence to prove the enslaving of the people of Africa by Indians and then transporting them to India as commodities of trade during the medieval period.

Indian Elements in the Zimbabwe Culture of Southern Rhodesia

Caton-Thompson, a great authority on Zimbabwe culture of Southern Rhodesia, has pointed out that the trade connection with India was "the primary stimulus which led to the development of the indigenous Zimbabwe culture."[53] She expressed her views first in her work *Zimbabwe Culture,* published in 1931, and in a paper submitted by her recently on "Trade Beads in Medieval East and Central Africa" to the second conference on African History and Archaeology, she supports her earlier-held view that the beads found in the ruins at Zimbabwe came from India and Malay States, during the medieval period, not earlier than eighth to tenth centuries. The evidence of Ibn Al Wardi in the fourteenth century and of the Portuguese in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries goes to show that the bead trade with India was still flourishing. This shows in any case that the inhabitants of Zimbabwe were certainly in contact with the medieval trading system of the Indian Ocean of which India was the centre. According to a recent writer, the date of the first building at Zimbabwe could have been as early as the eleventh century A.D. or as late as the fourteenth.[54]

He has tentatively come to hold the view that the builders of Zimbabwe culture were Africans themselves.[55] Though it is difficult to hold a definite view, some facts may be noted so that one may not altogether exclude Indian inspiration for this culture. In the eleventh century there was the great sea-power of the Chola Kings of south India; that Indians had a flourishing and continuous trade in gold and glass beads. Cloth from Cambay was also in great demand in this part, so that there was close contact between India and Rhodesia in this period. Then the stone ruins, which consist of a vast elliptical enclosure, with other stone walls inside and, in particular, a solid conical tower, suggest that they constituted a Śiva temple, its conical tower was Śiva liṅga; the eagle image in soap-stone found there was probably 'Garuḍa' of Indian mythology. The earlier writers attributed it to the south Indian inspiration of a much earlier period.[56] It is quite possible that there might have been some south Indian inspiration of the period from ninth to eleventh century or thereabout. Here more research on the part of Indian scholars is required to be able to come to a final judgement on the riddle of Zimbabwe.

One more cultural link is clearly to be seen between Kilwa and India. An elaborate stone carving has been uncovered. This carving is very much in the same style as is found in Muslim India and was possibly inspired by India.[57]

PERIOD (D)—16TH CENTURY TO THE MIDDLE OF 19TH CENTURY A.D.

The period of three centuries and a half from the beginning of the sixteenth century to

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the middle of the nineteenth century is marked out by intensive European commercial, religious and political activity in the Indian Ocean World. It began with the discovery of the sea-route to India by Vasco da Gama in 1498. The Dutch, the French and the British offered a tough competition to the Arab and Indian trading activity. There was an intense rivalry among these European nations themselves, which resulted in the establishment of British mastery finally in the 19th century. The sources for this period became more authentic, as the records of the commercial companies as well as of their Governments are plentiful. The great need again is the study of these records. The Portuguese records available in Goa and Lisbon have also to be studied to get a true picture of the maritime, cultural and commercial scene in the Western Indian Ocean.

Indian Pilot took command of Vasco da Gama's Ship

It was an Indian pilot, Ahmad bin Majid, probably an Arab from Oman who had settled in India, who piloted the ship of Vasco da Gama from Malindi on the East Coast of Africa to Calicut on the West Coast of India. Vasco da Gama describes him as a "Christian Pilot", "native of Gujarat," meaning thereby that he was a Hindu pilot of Gujarat.[58] De Barros describes him as a "Moor of the Gujarati Nation", named "Malemo Cana".[59] Recently a book entitled *Ahmad bin Majid, pilot of Vasco da Gama* by a Russian scholar has expressed the view that he was a national of Oman.[60]

For a century or so the Portuguese remained the masters of the Western Indian Ocean, followed by challenges from other European nations. The Portuguese ascendancy proved to be a great setback to the Arab and Indian maritime activity. In fact the Portuguese treated the Indian Ocean as if it were a Portuguese lake. This further resulted in the decay of the coastal cities. Obviously there was a decline of Indo-African trade during this period of European colonial activity.

It is characteristic of Indian activity, in whatever field one may consider, to follow a policy of tolerance. So they did not establish a monopoly of trade to the exclusion of others, even when they were strong enough to do so. They allowed free competition to all. There was no idea of "contraband trade" which became a feature of Portuguese policy. This led to the imposition of stringent restrictions on other traders so much so that it was impossible for Arab or Indian ships to navigate the Arabian sea without permits of the Portuguese authorities. In issuing the permits they prohibited the Arab traders from carrying pepper, arms and other ammunition of war and also arrogated to themselves the power of seizing a ship suspected of being engaged in contraband trade.

Some Facts regarding the Slave Trade

Coupland has presented a misleading picture of slavery in the pre-European period. His conclusion that the slave trade was continuous from earliest times is not supported by evidence. Before the coming of the Portuguese, slave trade was exclusively confined to the Somali ports of Zeila and Berbera and nowhere was this trade in existence south of this area. Early Portuguese accounts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are silent about the slave as a commodity of trade. The European nations, the Dutch and the French in particular, developed slave trade with Madagascar and with Mozambique; by the end of the eighteenth century the French had over 100,000 slaves as against 20,000 whites and coloured free persons. It is estimated that the French captured 10,000 slaves a year.[61]

The presence of Abyssinian slaves and their part in Indian politics in the Muslim period

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has been a noticeable one. In the fifteenth century Rukn-un-din Barbak Shah of Bengal is reported to have maintained a large number of such slaves, some of whom were raised to high positions. But this slavery system was altogether different from the later-day slavery system practised by the Europeans.

Thus one cannot agree with Coupland when he says "Asia, not Europe bears the chief responsibility for the damage done by the slave trade to East Africa."[62] A fair estimate is that given by General Rigby, who wrote that "There can be little doubt that the slave trade was about wholly due, at least in its worst aspects, to European impact on the unhappy races of Africa."[63] General Rigby reports that he was told by the 'Banias' that when they came to African Coast, the whole country was densely populated but "now it was necessary to go about eighteen days journey inland before finding a village."[64] Such was the damage done by slave trade carried on by Europeans.

Honesty was not a Policy but Virtue with the Indians

The Arab Sultans of Oman and, later, of Zanzibar had great trust in the Indians. They were appointed as customs collectors on behalf of the State.[65] Sultan S'aid is known to have personally gone to receive Indians coming to Zanzibar. Sir John Kirk, Consul-General at Zanzibar from 1866 to 1867, has testified to the warmth with which Indians were received by the Sultan of Zanzibar in those days. Indian penetration in the interior for purposes of trade is also now a well-established fact about this time.[66] There were Indian trade centres opened in the interior reaching upto Nimule, Gondoro and Wadelai. About 1860 Indian population of East Africa was about 6,000.

In the last phase, Indo-African contacts have developed along different lines. A successive wave of Indian imigrants has gone to South and East Africa and they form a considerable proportion of the population of these countries today. In South Africa, they total just a little short of half a million, in Natal province as a whole there are 300,000 Indians. In Southern Rhodesia and Zambia their number is less than 10,000 and in Malavi, they are only 3,000. But in East Africa their number is nearly 200,000. In Mozambique they number 50,000. The number of Indians in the rest of Africa is very small.

PERIOD (E)—MIDDLE OF THE 19TH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT DAY

In this paper it is not possible to do justice to the big question of 'Indians in Africa' and their role in African history. A few aspects of this question can be touched upon to see what has been the Indian contribution to Africa in more recent times.

Indian activity is to be distinguished from the European colonial activity in respect of Africa. The Indian trader's was a peaceful, individual enterprise without the support of powerful economic organisations in Africa or in India. India did not experience at all the modern phase of economic imperialism and industrial capitalism which had led to the scramble for Africa among the European nations. Nor did Indians ever aspire for any economic or political domination which were the marked features of the European minorities of South Africa and Kenya. In fact, Indian settlers had to carry on their occupations under great economic and political disabilities imposed by the Governments of the colonies. For instance the Marketing of Produce Bill of 1932 benefited only the Europeans, and increased the distress of the Indian small trader. Similarly, the attempt to establish European monopoly of the clove trade in 1934 in Zanzibar led to discrimination against Indian traders. There are many more examples of this nature which cannot be quoted here due to lack of space.

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Role of Indian Labour in African Industries

The first thing which strikes a student of history is the role of Indian labour in the development of Africa. They were first called to work as indentured labour in South Africa by the agreement of 1860 and were able to develop its economy and industry in spite of severely adverse conditions in respect of wages and colour prejudices. For the construction of Kenya-Uganda Railways when it was found that European labour was unwilling to oblige and Africans did not provide an adequate labour supply, the Government of India recruited and sent Indian labourers.[67] As many as 32,000 Indians went for this work and suffered hardships and risks. According to the first Report of the Uganda Railway Committee (1903) nine thousand Indians died or were invalidated.[68] Thus, the Uganda Railway is a constant reminder of the Indian sacrifice for Africa's economic development.

Apart from labour supply, the Indian community has contributed to all aspects of African life—trade, finance, industry, skilled occupations, and agriculture. Indian contribution to the economic development of East Africa was noted by Sir Bartle Frere, an able British Indian civil servant and diplomat in 1873. In a memorandum on 'Indians in East Africa', he gave a first hand account of the Indian role along the 6,000 miles of the African sea coast and its islands. He says : "I doubt whether along the whole coast from Dalgoa Bay to Kurrachee *(sic.)*, there are half a dozen ports known to commerce, at which the Indian traders are not, as a body, better able to buy or sell a cargo. . . . Hardly a loan can be negotiated or mortgage can be distributed, or an export cargo collected which . . . does not go through Indian hands. The European or American, the Arab or Sowaheli *(sic)* may trade and profit but only as an occasional link in the chain between the producer and the consumer, of which the Indian trader is the one invariable and most important link of all. . . .[69] Thus Indians were playing a role, not only in the retail and wholesale commerce of East Africa, they were also playing an important part as the principal financiers and bankers.

The largest number of Indians were in retail trade, Johnston, who was Commissioner of Ugands (1899–1901), expressed the view that Indians introduced trade where it did not exist before.[70] This view was later confirmed by the East African Royal Commission of 1953–55 which said : "Indeed, the remarkable tenacity and courage of Indian traders had been mainly responsible for stimulating the wants of the indigenous peoples, even in the remotest areas, by opening to them a shop window on the modern world and for collecting for sale elsewhere whatever small surpluses are available for disposal".[71]

Indian Merchants Stabilized African Markets

Indian traders also brought down prices, there was a great margin between the prices charged by Europeans and those charged by Indians, as was reported by the census report of 1931. Indians are able to do so because their wants are limited, they are satisfied with a smaller margin of profit and they are hard-working and save on labour. The Indian shop was called *duka* which was stocked with all kinds of provisions, accessories, and goods of everyday use. More recently, difficulties have arisen as the African retail trader has also come into the field and he finds it difficult to compete openly with the Indian traders and seeks protection of the State.

Indians have been active in establishing small-scale and large-scale industries. Starting with a small capital, they are now manufacturing commodities of everyday use such as electric appliances, washing soap, glassware etc. and have developed the crafts of shoe-making and boot-making and the manufacture of wood and cork. Saw-milling has also been promoted by Indian enterprise. Here Indians and Africans have opportunities of running cooperative enterprises.

Large-scale industry also attracted the attention of Indians. They were pioneers in setting up oil mills for producing cotton seed oil and groundnut oil and in the introduction of sugar. Though not pioneers, Indians are now largest owners of cotton ginneries. Coffee and tea plantations were first owned by Europeans. As the European planters started leaving, Indians have purchased most of these plantations.

Indians vis-a-vis the Socio-Political Struggle in Africa

In the struggle for racial equality and political rights, Indians have been in the forefront. The struggle first began in Netal in South Africa. Gandhi went to South Africa in 1907 and soon after organised satyagraha, mainly directed against compulsory registration, as being repugnant to the dignity of India. Gandhi launched a second movement in 1913 refusing to obey the discriminating laws directed against the ban on the entry of Indians into the Cape Colony by the Immigration Regulation Act of 1913. But discriminative practices continued after 1919. The Indians suffered and agitated against such practices. The Africans and Indians launched a passive resistance compaign in 1952. The technique of *satyāgraha* was thus first tried in Africa and Indo-African solidarity against racial segregation was another matter of pride for India. In East Africa, Indians were the first to start agitation against segregation in townships. As a result the segregation policy had to be given up in 1923. Indians also launched and carried on agitation against the reservation of the Highlands for Europeans.

Another Indian contribution was their fight for the common roll.[72] This demand which was first made at the end of World War I, was repeated a number of times and was aimed at securing equal rights for all races, Africans, Indians and Europeans. Marjorie Dilley wrote (1937). "In any case, the Indian demand for equality disturbed 'European Paramountcy', called attention to the needs and interests of other communities and led to the subsequent adoption of a policy which officially included them".[73]

There were other activities of Indians which went towards Indo-African friendship. There was the Indian participation in the national movement in Kenya from the early twenties. Indian encouragement to Harry Thuku was well known.[74] From 1946 to 1952 Indian-African co-operation was at a high pitch in the political agitation. In fact Indian support for the national movement was held to be responsible for the Mau Mau movement.[75] More facts and examples could be mentioned of Indian-African cooperation in the political field but the above sufficiently shows that Indians have helped directly and indirectly in the development of political consciousness in Africa.

Our Gains and Lapses in the Field of Cultural Activities

Indian contribution in social, religious and cultural matters has been poor. The Christian missions were the greatest obstacle to integration between Indians and Africans in this respect. Christianity made a deep impact on the Africans. Hinduism did not, as Indians did nothing to disseminate Indian thought, Hindu religion or Hindu values. This is both a strong and a weak point of Hinduism. Nor have Indians ever presented a picture of a homogeneous group. Culture is a universal heritage and both Indians and Africans have to learn from each other's culture. Ramakrishna Mission and Arya Samaj did have some activities but on a very limited scale and remained confined to Indians. There is a need of making available to Africans the great ideas on religion and philosophy which India had developed.

Conclusion

It is thus clear from this survey of India's contacts with Africa that these were predominantly commercial; and it is this aspect of relationship that had always exercised a considerable impact of Africa. As commerce and culture are closely linked up, Indian links can be said to be cultural as well. The Swahili language and culture were indeed of a composite character and in this Indian elements, the local African elements and the Arab elements got synthesised. These contacts, based on the mutually advantageous exchange basis, can be said to have worked to the benefit of India as well as Africa. In this way, it is fair to conclude that such historical contacts between India and Africa will continue for mutual benefit in future.

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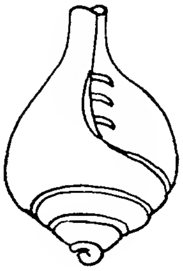

Indian Religions and the West : Historical Perspectives

B. M. PANDE

> "Terebinthus proclaimed himself learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and gave out that his name was no longer Terebinthus, but that he was a new Buddha (Buddas), for such was the name he now assumed, and that he was born of a virgin, and had been brought up on the mountains by an angel."[1]

THIS WAS STATED by Archeleos (278 A.D.), the Bishop of Carrha in Mesopotamia and which provides us with one of the earliest examples of a Buddhist 'convert' in the West Terebinthus was the disciple of Scythianus, a widely-travelled man who had acquired knowledge of Indian philosophy during his visits to India. It is believed that the doctrines incorporated in the book by Scythianus with the help of Terebinthus, formed the basis of Manichaean doctrines.

Converts to Buddhism were not Confined to Asia

Terebinthus' example is not an isolated one : there must have been many in the West who, like him, were attracted towards Indian religions in the historical periods as a result of the contacts of the Westerners with India, resulting in an exchange of ideas. This process of exchange of ideas between India and the West which is also connected with trade could, therefore, be traced back to proto-historic times; it is, however, only from about the sixth-fifth centuries B.C.—a period of religious and philosophical ferment—that this aspect of India's influence on the West attains significance.

In the present paper we have tried to indicate the historical perspectives showing that Indian religious and philosophical ideas did not remain confined merely to the areas assigned so far, but permeated into the West as well. The details relating to mutual borrowings of the metaphysical ideas and concepts by each other have, however, not been discussed since those have been examined by various authorities in sufficient detail. Nor have we discussed the Western response to Indian religious ideas in the modern times as it falls beyond the scope of the present paper. We may, however, add that despite the fact that such attempts showing borrowings have been questioned on one ground or the other, it is nevertheless true that 'for centuries both before and after the beginning of the Christian Era, Eastern (Hindu-Buddhist) philosophical and religious influences flowed through the Middle Eastern screen of peoples and cultures into the Greco-Christian Civilization.'[2] During these centuries, virtually a millennium, between *c.* 500 B.C. and 500 A.D., 'both overland and by sea, the ways between Rome, Persia, India, and China were opened ... to an ever-increasing commerce, and to such a degree that nowhere in the hemisphere was there any longer the possibility of a local mythological development isolation. The exchange of ideas was multifarious.'[3]

Pythagoras highly Influenced by the Vedantic Philosophy

Notwithstanding the fact that the flow of ideas intensified only with andafter Alexander's invasion (326 B.C.), the process had started prior to him. We learn from Iamblichus, the biographer of Pythagoras, that after studying the esoteric teachings of Egyptians, Assyrians and even the Brāhmaṇas, Pythagoras propounded the theory of the transmigration of the soul from body to body. As was natural with the early Greek writers like Herodotus (and even others), it was traced to Egypt. It is, however, an established fact that this theory first appears in the *Brāhmaṇās* and the *Upaniṣads*. It is, therefore, most likely that Pythagoras was influenced by India rather than by Egypt for, 'almost all the theories religious, philosophical, and mathematical, taught by the Pythagoreans, were known in India in the sixth century B.C., and the Pythagoreans, like the Jains and Buddhists, refrained from the destruction of life and eating meat, and regarded certain vegetables, such as beans, as taboo.'[4]

That the theory of metempsychosis continued to play a role in Greek, as in Indian religious thought, is proved also by the reference to it 'in many passages in Pindar' and 'with the complementary doctrine of *Karma* it is the keystone of the philosophy of Plato.'[5]

Thus we find that even in this early period 'Indian speculation and the Indian view of life were not uncongenial to the people of Europe and western Asia'[6] and as early as in the time of Pythagoras, the communication in ideas had already been established. It was much before the invasion of Alexander that the links between India and the West had been forged and in the period preceding the Persian wars Indian religious and philosophical ideas had premeated into the West. In the migration of ideas Persia played a major role.

Alexander accepted the Superiority of Hindu Wisdom

'The earliest significant meeting of East and West on the level of an attempt at philosophical exchange', however, began when 'that first and most vivid Westerner,'[7] Alexander, arrived in India. Alexander himself had collected around him a coterie of learned men and we have on record that an Indian sage Kalanos went from India with Alexander.[8]

Aśoka Inaugurated the Era of Oraganized Missions beyond the Frontiers of India

With the advent of the Mauryan rule under Chandragupta (*c.* 323 B.C.), culminating in the establishment of a powerful empire under Aśoka (*c.* 272 B.C.–236 B.C.) we find regular missionaries pouring out of India. This activity, which was a part of Aśoka's systematic compaigning to spread the ideals of *Dhamma*, extended beyond his western borders up to the kingdom of the Greek king Aṁtiyaka (Antiochus II Theos, *c.* 261–246 B.C.) of Western Asia (Rock Edict II) 'and beyond that Antiochus to where dwell the four kings named Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas and Alexander,'[9] identified respectively as the rulers of Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Cyrene and Epirus.

How deep was the influence of Aśoka's missionary activities it is difficult to say: it is nevertheless true that his missionaries took the message of *Dhamma* as far west as Syria, Egypt, Greece and North Africa and it could be said that by about 250 B.C. the communication between India and the West was so well established that the 'monastic settlements on the Jordon and the Nile derived their origin from the East.'[10] The main, and quite significant, outcome of this activity was in making the West aware of the 'pagan' religions and ideals, if not anything else. In fact the 'dialogue' between the East and the West was a sequel to this awareness and Aśoka's missions 'indirectly contributed something to the shaping of the tenets and practices of Christianity.'[11] In India itself, one of the chief monks in the time of Aśoka himself was a Greek (or a Persian), Yavana (Yona) Dharmarakṣita (Dhammarakkhita), who was responsible for the propagation of Theravāda Buddhism in western India. The Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions the country of the Yonas where Mahārakkhita 'delivered in the midst of the people the *'Kālakārāma suttanta,'* in consequence of which a hundred and seventy thousand living beings attained to the reward of the path (of salvation) and ten thousand received the *pabbajjā.*'[12]

Some Western Enquirers

One of the earliest among the Western enquirers, coming to an Indian sage for satisfying his appetite on matters religious, was king Menander, or Milinda (*c.* 115–90 B.C.), one of the greatest of the Indo-Greek kings. His questions on philosophical topics from the main kernel of the famous book *Milindapañho.*[13] In his search for truth he had approached many teachers, but none could satisfy him. This disheartened him much and led him to say: 'Empty alas, is all India. All India is but vain gossip. There is no ascetic or brāhmaṇa who is capable of disputing with me and solving my doubts.'[14] But after meeting Nāgasena he not only got answers to the questions agitating his mind, but was convinced and 'converted' to Buddhism. It was a conversion not born of mere sentiments but the result of detailed questioning:

> Master of words and sophistry, clever, and wise
> Milinda tried to test great Nāgasena's skill.
> Leaving him not, again and yet again,
> He questioned and cross-questioned him, until
> His own skill was proved foolishness.
> Then he became a student of the Holy Writ.
> All night, in secrecy, he pondered o'er
> The ninefold Scriptures, and therein he found
> Dilemmas hard to solve, and full of snares.
> And thus he thought: 'The conquering Buddha's words
> Are many-sided, some explanatory
> Some spoken as occasion rose to speak,
> Some dealing fully with essential points.
> Through ignorance of what, each time, was meant
> There will be strife hereafter as to what
> The king of Righteousness has thus laid down
> In these diverse and subtle utterances.
> Let me now gain great Nāgasena's ear,
> And putting to him that which seems so strange
> And hard—yea contradictory—got him
> To solve it. So in future times, when men
> Begin to doubt, the light of his solutions
> Shall guide them, too, along the path of Truth.'[15]

Menander's example must have been followed by many and the story of his pious acts was carried far and wide, so much so that, according to Plutarch, large cities within his empire contended for the honour of preserving his ashes. Then we have the example of another Greek ruler, Agathocles, who not only used the Buddhist emblems on his coins, but took pride in calling himself a *Hinduja*, i.e., an Indian by birth.[16] The Ceylonese chronicle tells us that when Duṭṭhagāmaṇi founded the Great Stūpa (Mahāthūpa) in Ceylon in the middle of the second century B.C., the Greeks were represented by Mahādharmarakṣita who came from the city of Alassando (Alexandria ad Cauceasum).[17] In India itself we have the example of Heliodoros, a native of Taxila and a convert to Vaiṣṇavism, who came as an ambassador of the Greek king Antialcidas to the court of the Śuṅga ruler Bhāgabhadra and erected a *Garuḍa*-column commemorating his visit to the sacred shrine of Viṣṇu at Vidiśā.

After Menander it were not only the Greeks who adopted Buddhism as their religion but, in the succeeding periods when India was assaulted by the invaders from the north-west, the process of Indianization continued : whether they were the Śakas, the Parthians or the Kushans, they were ultimately won over and they embraced the religion of the land they held. As a matter of fact, the Kushana rule in India has a great bearing on the development of Buddhism (or rather, Mahāyāna) for, 'while the policy of Kushan Crown was an invitation to cease from its pilgrimage, the social geography of the Kushan Kingdom was an incitement to move on; for unlike the Roman Empire, the Kushan Kingdom was not a terminus; it was a 'roundabout' on which four roads converged : one from the Indic World, one from the Syriac, one from the Hellenic, and one from the Sinic. When, under a Kushan regime which had 'abolished the Hindu Kush,' the Mahāyāna made its passage out of the Indus Valley into the Oxus-Jaxartes Basin, it found that it could not halt here and dig itself in; it had to travel on along one or other of the three alternative roads that now opened up before its face.'[18] The onward march of Buddhist ideas must have snowballed and could not have merely taken 'the Sinic turning.'[19]

Indian Influence on Hellenistic World

It was perhaps the result of this process that outside India, the Western world was becoming increasingly aware of Indian religions and faiths, and Indian philosophy was acquiring a growing reputation in the Hellenistic schools of Asia Minor and Egypt. Moreover, the Western literature of these early centuries of the Christian Era also shows a comprehensive knowledge of India. Celement of Alexandria (150–218 A.D.) in his *Stromateis* refers about the Buddhists and the Brahmins and the doctrine of transmigration.[18] Also interesting in this context are the writings of Bardesenes (155–233 A.D.), the well-known Gnostic teacher, who wrote a book on Indian religions.[19]

In this pollenization of ideas the city of Alexandria played a major role and it was because of the cosmopolitan spirit pervading there that 'we find Appolonius and Plotinus looking towards India as the home of wisdom.'[20] Apollonius of Tyana (*c*. 50 A.D.) is stated to have gone to Taxila to study under Brahmin preceptors and Plotinus (204 or 205–270 A.D.), to whom is attributed the founding of Neoplatonism, went to the extent of accompanying the emperor Gordion against Persia hoping to have an opportunity of studying the wisdom of the East. It may also be pointed out that 'in Plotinus, the procedures preparatory to ecstasy were remarkably similar to those of Buddhism and various Brahmanic systems.'[21] Also significant in this context are the close resemblances between Neoplatonism and Vedanta and Yoga systems.

Attempts at Similarity in the Life and Teachings of Buddha and Christ

Equally interesting is the account by Hieronymus (*c*. 340–420 A.D.), commonly known as St. Jerome, who refers (*Contra Jovin*, Epict. pt. I, Tr. ii, 26) about the tradition among the Indian Cymnosophists 'which lends authority to this opinion (the honour of virginity), that

Buddha (Buddas), the founder of their doctrine, was born from the side of a virgin.' Buddha was not virgin born, but the idea of Virgin Birth had been universally accepted by the second century,[22] and at the hands of Westerners like Terebinthus or Hieronymus, the legend of the birth of the Buddha also underwent transformation and Buddha was taken to be virgin born which was an attempt to present the legend of the Buddha in a framework susceptible to the religious imagination of the Westerners.

This mutual awareness naturally lifted the barriers of mutual exclusiveness and we find not only such parallelisms, as the one cited above, but can also see the remarkable similarities in the stories relating to the lives of the Buddha and the Christ. The Apocryphal Gospels, which drew on a common fund of tradition circulating in Asia and Europe, are remarkably Indian in character and in the Gospel story and the life of the Buddha as told in the *Lalitavistara* can be seen curious resemblances.[23]

The points of similarity are not limited to the Gospel story and the life of the Buddha alone but may also be seen in Buddhist parables and miracles. Likewise, there are also many practices common to both Indian and Christian worship and 'it is possible that the rosary, the veneration of relics, and the exaggerated forms of asceticism which were such a striking feature of Alexandrian Christianity, may be traced to Indian sources.'[24]

Indian Thought Influenced Gnosticism and Judaism

Still more interesting, however, are the influences of Indian religions on Gnosticism and on 'at least two orders of pre-Christian Judaism, namely, the Essenes and the Theraputae (Theraputra?), in whose precepts and modes of life scholars have recognised the influence of Buddhism.'[25] In the development of Gnosticism, which has been described as 'Orientalism in a Hellenized mask', Sāṃkhya-Yoga played a distinct part.[26] As a matter of fact, Gnosticism 'was a deliberate effort to fuse Christian, Platonic, and Oriental ideas at a time when syncretism was particularly fashionable at Alexandria.'[26] and the great Gnostic teacher Basilides 'definitely borrowed his philosophy from the wisdom of the East, which he interweaves in an ingenious fashion into the framework of Christianity.'[28] In the views of Carpocrates and Basilides are incorporated the doctrines of *karma* and *skandhas* and the fundamental idea of the Gnostics 'the knowledge of God or Gnosis, is clearly similar to the *Jñānakāṇḍa* of the Hindus.'[29]

Iranian Religions influenced by Hindu Religions

That was the time when the Christian canon was taking shape and nearer India, in Iran, the Magian Zoroastrian revival was beginning to take shape under the Sassanian rule. Under the second monarch of that dynasty, Shapur I (r. 241–272), we find that:

> 'The King of Kings Shapur son of Ardashir further collected those writings of the Religion that were dispersed throughout India, the Byzantine Empire, and other lands, and which treated of medicine, astronomy, movement, time, space, substance, creation, becoming, passing away, qualitative change, logic and other arts and sciences.'[30]

It was in the times of that great monarch Shapur, when Mani (215–276 A.D.) began his mission in 242 A.D. Mani is 'claimed to be the last of the Apostles, after Adam, Buddha and Christ, each of whom had been misunderstood by his successors.'[31] He appropriated freely elements derived from very different quarters and held, in his book *Shaburqan (Shapurkhan),* that Buddha represented the communicator of a divine revelation. No doubt labelled as 'a strange farrago of Christian, Jewish, Persian, and Buddhistic ideas,'[32] Manichaeaism shows unmistakable Buddhist influence and penetrated into Europe and across Asia into China.

Muslim Sufism also influenced by the Philosophy of Bhāgvata Sect

The influence of Indian religions, manifest as it was on early Christianity and quasi-Christian beliefs, could not but have impact on the areas nearer India such as Arabia, Persian Gulf, Baghdad, etc., and can be noticed in the growth and development of Islamic mysticism or Sufism. No doubt that some writers have sought the origins of Sufism in Neoplatonism, but the early contacts of Islam 'with Christianity, Gnosticism and Neo-platonism, as well as with Hindu Bhāgavatism were no doubt formative factors in the development of Sufism.'[33] This was possible in these areas because of their contiguity of India which had contacts even before the time of Mohammad in the form of trade or by the presence of wandering Indian monks who contributed not a little in influencing Arab philosophers. One of them, Abu-al-'Alā 'al-ma'arri (973–1057 A.D.), who is described as 'the philosopher of poets and poet of philosophers', is stated to have been so much influenced by Indian ideas that he adopted a vegetarian diet and life of seclusion.[34] It is not only that Indian works on sciences, mathematics, astronomy were translated into Arabic, but even the works on Indian philosophy and religion were also translated, particularly during the 'Abbasid period in the reigns of Al-Manṣūr and Harun Al-Rashid.[34] Notwithstanding the fact that the early Sufis, such as Al-Hallaj, were executed (in 922) for saying *Ana 'l-Haqq* 'I am the Truth or God.'[36] which echoes the Vedantic dictum 'Thou art That' *(Tat tvam asi)*,[37] the dovetailing of Islamic ideas with the Indian was complete when the Sufis aided by 'Hindu monistic patheism . . . developed an artistic religious symbolism and imagery for human-cum-divine love.'[38]

Western Literature freely Borrowed from Hindu Fables and Legends

Equally remarkable and closely connected with the above, are the Indian fables and legends and religious literature which reached the West and had considerable influence on the Western literature. As in religious thought, in this case too, the Indian works began to find their way into the West as early as the sixth century B.C. and the earliest among such collections are the Buddhist *Jātakas*, the *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa*.[39] The most interesting of all is, however, the *Śukasaptati* which was 'several times translated into Persian under the name of *Tutinamah*, and through it many Indian stories found their way to Europe.'[40] The story of the two jackals, Karkaṭaka and Damanaka (Arabic and Syriac, *Kalilah wa Dimnah*) is yet another example of an Indian fable which was rendered into Pehlavi in the sixth century and in the seventh century into Arabic before its translation into Persian, Syriac, Latin, Hebrew and Spanish. Most of these fables and stories, if not all, were 'ultimately woven into the very web of European literature' and Indian *motifs* continued to be utilized even in medieval Europe.'[41]

The most remarkable example, however, is the Christian legend *Barlaam and Josaphat* which owes its origin to the story of the Great Renunciation of the Buddha. Available in various versions, this Christianized and much modified account of the Buddha's Great Renunciation 'was utilized for Christian edification and adapted for the purposes of Christian apologetic.'[42] Originating from 'an Indian, probably Buddhist Sanskrit original, the tale ultimately branched out into over eighty versions in the principal languages of Europe, the Christian Orient, and even Africa.'[43] The story, which is a good example of 'the metamorphosis of a legend'[43] was incorporated into the Golden Legend, a famous medieval manual of lives of the saints and short treatises on the Christian feasts (*c.* 1250).[44] In the Arab world the story occurs in a book called *Kitab Bilawhar wa Yudasaf*[45] which reached them after it had taken a connected shape among the Central Asian Manichaeans. In Persian thought, the figure of the Bodhisattva was 'made into a typical Sufi.'[46] Whether this legend ultimately formed part of the Christian exegetical literature or not, it is certain that both the Eastern and the Western Church canonized St. Joasaph or Josaphat (i.e., the young Buddha);[47] Barlaam and Josaphat (i.e., the young Buddha) are venerated by the Roman Catholic Church on November 27; the Greeks commemorate Josaphat by himself on August 26, the Georgians on May 19.[48]

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The Plan of the Hindu Temple and its Impact on the Baroque Church

JOSÉ PEREIRA

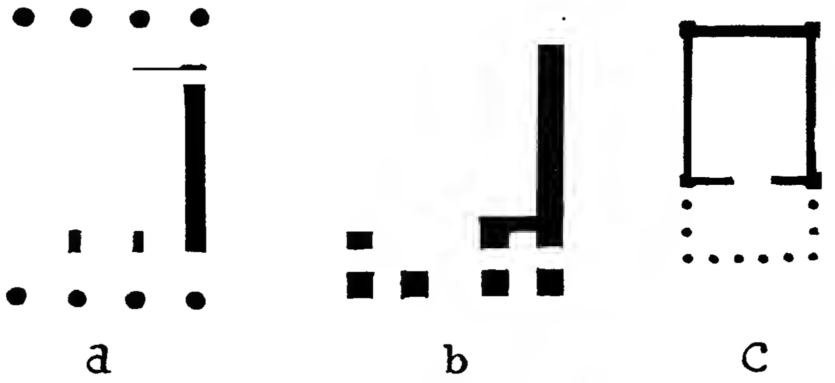
Introduction

RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE HAS been ruled by two attitudes towards the sacred: that of *veiling*, and that of unveiling or *revealing* it. The first stresses the *mystery* of the sacred: the divine is inviolate and unfathomable, and must be hidden from the gaze of the profane. Thus the idols of Egypt, Greece and Rome, the ark of Israel, and the altar of the liturgy in the Christianities of Byzantium and West Asia, were enshrined in gloomy chambers or behind glittering iconostases. The second attitude emphasizes the sacred's *glory*: the splendour and majesty of the godhead must be made manifest to all. This is true chiefly of the Christianity of Western Europe, witness St. Peter's (Plate 77) and the Gothic cathedrals.

The Hindu temple is oriented towards mystery, and it enshrines its principal idols in sanctuaries which are not seldom as dark as caves (Plate 78), set in temples which in ensemble have a likeness to mountains. Its basic pattern is thus an antechamber terminated by a sanctuary smaller in width, height and breadth. Such a pattern is also found in Egyptian temples, where the sanctum is sometimes the innermost of a group of chambers, each enveloped by a larger one: thus the kernel chamber, which is the holiest, becomes hard of access and invested in an aura of great mystery. This plan, which we may call that of the 'diminuted sanctuary' is also seen in Greek temples, as in that of Apollo at Didyma. But Egyptians and Greeks followed no set formula in temple plans; it was the Romans who were responsible for a more standardized form—a cella preceded by a colonnade, which sometimes completely enclosed the shrine.

The Roman Approach to the Church Architecture

The Romans were not a very devout people, except by their own standards, and their temple plan is on the whole inadequate to express any powerful emotion towards the sacred. The colonnade before the cella is no more than a porch or passage to the area of worship (which, as a rule, no wall or partition within divides) and not a part of it: indeed it is but an item of exterior architecture. But as the Hindus realized, the area of worship must itself be complex, or formed of separate units, if the sense of mystery is sought to be evoked; the devotee is then not confronted with the main locus of the sacred at once, but in stages. Some of the noblest Hindu temples, those of Orissa, have frequently not less than three antechambers before the shrine. Usually, however, three units from the pattern of the Hindu temple (Plate 79): the shrine (*garbhagṛha*), the antechamber (*mahāmaṇḍapa*) and the porch (*catuṣkī*). All subsidiary and successive elaborations are controlled by these elements, in particular by the first two. This gives the Hindu temple greater compactness than, say, the mediaeval church, with its luxuriance of arcades, aisles and side chapels. Yet there is a point of contact between temple and church, the cruciform plan : we shall see that the diminuted sanctuary plan is another.



PLAN 1

Early Churches followed Caitya plan

Christianity, as a religion of congregational worship, did not model its house of prayer on the Roman temple, but on that great hall of assembly, the basilica, which was usually a rectangular space flanked by colonnades and ending in an apse. Like the temple, the basilica was mainly trabeate. But the Christians were not long in succumbing to the fascination of the arch. The basilica's colonnades were then replaced by piers, which made possible the erection of a dome; the best possible buttresses for these piers were found to be two arched halls intersecting to form a cross, with the dome topping the intersection : the basilica thus grew into the cruciform church.

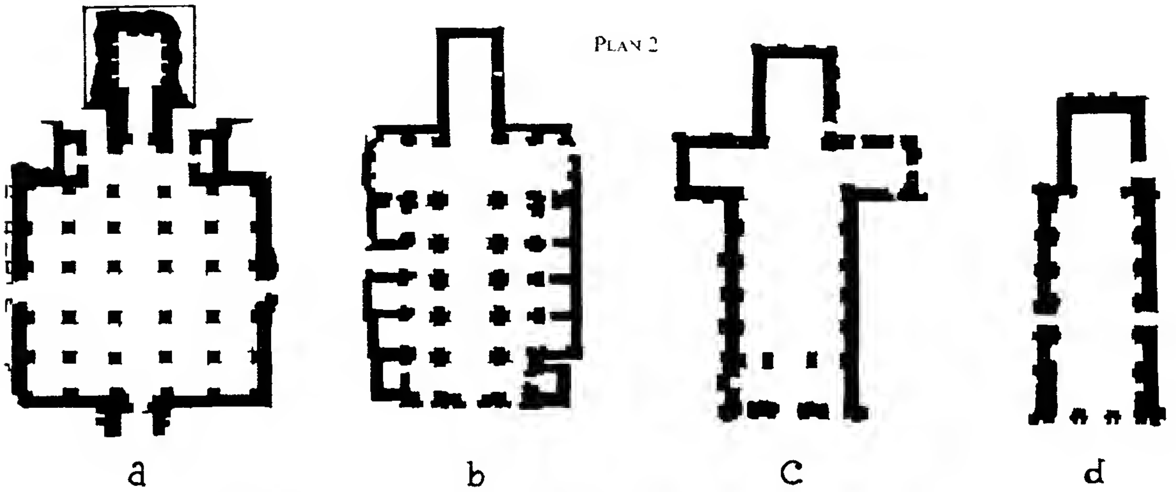
Christianity came to India in the Apostolic age, a time when the country's model house of worship was the Buddhist *caitya,* which is so similar in plan both to the basilica and to the Early Christian church : in consequence, Indian churches of those times may well have followed the Buddhist pattern.

Churches gradually became more Hindu in Appearance

Buddhism was obsolescent in the land of its origin by the tenth century and soon the Hindu temple came to be the excelling model of a shrine. Indian Christianity was by this period culturally affiliated to the Christianity of West Asia, which believes in veiling the sacred, as does Hinduism; hence the Indian Christian church became increasingly Hindu in appearance. When the Portuguese arrived in India, they found that the churches of Kerala looked like Hindu temples (Plate 80). Many of the old ones still do, both in elevation and in plan : in elevation, because the mass of their naves is dominated by the sanctuary tower (Plate 81), as the temples' *mahāmaṇḍapas* are by the *śikharas;* in plan, because both have a diminuted sanctuary at the end of a larger antechamber or nave. The Indian church, on becoming Baroque, discarded the Hindu appearance in its elevation, but preserved it in its plan.

But of course the spirit changed. The Baroque is an architecture of the arch, and not, like the Hindu temple, of post and beam. Some of the temple's traditional features were therefore abandoned. The first thing to go was the sanctum doorway, and its function of providing ingress to the holy of holies was then performed by the sanctuary's triumphal arch. But the sanctum's own purpose—of shielding the sacred from the gaze of the mob—was relinquished : the Baroque is the architecture of glory, and in India it had occasion to explore a new dimension of that glory when it set itself to using, and in the process transforming, a plan which had been designed to record the moods of mystery. The transfiguration was principally brought about by reversing the lighting scheme which is integral to the temple : a dark sanctum and a generally penumbral antechamber. The sanctuary now became the brightest area in the building, not only because more light was needed to read the texts of the Mass, but also because the Christian liturgy adores a Christ now in glory, and glory is or tends to be splendorous and manifest to all. Few Indian Baroque naves are vaulted; they are usually spanned by long wooden beams, as were the Roman basilicas. But this is because the architects could rarely afford the expensive vaults they were always dreaming of building : for them, as for most builders, the arch liberated interior space from the trammels of trabeation.

PLAN 2



The Indian Baroque Churches in India assimilated Hindu Architectural Features

It must not be imagined, however, that the diminuted sanctuary was unknown in Europe. After all, its plan is a development of the Roman cella-and-colonnaded-portico scheme, and there were enough Roman temples in Europe to keep the memory of the scheme alive. The variety of the diminuted sanctuary plan which subsequently became standard in Baroque India is occasionally found in pre-Baroque Europe as in the Scrovegni chapel at Padua (1303), the cathedral of Gerona in Spain (nave 1417–1598), and Brunelleschi's Pazzi chapel in Florence (1429–1446). But the cruciform tyrannized over the imagination of ecclesiastical Europe. At the end of the fifteenth century, however, events occurred which led to this plan's modification, and it seems that some of the credit for this must go to the Hindu temple. Europe was in the grip of the Renaissance and was all set for the Reformation. One part of the Catholic Church was to break up into reformist sects, and the other was to battle successfully for survival in its old domians and for expansion into others of the newly-discovered eastern and western extremes of the world. Preaching and active apostolate came to be prominent features of religion, and in both the Jesuits—the shock troops of the Counter-Reformation—excelled. A Church plan was needed that would treat the congregartion as one unit, making preaching more effective and participation in the liturgy easier. Mediaeval elaborations like aisles and side chapels were suppressed, as were sometimes even transepts; the cross of the plan was moulded to look more like a rectangle. The model building of this trend was the great Roman church of the Jesuits, the Gesu (1568–1584). (See Plate 82).

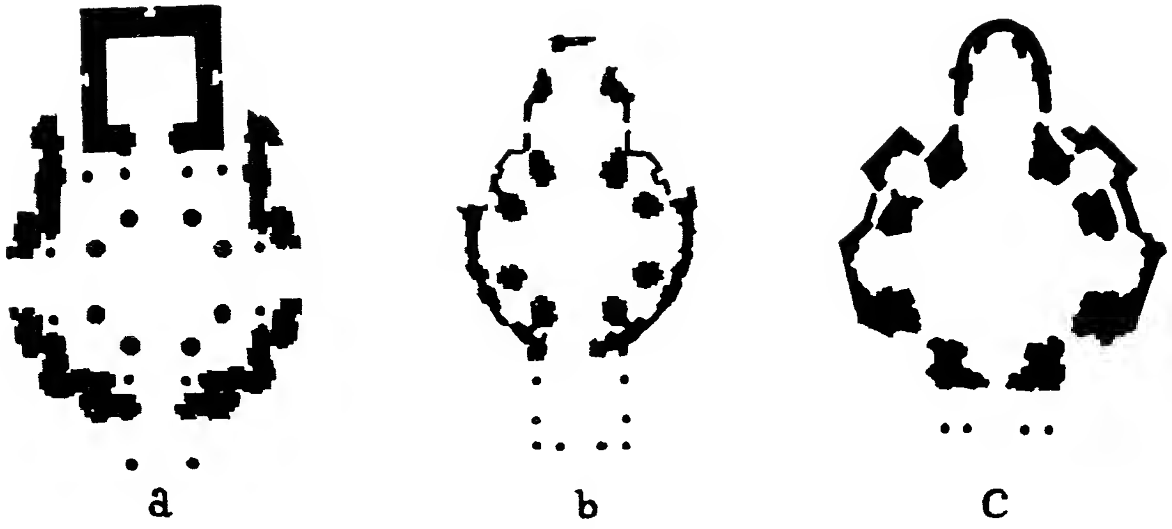
Renaissance and Reformation in Europe were partly fomented and partly intensified by the great shock of contact with the newly-found cultural worlds, and nowhere was this feeling more intense than in Portugal. It was in Portugal that Columbus had acquired his advanced notions of navigation; it was a Portuguese navigator who had discovered a sea route from Europe to India and Japan; Portuguese eyes, of modern European ones, were the first to see the wonders of India—among them the temple complexes of the south. And it is in the churches of the Portuguese world—in Europe, America and Asia—that the Hindu temple had its greatest impact. As I said, the diminuted sanctuary plan is not foreign to Europe, but its florescence there occurred only after Europe had impinged on India through the caravels of Portugal. The first great church which the Portuguese built in their country at the time of their arrival in Asia was S. Francisco at Évora (1460–1501), the work of Martim Lourenco; not long afterwards they erected the magnificent pile of the Jeronimos in Lisbon (1502–1519)—designed by Boytac and Castilho—on the bank of the Tagus near the spot from which the Portuguese fleet had first set sail for India. This vast grotto-like edifice echoes the Hindu temple not only on plan but also in the appearance of the columns of its shadowy nave (Plate 83).

S. Francisco and the Jeronimos are among the last great monuments of Gothic Portugal. Soon, however, with the triumph of the Renaissance, the vogue of the pointed arch decayed; but not that of the diminuted sanctuary plan; Pires used it in his Espirito Santo at Évora (1567–1574), begun a year before the Gesu. The plan acquired unexampled compactness in Turriano's Santa Clara-a-Nova at Coimbra (1649–1696). At times the nave became *octagonal,* as antechambers sometimes do in Hindu temples; an example is the Menino Deus in Lisbon (1711–1713). More often it turned *elliptical*—a shape very popular in late Baroque designs, but not, to my knowledge, found in Hindu temple plans—as in the S. Pedro dos Clerigos at Oporto (1732–1750), the work of the Italian Nasoni.

Portuguese Retained Arrangement of Hindu Plan

Italy was the creative centre of Renaissance and Baroque Europe; yet it was a Portuguese plan, though with Italian approval, which set the pattern for the Counter-Reformation church. In adopting a design of the type of S. Francisco at Evora, the architect of the Gesu, Vignola, discarded the diminuted sanctuary, and thus the essential note of the Hindu temple plan. But the other note—the compactness of the arrangement of the plan's members—was retained, for the Gesu is no more than a single hall with dwarfed side chapels, diminished transepts, and no aisles. It has a dome too, which produces a luminous spot in the vault and so deflects attention from the sanctuary, the church's liturgical centre. But Roman taste was enraptured by domes, and the fascination of the most magnificent of them, the cupola of St Peter's, was through nearness too intense to be resisted.

Rome preferred to have its circular forms in altitude rather than on the ground. In other words, it favoured more straight lines in its plans (except in the case of apses) and liked to confine pronouncedly circular contours (as are those of domes) to the elevation. As Baroque taste matured, the plans themselves became impregnated with curvilinearity. This first came to the fore in the north of Italy, a place distant enough from the papal metropolis to be able to enjoy a measure of independence. It was in northern Italy that the diminuted sanctuary type, which till then had had little more than a ghostly existence in that peninsula, was embodied in the curvilinear plan, circular and elliptical, and created some of the type's splendid monuments, nearer in spirit to Hindu temple than the churches of Portugal, Boroque, Asia and Brazil.



Plan 3

Italian Architect Built Churches Hindu in Spirit

This is all the more remarkable because far more Portuguese of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (who had anything to do with architecture) saw Hindu temples than did the Italians of the time. The 'avatār' of the Hindu temple in Italy is of the seventeenth century, during which period the Italians with a knowledge of architecture who visited India saw little more than Goa, where there were then few temples left to see. And if they did approach any Hindu shrine outside Portuguese territory, they would not have been allowed to enter to study the plan carefully.

Italians were much in evidence in Goa : two religious orders there were first established by them—the Carmelites and the Theatines. The principal Goan church of the latter was modelled on St. Peter's and erected in the life-time of the great Theatine architect, Guarino Guarini (1624–1683), a northern Italian, whose churches are as Hindu in spirit (not only on plan but also in elevation) as it is possible for Baroque buildings to be. It is known that minute seeds blown across oceans take root in distant continents : could the Theatines have been the medium through which the seminal ideas of the Hindu temple were wafted unperceived to Italy, where they germinated so magnificently? Else, if the Italian buildings were inspired by the Roman temple, how is it that in their plans they are nearer to the Hindu type than to the presumed Roman prototype?

The inspiration, whether Roman or Hindu, flowered in a number of remarkable diminuted sanctuary churches : some examples are Ricchino's San Giuseppe in Milan (1607) and Longhena's Santa Maria della Salute, the famous landmark of Venice (1631). Established in the North, the plan went on to storm Rome itself, with Rainaldi's splendid trio : the two churches in the Piazza del Popolo (1662–1664) and the sumptuous Santa Maria in Campitelli (1663). Some other northern buildings are Bergonzoni's Santa Maria della Vita (1686) in Bologna, Juvara's noble Superga on a hilltop near Turin (1717–1731), Scalfarotto's SS. Simeone e Giuda in Venice (1718–1738) and Dotti's Madonna di S. Luca in Bologna (1723–1757). The reversion of the Hindu lighting scheme is often superbly achieved, especially in the Santa Maria in Campitelli, perhaps the stateliest of these fanes.

Santo Antonio Built on Diminuted Sanctuary

For all their boldness of invention, the patterns of the diminuted sanctuary plan in Italy are disciplined by the compactness and austerity of that of the Gesu; so are those of Baroque Asia and America. But these continents saw the diminuted sanctuary plan before Vignola's Rome did. We have seen that Indian churches had long been built on that plan by the Syrian Christians, but one of the first diminuted sanctuary churches raised by the Portuguese in India is Santo Antonio (now St Francis) at Cochin (c. 1515; plate 84). It will require more space that I have here to mention the names of the important Indian churches built after Santo Antonio which adhere to the plan : nearly all of them do, but by far the most important vaulted ones are the Espirito Santo at Morhgoum (Margão; 1645), S. Francisco de Assis at Velha Goa (1663), Santana de Talaulim (1695; plate 86), Nossa Senhora da Piedade (1700; plate 87) on the island of Divarhe (Divar, the old Dvīpāvatī) and Santo Estévão at Jua (or Zuem; 1750).

The plan was not popular in the Spanish world. The only Mexican church that I can think of which follows it is the Franciscan church at Tepeaca (1543–1580). Spain preferred the type with the elliptical nave, as is De la Plaza's chruch of the Bernardas at Alcala de Henares (1617–1626) and Ponce de Urrama's Desemparados at Valencia (1652–1667). But in Portuguese Brazil the plan was widely used. Outstanding examples are the cathedral of S. Salvador (1657–1672), S. Pedro dos Clérigos at Recife (1728–1794), Nossa Senhora da Glória in Rio de Janeiro (1733–1738) and the S. Francisco (1766–1794) and the Rosário (1784), both at Ouro Prrto in the interior of Brazil.

The Portuguese Church in Goa

The Portuguese transplanted the mango and the coconut palm to the New World; and also the diminuted sanctuary plan. But while they brought back to India the cashew, the papaya and the chili, it does not seem that they imported anything from that continent of comparable importance in art. However, the 'Hindu temple plan' did return with them from Europe (now transformed by Italian architects) to its 'original' habitat. This is its octagonal nave variant, in erecting an example of which was built what is perhaps Asia's only true Rococo building, the chapel of Santo Antonio in Goa Velha (1768; plate 85).

Conclusion

In summary, the Portuguese of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw the diminuted sanctuary plan in numbers of Hindu temples; but while neither they nor other Europeans after contact with India had been realized. The essential note of this plan is of course the lesser breadth and height of the sanctuary in proportion to the antechamber or nave, but it also has a compactness of design, and a scheme of light and shade which stirs the sense of mystery. The impact of the arch on this plan did not displace its essential note; nor did it affect its compactness; it only removed marks of trabeation, such as the shrine door, and reversed the lighting scheme, through which transformations mystery was supplanted by glory. And in its compactness and economy the plan was to have an appreciable impact on the Gesu.

On the other hand, the Italians saw few temples in the Baroque age; yet they created churches whose designs and spirit are nearer to the Hindu variant of the diminuted sanctuary plan, though with the lighting scheme reversed. But it was in its Portuguese interpretation, less consonant with the Hindu prototype, that the plan spread to the tropical New World.

Indian Culture in Transbaikalian Siberia

LOKESH CHANDRA

Baikal, i.e., Vaḍavānala

BAIKAL LAKE FORMS an outstanding geographical feature of Siberia. The Trans-Baikalian parts are inhabited by Buryat tribes. Today the Buryat tribes are mainly concentrated in the Buryat Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic with an area of 135,136 square miles. Predominantly mountainous, it has inviting taiga forests, tranquil waters, and above all monasteries richly endowed with xylographs and manuscripts, studded with icons of rare charm, and resplendent with painted scrolls which speak of historic relations with Indian culture. The name of Baikal itself is split up as *bai* 'existing, being, having' + *kal* 'fire'. In this context we may recall the Sanskrit concept of *vaḍavānala*, the submarine fire or the fire of the lower regions, fabled to emerge from a cavity called the "mare's mouth" under the sea at the South pole.

Indra and Agni in Shaman Songs

The pre-Buddhist cult of the Siberian Buryats was Shamanism where elements of nature and topographic edifications were freely fused with Shaman songs extolling Indra, Agni and other Indian deities. These fascinating songs were prevalent only half a century ago. Now they are known from Prof. Zamcarano's collections done in the early part of this century.

Beginnings of Pūjā and Monasteries

The handwritten manuscript *Jirghughan otugh, naiman ecige-yin tobci domugh* (subsequently abbreviated to *Tobci*) gives a brief history of the six tribes and eight clans of the Buryats, and also the beginning of Vajrayāna Buddhism among them by the influx of Mongolian refugees beginning in the year 1660. The refugees brought with them many statues of the Buddha. A small number of Buddhist monks also came here but they were obliged to reckon with the spirits of mountains and rivers following the local custom. The *Tobci* records that the Buryat tribes became citizens of Russia on 16th January 1689. In 1701, Lama Sangjai of Qurlad of the Podghorodna tribe appeared on the western bank of the river Kimni and performed *pūjā*. In the same year (1701) Andaqai organised a great religious congregation in the domain of Kimni. Thus we can be sure that by the end of the 17th century Buddhism was firmly entrenched among the Siberian Buryats.

In 1720, there appeared 100 Mongolian and 50 Tibetan Lamas, in all 150. They came in small groups. Everywhere they started teaching the recitation of sūtras and giving religious precepts. In 1736. the Tibetan religious teacher Rabjamba Lama constructed a tent temple for people of the three tribes (Sartul. Tabunangghud and Ataghan). The same was done by Lamas everywhere and the local authorities highly appreciated these activities. By 1752, the 150 Lamas were exempted from tax and were declared full-fledged Lamas. The temple in Kimni continued to exist for more than ten years. and then the Lamas scattered. Sangjai Lama died in Kolung. The Tangghud Aghvangpuncugh Noyan Lama went to Butlamur where he constructed a monastery.

Monastery modelling the Sumeru Mountain and the Four Dvīpas

In 1725 Jaya Lama went to Baraghun juu (i.e. Lhasa) to study Buddhism. He got his education at the Gomang and Ratod monasteries. He was fully ordained as bhikṣu by the Seventh Dalai Lama. When the two illustrious preceptors (Panchen and Dalai Lamas) were asked about the establishing of a monastery in Buryat and spreading the Dharma. Panchen Lama graciously handed over his conical mitre-shaped Pandit's cap. and the Holy Dalai Lama is said to have made a black drawing and handed it over with the words : 'If you have to construct a monastery then it should have the form of the Samye monastery. modelling the Sumeru mountain and four dvīpas. with five peaks'. He returned to his country in 1740 with a great mass of objects of worship. such as statues and scriptures. At this time the Noyan Lama Phunchog had organised a religious assembly where two entire tribes Tobunangghud and Congghol were present. In the discussion *(śāstrārtha)* between the two Lamas. the Moyan Lama was defeated. He invited Jaya Lama to the high seat. conferred on him the maṇḍala. and honoured him with the title "Master of Dharma".

Śrīdevī or Kālī in Siberia

In the 1740's Jimba the son of Aghaldai finished his education at Ton khor Mañjuśrī Monastery. returned to his country. and there he built a monastery. Asking for permission to spread the Dharma. he got the command : 'You enter the temple of the Lord. and bring a *pothi* or holy book and a painted scroll'. He did as he was ordered. When the holy book was examined. it turned out to be *Sańs-rgyas-mchaghum*. and when the painting was examined. it turned out to be Śrīdevī *(Ökin tngri)*. Jimba Lama thought that the right (or west) side of the Kolung lake was beautiful. but not being able to undertake the venture by himself alone. he sought the discipleship of Jaya Lama. In order to have the monastery site tested. he invited both Jaya Lama and Baghatur-un sanjudha.

Jaya Lama is elected to the Council of Moscow in 1760 to strengthen Dharma

In the 1760's. a deputy was taken each *ayimagh*. Jaya expressed his desire to go as the deputy. for that would strengthen the Dharma. The people elected him with enthusiasm and sent him to Moscow. In the Council of Moscow. the deputies did not agree with each other and dispersed. Jaya Lama. presented the latters of Panchen and Dalai Lamas. communicated the news of Tibet. and adjacent regions. and offered to the emperor gifts from Tibet. In return. Jaya Lama got the sanction for spreading the Law in Buryatia and was himself confirmed as the *Sasin-u ejen Deputy Khampo.*

Buddhist Patriarch of Siberia

Jaya Khampo Lama attained nirvāṇa in 1777 in his 67th year. After that Jimba Lama was appointed as the commanding Pandit Lama of the five monasteries of the Selengge region.

The title Pandit of his teacher Aghaldai-yin Jimba and the title Khampo of the Congghol Deputy Khampo, were caused to be unified into *Buriyad-un Sasin-u ejen Pandita Khampo Lama*, and this title and position has continued till today. Special sanctity has ever since been attached to the Monastery of the Paṇḍita Khampo Lama or the Buddhist Patriarch of Siberia. In 1870 a gigantic statue of Maitreya, measuring 44 cubits was installed at his monastery. In 1882 the queen of the Torghuds came for worship and got the consecration of the Kālacakra here. To this day the Paṇḍita Khampo Lama is held in great esteem. The present Patriarch is His Holiness Jambal Dorje Gomboev.

Epoch of the Construction of Monasteries

The years 1744 to 1838 were a period of construction of monasteries. In 1744 the Congghol monastery was erected with Mahākāla as its presiding deity. In 1816 was founded the Aginsky monastery which became the foremost seat of learning in Siberia. It has survived to this day. The major monasteries were 33 in number and they had 50,000 xylographic blocks for printing 1696 Buddhist texts and woodcut illustrations. A manuscript of 1911 from the archives of the Patriarch details the 33 monasteries. They continued studies in the tradition of Nālandā. Though Nālandā ceased to exist centuries ago, its atmosphere survived in the monastic universities of Siberia, Mongolia and Tibet. The Siberian monastic universities had four faculties: (i) Philosophy, (ii) Tantra, (iii) Jyotiṣa (or Kālacakra), and (iv) Āyurveda. The texts which were studied in them, had been translated from or inspired by Sanskrit. To this day, some of these books are preserved in the Siberian Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.

Madhuparka, aṣṭamaṅgala and Gaṇapati in Siberia

Though short in time-span, this process of enculturation has produced a deep impress on the Buryat mind. Still the monasteries welcome you with yoghurt mixed with honey and milk, that is the Indian *madhuparka*. The *aṣṭamaṅgala* emblems embellish the walls of temples. In the library the rare *Yisun erdeni-yin Ganjur* in 101 huge tomes is a collection of *nava-ratna* manuscripts written in nine inks prepared from silver, *mumin*, coral, turquoise, gold, copper, pearls, iron and conch. It is the pearl of their literature, comprising over a thousand texts translated from Sanskrit. Every text opens with *Enedkeg-un kele-ber* 'in the language of India, i.e. in Sanskrit'. The writer has brought 14 texts on Gaṇapati. One of them is *Ārya-gaṇapati-stuti*, written by the great Siddha Kānhapāda. Another small manuscript on the *Mahāvināyaka-rūpa-upadeśa* which deals with the contemplative form of Mahāvināyaka.

Śilpa texts in Siberia

The Siberian monasteries abound in artistic treasures of murals and painted scrolls. There are special śilpa texts for sketching and colouring the deities in accordance with the injunctions of śāstras. The colour plate (No. VII) depicting Sarasvatī comes from the Aginsky monastery.

Rāmāyaṇa in Siberia

The Rāmāyaṇa is also known from Siberian folklore. The Research Institute of the Siberian Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. has the manuscripts of Prof. Golstunsky's work on a short version of the Rāmāyaṇa in the Kalmuk language.

Gangin-os or Holy Water of Gaṅgā in Siberia

The Siberian Buryats revere the Holy Water of Gaṅgā. The writer has carried it to these remote regions. Before receiving the Holy Water the Patriarch recited Sanskrit mantras, visibly moved. The Patriarch went on reciting Sanskrit mantras while *Gaṅgā-jala* was being poured from the Indian to the Buryat vessel. If it is not available, then the water of Baikal is converted into Gaṅgā Water by special sādhanas.

Āyurveda in Siberia

There is a rich tradition of Āyurveda in Siberia. The libraries have preserved an enormous literature on the subject, including personal memos on prescriptions in handwritten form. The famous Siberian Doctor N.N. Badmayev was well-known in Leningrad for his Āyurvedic practice and his great success in this therapy. His patients included prominent communist leaders like Bukharin, Rykov, the author Alexei Tolstoy and on some occasions he was even summoned to visit Stalin. The People's Commissar of Health Kaminsky had such a high opinion of him that a special department was established under Dr. Feodorov at Leningrad. Even Prof. Ilin of the Military Medical Academy was in this department. During a purge the department was abolished and the persons liquidated, and the son of Badamayev fled to Poland.

In the *Tobci* it is recorded that the Buryat Gossacks who had been reared in pure and free air and nursed on milk products, began to fall ill in the closed soldiers' barracks at Irkutsk in 1869 and were stricken with various diseases and died. Medicines of Russian doctors were of no avail and the intelligent commanders called Lama doctors to aid, who treated the sick with Ayurvedic medicines. For this purpose, the Śtad Lama of Jighasutai monastery and the Lama of Buyantu-yin Dangjan were invited. News of the knowledge of this Lama reached the highest quarters and he was awarded a silver medal.

To Siberia, India is the embodied Divine

Freezing Siberia is a land where monasteries had the academic traditions of Nālandā, where Sanskrit names are still prevalent, where the Holy Water of Gaṅgā is deeply revered, where mantras ring forth in the immensities of space and silence, where you may witness the *madhuparka* offered with wooden spoons in the true tradition of the śruti, where pūrṇimā and amāvasyā are holy days with 'white food', where Mahākāla pervades the primaeval vastnesses, where stotras to Goddess Tārā are hummed amidst the clanging and sonorous instruments, where Pāṇini is the model for their linguistic development, where Meghadūta is their first lyric, where Āyurveda is revealed in the fullness of its tradition, where an entire literature inspired by India is preserved, where blessings are given on the triple plans of *kāya, vāk* and *citta*, where the saffron is the colour of sanctity, where mantras are still written in the ornamental Indic script termed *Rañjanā*, where pure gold illumines large scroll paintings, where people wonder at the size of India's lotuses on which their Gods and Goddesses sit or stand, and so on. To Transbaikalian Siberia, India is the embodied Divine, the *cittam, prakṛti-prabhāsvaram.*

Red Indians or Asiomericans[1]—Indian Settlers in Middle and South America

D. P. SINGHAL

THE ARRIVAL OF Columbus in 1492 A.D. on one of the West Indies neither created a new world, nor discovered one.[2] Many centuries earlier, Asian migrants had gone there from the western side across the Bering Sea, as well as across the Pacific. In fact, before Columbus introduced Europe to the Americans, the latter had witnessed the development of organised political and cultural life. Europe and Asia owe far more to that civilisation than is often realised.

The great development of the ancient American or Asiomerican culture took place in the south of the United States, in Mexico, in Central America and in Peru. The early history and the origins of Asiomericans are shrouded in mystery owing to lack of sources many of which were destroyed by the European conquerors in their misguided religious zeal. However, it appears that after the discovery or introduction of maize into Mexico, Asiomericans settled down to a life of agriculture. Culture, inevitably, followed. Of the Asiomerican civilizations, the best known are, in chronological order, those of the Maya, the Toltec, the Aztec and the Inca.

Maya Civilization

Maya civilization was certainly in existence in the early seventh century B.C., and probably for a long time before it. According to their Calendar, which is extant, the time record of the Mayas began on 6th August 613 B.C. While zero, and nine digits of Europe were undoubtedly derived from India, through the Arabs, the Mayas of Yucatan were the only other people to have invented a zero sign and representation of number values by position of the basic symbols. The form of the Maya zero however, does not resemble that of the Indian and as such the European symbol. Still, while the place of zero in the respective systems of the Indians and the Mayas is different, the underlying principle and method are the same, and the common origin of the Mayan and Indian zeros appears to be undoubted. But the question of transmission as that of the priority of origin, remains unproved. The Mayas had a practical knowledge of physics and geometry, were exceptional draughtsmen, and possessed a form of hieroglyphic writing. They were also accomplished builders and artists. Their architecture, sculpture and painting, especially of their peak period from 450 A.D. to 600 A.D., are skilfully conceived and executed, and are artistically beautiful.

The Toltec and Aztec Civilizations

At the end of the twelfth century A.D. the Mayas of Yucatan were overthrown by the great Quetzalcoatl who came at the time from the Mexican plateau. Thus began the period of the Toltecs or Master Builders' ascendancy in Asiomerican history. The Teotihuacan Tolecs were great architects, carpenters and mechanics.

The Aztec people had developed a lake civilization based on the island in Lake Texcoco, where they built their remarkable city of Mexico-Tenochititlan, which was linked to the shores by causeways, and surrounded by the colourful *Chinampas,* a kind of floating gardens.The Mexican splendour was so imposing that Diaz wrote that the Mexicans were like the Romans, and that there was nothing in Spain to match the royal palace of Montezuma.[3]

Spanish Vandalism

Unfortunately, the first Bishop of Mexico, Juan de Zumarraga made pyres of all the records of the Library of Toxcoco in Tlatelolco market square, and burnt them as being "the work of the devil", to what he called "the glory of God". Likewise, Diege de Landa, the second bishop of Yucatan, reduced the Maya Library in Yucatan to ashes in 1562. These libraries contained ancient records of history, medicine, astronomy, science, religion and thought.

The Inca Civilization

Beyond Mexico to the south in Peru the civilization of the Incas flourished for at least three centuries prior to its subjugation by Spain. The beginnings of the Andean or Peruvian civilization go back to earlier times but the first Inca chief known to history, Sinchi Roca, possibly began his rule in 1105. The Incas suffered an even more dastardly fate at the hands of the Spaniards. Inhuman tortures were publicly inflicted on their King Atahuallpa. The destruction of historical materials pertaining to Peruvian culture has been complete; only a few partisan records have been preserved by their oppressors, the Spaniards. Perhaps, the Incas did not have a written language in the generally accepted sense of the term. Inspite of the Spanish conquerors, the Inca culture survives today. The Inca method of government, based on a unique village system, was remarkable even by modern standards.

Who were the Asiomericans?

The knottiest problem regarding the "new" continents is also a very basic one : the origin of the Asiomericans. Not only historians, anthropologists, archaeologists, and scientists, especially botanists, but also famous institutions and Church organisations such as the Rosicrucians, the Theosophists, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the Mormons), take up strong positions on this question. Even the theory of Continental Drift, (recently reinforced by studies in rock-magnetism) which claimed that America, Asia and Africa were joined in a solid landmass but later broke up into continents and islands, cannot account for man's presence on the American continent, for the continents drifted away from each other, if at all, before man had evolved anywhere in the world.

Without diverting attention from subtle distinctions, it may be said that all divergent opinions fall into two broad groups—the trans-Atlanticites, who believe in Western migration across the Atlantic, and the trans-Pacificites who support Asian settlers going across the Pacific either through a northern route, or a middle route or both. Of these, the former view has been considerably crippled by later researches though it lingers on.

The Theory of Asian migration

Among the enthusiasts of the Asian origins of Asiomericans prevail divergent views. The famous and talented explorer and scientist, Baron von Humboldt, while visiting Mexico, found similarities between Asian and Mexican astrology.[4] He founded the systematic study of the ancient American cultures. Convinced of the Asian origin of the American-Indian high civilisation, he declared, "if languages supply but feeble evidence of ancient communication between the two worlds, their communication is fully proved by the cosmogonies, the monuments, the hieroglyphical characters and the institutions of the people of America and Asia."[5] In 1761 a French scholar De Guignes, published his opinion that some Buddhist missionaries were sent from China to Mexico, which according to early Chinese annals was known as Fu-Sang in the fifth century A.D. He appears to have based his hypothesis on a Chinese legend which spoke of Buddhist priest, Hwui Shan, who was said to have come from ancient America. Later H.J. von Klaproth endeavoured to disprove this theory on the grounds that the monk in question had come from south-eastern Japan. Many scholars, however, have since rallied round the theory of Buddhist influence. Some of the prominent supporters of this school were M. de Paravey, Viollet-le-Due, Alexander von Humboldt, Friedrich de Neuman, M. Foucaux, Rivero and Tachudi. Rivero and Tachudi urged that Quetzalcoatl in Mexico, and Mango-Capac in Peru, were Indian missionaries. Arnold and Frost even traced the chronological passage of Buddhism from India to Central America, and the reasons of its migration. As Buddhism had spread all over eastern Asia by the eighth century, it was rightly poised, they argued, to launch itself farther eastwards across the seas. Considering that at this time Buddhism was in an extremely flourishing state in China, Japan, and South-East Asia and was backed actively by powerful Asian kingdoms, such as those of Śrīvijaya and of the Khmers, it would not appear surprising that some Buddhist monks had voyaged across the Pacific. Meanwhile, John Ranking, in his *Historical Researches on the Conquest of Peru, Mexico, etc.* suggested in 1827 that the Inca empire was founded by the crews of a few ships of Kublai Khan wrecked and driven across the Pacific. In 1834, John Dunmore Lang, a minister of the Scots Church at Sydney, declared that Polynesians had crossed the intervening tract of the Pacific Ocean from Easter Island to America under a violent gale of westerly wind, landing somewhere near Copiapo in Chile, in South America. Their descendants, he claimed, progressively populated the whole continent of America from Cape Horn to Labrador.[6] In 1836 J. Mackintosh favoured the view that Koreans were the first to visit ancient America. In 1866 the French architect Violet-le-Duc, who later in 1875 pointed out the influence of Indian art motifs on the 12th century French Romanesque churches, also noted striking resemblances between ancient Mexican structures and those of South India. All these scholars were also greatly impressed by the similarity between the Hindu Trinity—Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Śiva—and the Mexican Trinity—Ho-Huizilopochtli-Tlaloc—as well as the likeness between Indian temples and American pyramids. Later two English scholars, Channing Arnold and Frederick J. Tabor Frost, in their *The American Egypt* made a detailed examination of the trans-Pacific contacts, reinforcing the view of Buddhist influences on Central America. In 1947 Harold S. Gladwin suggested successive waves of Asian migrants belonging to specific archaeological culture and linguistic groups, including Alexander's sailors.

The most recent and by far the most systematic, well-reasoned, and effective case has been put forward by the well-known archaeologists, Robert Heine-Geldern and Gordon F. Ekholm, who favour Indian and South-East Asian cultural influences on ancient America through human migrations across the Pacific.

The Asian ancestry of Asiomericans is generally acknowledged but it is not certain from where, when and how the first man came to America. It is likely that man first came to America from Asia towards the end of the last glacial period, probably between 20,000 and 10,000 years ago, across the Bering Straits. He may have gone by sea or more likely, he crossed on ice. The water distance is only about sixty miles, interrupted by the Diomede island almost in the middle of the gap, and ice may have paved the whole way at the time. The Aleutian islands have also been suggested as a route of migration. But the chain of islands is long, and the gap at the western end of about a hundred miles must have required skilful negotiation.

Effective Asian Contacts

Of these Asian parallels with America, many are of Indian origin. As direct migration from India has not suggested, it is claimed that diffusion of Indian ideas and cultural traits took place through the media of China and especially of South-east Asia.

The Chinese

The first Asian to travel to America during historical times were possibly the Chinese, as testified by the remains of Chavin culture the oldest of the higher civilizations of Peru. The site of Chavin de Huantar in the north Peruvian highlands after which it is named was discovered as recently as 1941 by Julie C. Tello, an eminent Asiomerican archaeologist. On the basis of radio-carbon dating Chavin culture belongs to 848 ± 167 years. The motifs on its sculptures closely resemble the motifs found only in China of the ninth and eighth century. After some interruption, presumably caused by the unsettled conditions in China, the Asians appear to have resumed migratory voyages from the coasts of Vietnam, for the traces of Dong-son culture are far more numerous in South America than those of Chinese influence. These migrations, possibly, came to an end with the conquest of Tonkin and north Annam by China during the first century A.D.

Indian Contacts through South-East Asia

This was the period when the Indians had begun to come into closer contact with South-east Asia and Indian and indigenous cultural interaction had commenced. It appears that the vacuum created by the disappearance of Vietnamese and Chinese trans-Pacific voyages to South America was filled by the Indianised peoples of South-East Asia. This view has gained strength from the researches of Heine-Geldern and Ekholm, who draw attention to striking parallels in architecture and art, religious symbols, cosmological ideas, governmental institutions and royal courts, insignia of kings and dignitaries and even games between the culture-complexes of Asiomerica and Indianised South-east Asia. The contacts between Cambodia and the Maya and Olmec areas seem to have been particularly close from the seventh to the tenth century A.D., though it is very likely that they had continued until the fall of the Kambuja empire before the Thai incursions.

Architecture

Indeed, the parallels between arts and culture of India and those of ancient America are too numerous and close to be attributed to independent growth. Many art motifs and elements are common to Mexico, India, Java and Indo-China, the most notable of which are *Teocallis,* the pyramids, with receding stages, faced with cut stone, and with stairways leading to a sanctuary on top, also of stone. Some outstanding cases of similarity to be found are serpent columns and banisters, vaulted galleries and corbeled arches, attached columns, stone cut-out lattices, and Atlantean figures; these are typical of the Puuc style of Yucatan.

Heine Geldern and Ekholm point out that it is significant that temple pyramids in Cambodia do not antedate the eighth century, and only become important in the ninth and tenth centuries, a time coinciding with the beginning of the Puuc period. The use of half columns flanking the doors and of groups of small columns set in panels is characteristic of both the Cambodian and Mayan civilizations. Atlantean figures which appeared in India in the third or second century B.C., are found at Tula in Central Mexico and Chichen Itza in the tropical forest of Yucatan.

The oldest Mayan city to be excavated was Uaxactun, where the first Maya observatory was found, and also the oldest Maya fresco. Near Uaxactun was the city of Tikal, where archaeologists have found collosal mounds of rubble and immense buildings, including five of the steepest pyramids ever seen; the tallest rose to a height of 230 feet with the temple standing at the top. Similar towering narrow pyramids are found at Angkor Thom in Cambodia.

Mayan art reached its highest point in the cities of Yaxchilan, Palenque, and Piedras Negras. Numerous pyramids and some of the excellent sculptures have been excavated here.

One of the finest pieces of Maya sculpture in the famous pyramid temple of Piedras Negras, Guatemala, appears to be a Buddhist scene. The subject matter of the scene is not clear but the theme is somewhat alien to the Mexican art tradition. It bears striking likeness to a Jātaka basrelief of the Borobudur temple in Central Java. The technique, moreover, of placing the figures at several levels is also similar to that employed in Borobudur.

Certain South-east Asian influences are to be seen at Chichen Itza, for example, the artistic motif of the lotus in the Mercado (covered market). As a vaulted gallery, closed by a wall on one side and with pillars along the other, the Mercado is strikingly reminiscent of Cambodian architecture. This and similar buildings at Chichen Itza were built at the same time as Angkor Vat, i.e., in the twelfth century. What is more significant is that the gradual development of these galleries follows very much the same pattern in both Cambodia and the northern Mayan region.

The Lotus Motif

The lotus motif, interspread with seated human figures, which has a symbolic meaning in Hindu-Buddhist mythologies and as such is an integral part of early Amaravati, is found at Chichen Itza in Mexico as a border in the reliefs of the lower room of the Temple of Tigers. The lotus plant in Indian art, as reproduced on architraves and in border designs, shows not only the flowers and leaves, but also the root-like stalk, which in the real plan grows horizontally under water or deeply buried in the mud. While the flowers and leaves generally closely resemble their natural forms the rhisome is represented by a decorative undulating creepers. It is this which occurs in America at Chichen Itza. If these two representations are not connected in some way, it must be an extraordinary coincidence that in India as well as in ancient America the generally invisible rhizome should have been not only made the basic element of a whole motif but also stylized in a similar unrealistic manner as an undulating creeper.

How did this art-motif reach Central America? Evidently, through the medium of South-east Asia, the art of which region had been deeply influenced by Amaravati art and from where the people had migrated to America. If the gap in time, almost a thousand years, between the Amaravati period and Chichen Itza appears long, it is because the evidence of the connecting links has not survived. In any case, it is not uncommon for decorative or symbolic motifs to persist for so long or even longer periods. There is, however, some evidence of connecting links, for the lotus occurs in Maya art several hundred years earlier than the date of the Chichen

Itza reliefs in the middle of the Classic period. Moreover, it is a reasonable assumption that wooden sculptures and buildings existed in Central America, which carried on the tradition of this motif, and which have not survived. There is evidence that wood carving was an important craft among the Aztecs and there is no reason to believe that it was not equally important in earlier times.

The Makara Motif

The *makara* motif, a serpent head with upturned snout and with a human face in its mouth, from India, Java, Bali, and Sumatra, is comparable to the Mexican Xiuhcoatl, the so-called fire-serpent found at Palenque. While this fire-serpent of Mayan art and its counterpart in that of the Aztec differ from the numerous more realistic representations of reptiles of the same areas by their trunk-like upper jaws, they correspond in many details, such as fish-like bodies, elephant-like trunks and forms of the teeth, to the *makara*, the mythical sea monster of Hindu-Buddhist art. In Indian art, and in that of the Maya, variants with paws occur, which resemble a crocodile rather than a fish, and in both regions a human figure often emerges from the mouth of the monster.

The Kīrttimukhas

The *makara*, a fabulous sea-monster of Asian myths is one of the most frequent forms upon ancient and medieval temples in India and outside, and it seems to have gained widespread popularity abroad both eastwards and westwards. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy pointed out in a study of Indian iconography in 1931 that the *makara* occurred frequently in medieval European art. Long before him in 1875, E. Viollet-le-Duc suggested that another Indian art motif the *kīrttimukha* occured at Poitiers, a 12th century Romanesque cathedral. But few scholars took notice of these assertions. Recently a director of the Seattle Art Museum has drawn attention to them and has pointed out further examples : "There can be little doubt that Coomaraswamy was correct. while Viollet-le-Duc's observation that the *kīrttimukha* occured at Poitiers was an under-statement. While *makara* and *kīrttimukha* forms appear on the majority of French and Spanish Churches built in the 12th century, earlier Romanesque Chrches were not decorated with such designs."[7] This *makara* motif seems to have been incorporated into the Chinese dragon concept. Islamic motifs, such as the old Talisman gate at Baghdad, have also preserved variation of the *kīrttimukha.* This motif was probably taken to England by the Plantagenets from France, and a motif known as the 'Green Man' which appears on the Romanesque churches of some 23 English countries is thus ultimately of Indian origin.

Further correspondences occur between Indianised art and Asiomerican art. The stairways flanked by serpent balustrades of Central America are reminiscent of those flanked by *nāgas* and *makaras* in South-east Asia. The Asiomerican use of half columns flanking the doors and of small coloumns set in panels is characteristic of Cambodian architecture, particularly of the tenth century A.D.

The Kalpavṛkṣa

The reputed 'Cross' of Palenque, a stylized tree with a demonic face in its branches, appears to be a copy of the *kalpavṛkṣa,* believed to grow on the cosmic Mount Sumeru, as depicted in Indian sculpture. It is the Javanese version of this tree, as seen in the *Wayang kulit,* with a demon's face between the beams of a cross, which resembles the Mexican

Cross. The motif also appears in a highly conventionalized form among the reliefs of the Angkor Vat in Cambodia.

Porches with figures of monsters, lotus walls, and a 'cross-shaped-holy-arch' have been discovered in the temples of Palenque in the same way as in the temples of Cambodia, where the 'holy-arch' was particularly common from the eighth to the tenth centuries A.D.

The Temple Pyramids

Excavations at ancient American sites have revealed a galaxy of teocallis, pyramids, despite the fact that a number of them were demolished by European invaders. These pyramids are of various sizes, have artistic qualities and belong to different periods. The ruins of Teotihuacan have revealed two world-famous teocallis, of the Sun (Tonatiuh) and the Moon (Meztli). These pyramids are surrounded by numerous smaller pyramids. A number of scholars have suggested that the inspiration for these teocallis came from Egypt. But American pyramids are very unlike those of Egypt. They are, in fact, step-pyramids, with several rectangular terraces, each of diminishing size, placed on top of one another, with an outside stairway leading up to the platform. The Sun Pyramid at Teotihuacan has four such terraces. The temple at Tulahas five, and so on. At the top they have a temple, and in fact the rest of the pyramid merely serves as a base, or a plinth, for the temple. The Egyptian pyramids had neither platforms nor temples at the top and there was no stairway outside. They are complete structures in themselves and do not constitute bases for other buildings. Certainly, until later times their side walls were plain. The interior contained a chamber in which the bones of the Pharaoh were entombed. The chamber was reached by a low passage through the stone, which was sealed with earth after the entombment of the king. But the style of the American pyramid is similar to that of the temple-pyramids of Cambodia, and is reminiscent of a very familiar concept that of Mount Sumeru in the Hindu-Buddhist world.

There are, however, certain difficulties about the chronology of the pyramids of South-east Asia and Mexico. The earliest American pyramids are older than the earliest similar pyramids known in South-east Asia. For instance, the temple-pyramids of Cambodia date from the eigth century A.D. and the greatest of Mexican temples, the Sub Pyramid of Teotihuacan, despite the difficulty of obtaining reliable radio-carbon dates and the additions and alterations made from time to time, possibly had its earliest structures laid out in the second century B.C. It would, therefore, seem more likely that if there was any borrowing in this respect, it was on the part of South-east Asia. For the reverse influence, however, the evidence is even thinner.

There are indications that Java and possibly Sumatra and Champa may have participated in trans-Pacific contacts with America. But Asiomerican parallels with Cambodia are much closer. The ports from which traffic was carried on between the two must have been located on the coast of what is now Vietnam, a region Cambodia lost to her neighbours in the eighteenth century. Long before that, however, after a period of unprecedented political power and cultural achievements around 1200, the Cambodian empire collapsed in the thirteenth century, which must have caused the cessation of trans-Pacific voyages.[8]

Viṣṇu with Cakra and Gadā

There are similarities in iconography and art motifs between Americans and Hindu-Buddhists. The disc of the sun as a quoit, the mussel shell with a plant, the figure of Viṣṇu who despite his Mexican features, is so recognized from the mace *(gadā)* and *cakra* that he holds in his two hands, appear on both sides of the Pacific. The Mayas like the Indians and South-east Asians used the umbrella as a mark of dignity and a symbol of rank. Indeed, the umbrella was known to South-east Asia in the third millennium B.C. The friezes of Chacmultun in Yucatan, exhibit two types of umbrella such as are still used in India and South-east Asia.

The Nāginī

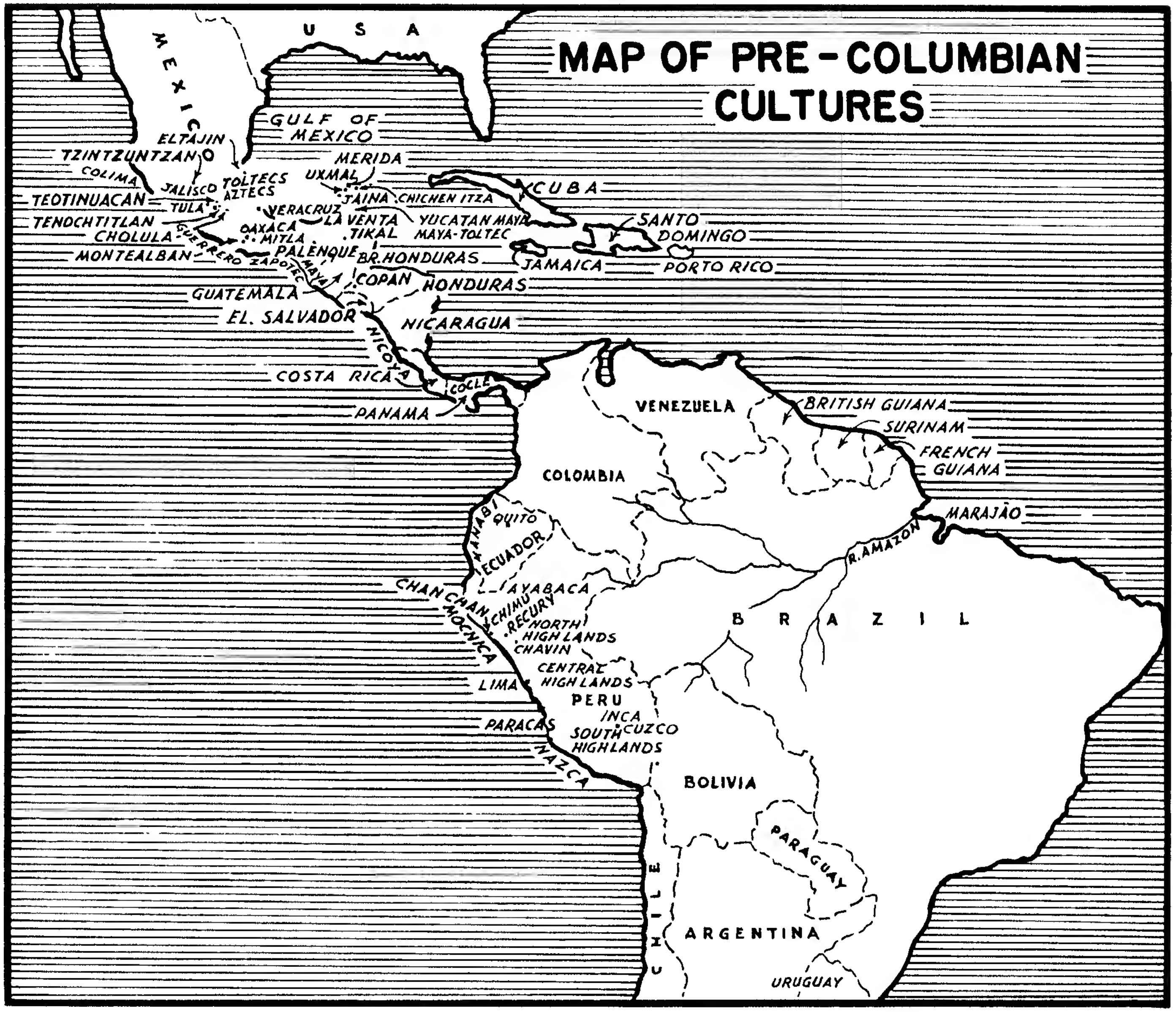
The Mayan goddess Ix Tub tun, who from its mouth, turns out precious stones, possesses attributes of an Indian *nāginī* of Kubera, the god of treasure, and of his animal attribute, the snake-slaying mongoose.[9]

E.B. Tylor, who pioneered the evolutionist thought in anthropology, but conceded transmission of cultural traits if there was definite evidence, showed, in a lecture in 1894, the four Mexican pictures, known as the Vatican Codex, which corresponded so closely to the picture of Buddhist hells or purgatories as painted on Japanese temple scrolls, as to "preclude any explanation except direct transmission from one religion to another".[10] He also found the counterparts of the Tortoise Myth of India in ancient America.

The Gaja and the Nāga : Mackenzie and some other scholars, however, are of the definite opinion that the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians were familiar with Indian mythology and cite in support close parallels in details. For instance, the history of the Maya elephant symbol cannot be traced in the local tradition, whereas it was a prominent religious symbol in India which had been carried to other countries and was associated with a complex of beliefs. It is not a motif imported from Egypt, for there are divergences between the African elephant and the American representation of it. The African elephant has longer ears, a less elevated head and a bulging forehead without the indentation at the roof of the trunk, which is characteristic of the Indian elephant. It is the profile of the Indian elephant, its tusk and lower lip, the form of its ear, as well as its turbaned rider with his *aṅkuśa* which is found in Meso-American models. While in Africa the elephant was less made use of in religious life, in India it has been tamed and associated with religious practice since the early days. The elephant was associated with the Nāgas, snake deities, who were rain-gods, being "wholly dependent on the presence of water and much afraid of fire, just like the dragons in many Chinese and Japanese legends".[11] The Nāgas were regarded as the guardians of treasures, especially of pearls, and there is a good deal of evidence that the cults of Nāgas and elephants in India had overlapped frequently. It is the religious significance of the elephant which is typically Indian and there appears to be little doubt that the Maya representation is similarly religious.[12] Mayan elephants are represented with conventional ornamentation of symbolic character identical with the ornamentation of the elephant-like figures on the bas-reliefs in Cambodia. Even Bancroft, who did not subscribe to the theory of contact between Indian and American mythologies thought that the elephant-motif deserved attention.

Influence of Hindu Epics

The Caste System and the Epics : A kind of caste system prevailed among the Incas of Peru, Peruvians worshipped an omnipotent and invisible Supreme Being, Viracocha, creator and preserver of the world. Imprints of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* have been noticed on the poetry of Peru. The American story of Yappan resembles so closely, in all its essential features, the story of Indra of the *Mahābhārata* that Mackenzie comments that with this piece of evidence alone a good circumstantial case can be made out for the diffusion of Hindu thought, myths and practices to ancient America.


MAP OF PRE-COLUMBIAN CULTURES
U S A
MEXICO
GULF OF MEXICO
ELTAJIN
TZINTZUNTZAN
COLIMA
JALISCO
TOLTECS
AZTECS
TEOTINUACAN
TULA
TENOCHTITLAN
CHOLULA
MONTEALBAN
GUERRERO
ZAPOTEC
MERIDA
UXMAL
JAINA
CHICHEN ITZA
VERACRUZ
OAXACA
MITLA
LA VENTA
TIKAL
YUCATAN MAYA
MAYA-TOLTEC
PALENQUE
BR. HONDURAS
MAYA
COPAN
HONDURAS
GUATEMALA
EL. SALVADOR
NICARAGUA
NICOYA
COSTA RICA
COCLE
PANAMA
CUBA
SANTO DOMINGO
JAMAICA
PORTO RICO
VENEZUELA
BRITISH GUIANA
SURINAM
FRENCH GUIANA
MARAJÃO
R. AMAZON
COLOMBIA
MANABI
QUITO
ECUADOR
AYABACA
CHANCHAN
CHIMU
RECURY
MOCHICA
NORTH HIGHLANDS
CHAVIN
CENTRAL HIGHLANDS
LIMA
PERU
INCA
CUZCO
SOUTH HIGHLANDS
PARACAS
NAZCA
B R A Z I L
BOLIVIA
PARAGUAY
CHILE
ARGENTINA
URUGUAY

Was Pre-Columbian American Religion of Independent Origin?

Scholars who insist that pre-Columbian American religion and civilization were of independent origin, are obliged to explain why the myths, beliefs and practices of Ancient America assumed at the very beginning these complex features which, in Asia, resulted from the fusions and movements of numerous peoples of diverse racial origins, after a long period of time much longer than that covered by American civilizations from beginning to end. The Isolationists must also explain why the American race should have been the last to emerge from a state of uncivilization, and why, once they emerged, their progress should have been so phenomenally rapid. Is it not incredible that a people who had so long remained in a state of stagnation, should have, once stirred into cultural action, achieved in a few generations what the earliest civilized peoples in the world, such as the Egyptians and Mesopotamians, achieved only after the lapse of many centuries.

Art Archaeology : Considering the qualities of enterprise and the economic drive of the ancient Indians it would not seem possible that they would have missed the opportunities offered by such contacts. The traces of Hindu-Buddhist influence in Mexico and among the Maya correspond in kind precisely to those cultural elements which in South-east Asia were introduced by Hindu-Buddhist monks. If at the time of the Spanish Conquest Indian religions were not found in Central America, it cannot by itself be held as evidence that they had not existed at an earlier date. The history, especially of South-east Asia, shows how easily religions may disappear or be submerged in local cults. Among the Cham of Annam, Hinduism and Buddhism, had been firmly established almost for a millennium and a half from the second to the fifteenth century. Yet, Buddhism disappeared completely after the fall of the Cham kingdom in 1471 and Śaiva-Vaiṣṇavism declined so rapidly that its remnants are at present hardly recognizable. Among the non-Muslim Badui and Tenggers of Java traces of Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism are now very obscure although these must have been the predominant religions as late as the sixteenth century. The Batak of Sumatra were under Hindu-Buddhist influences from probably the third to the fourteenth century, but in the nineteenth century they were 'pagans'. Ancient American beliefs and practices invite the following comment : "We have little doubt that a sober but unbiased comparative analysis of the Mexican and Mayan religions will reveal many traces of the former influences of either Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava cults or Buddhism or of both. To mention but one instance, the conceptions of hell and of the punishments inflicted there resemble those of Hindu-Buddhist belief to such an extent, both in a general way and in specific details, that the assumption of historic relationship is almost inevitable." It is, however, interesting that while in Mexico and among the Mayas, traits of apparently Hindu-Buddhist origin abound in the fields of art, religious architecture, government, kingship, cosmology, mythology, and iconography, there is hardly any Indian influence in material culture and the technical fields. Whatever little there is, appears to have been brought in by the requirements of art and religious beliefs.

Ethnobotany : The evidence of ethnobotany, a relatively recent discipline offering immense possibilities for cultural historians but hitherto not fully made use of provides conclusive evidence both of cultural contacts between South-east Asia and Ancient America, and trans-Pacific crossings, made deliberately and rapidly. The evidence is almost unshakable, for plants are natural growth, not human invention. However, before a plant can be accepted it must meet certain well-defined requirements which can be scientifically inspected.

A study of cultural intercourse would reveal that transfer of knowledge is a slow and uncertain business. While intermittent contacts even lasting over centuries may not result in any transfers, settlement may result in a rapid introduction of numerous culture traits. As far as plants are concerned their transplantation, or adoption of a new species is a very complicated matter. It requires the adoption of a whole complex of knowledge about the plant's ecological requirements, and often also about the human uses of it. Hence, the presence of even one transferred plant would mean that a quite effective and probably relatively durable contact has been made between two peoples. The presence of a number of plants even as few as ten or twenty, would indicate a major cultural contact. Plants introduced into an area need not spread with any speed for any distance.

The Evidence of Cotton

Cotton, which plays such an important part in world-economy and is grown at present in Asia, Africa, America, and to some extent in Europe, presents problems to history, as well as to science with regard to its origin and development. In Egypt, the first definite proof of its use dates from the fourth century B.C. But long before this, in about 2500 B.C. or a couple of centuries earlier cotton was cultivated in India in the Indus Valley.

On the north Peruvian coast known as the Huaca Prieta have been discovered woven fabrics of unexpectedly elaborate pattern, dated about 2400 B.C. made from a highly advanced cultivated species of cotton. The American cottons are tetraploid in chromosome constitution, and their chromosome complement is made of one set homologuous with the complement of the diploid species of America.[14] After a series of painstaking experiments, experts have agreed that one parent of the American cotton undoubtedly came from Asia; in other words, eventually from the Indus Valley area.

Neither birds nor winds could carry cotton seeds for the long distance of 3000 miles across the Pacific. In fact the Pacific Ocean from New Guinea to Peru is about 10,000 miles wide. In any case, birds do not eat *Gossypium* seeds, and sea-water would have destroyed their germinal power, if the *Gossypium* seeds were carried by waves.

Another plant which appears to have been imported to America from South-east Asia is the coconut, *Cocos nucifera*, which is regarded as a characteristic plant of the Pacific. It is a pan-Pacific species with its origin probably along the shores of the Indian ocean. Because of the uniformity of its nomenclature throughout the area, stretching from Madagascar to Tahiti, it is concluded that its distribution must have taken place through the agency of man, and since the existence of known language.

Maize, *Zea Mays*, is widely grown in Asia and Africa and is used in various ways. Two scientists, C.R. Stonor and Edgar Anderson, working independently, came to the conclusion that certain distinctive varieties of maize widely grown by the Nagas in Assam in India, had been in cultivation there from the pre-Columban period. While, on the whole, these varieties were similar to those of maize grown in early Peru and Chile, the popcorns, green corns used as a fresh vegetable, and brewing corns did not fit into the picture at all. The Asian popcorns are not at all like the popcorns of Central America. After a period of collaboration and further experimentation these two scientists found the conclusion inescapable, that "there are at least two races of maize in Asia and that one of these must have crossed the Pacific in pre-Columbian times. The direction (or directions) in which it travelled, however, is still uncertain."[15]

Similar conclusions have been drawn with regard to a few other items, e.g. sweet potato, *Ipomoea batatas*.

Advanced Art of Navigation

The only plausible argument against cultural diffusion from southern Asia to the Pacific is the great distance involved. It is asserted that it would have been unlikely for a large number of people to have crossed the vast expanses of the Pacific without well-equipped boats and voyagers. The argument, however, falls apart upon closer scrutiny. It would not be at all difficult for a large canoe or catamaran to cross from Polynesia to South America even at the present time; and the ancient Asians were skilled and enterprising sea-faring men. Also, in prehistoric times the Pacific studded with small islands was divided into relatively small areas of navigability. Within these areas off-shore voyages of 200 miles or so were practical, and then it was equally possible to migrate accidentally or deliberately, to the next area, when winds and currents were favourable.

However, the migrations with which we are most concerned at present are those which took place later in historic times, when cultural traits were sufficiently developed to be transmitted. The art of shipping and navigation in India and China at the time was sufficiently advanced for oceanic crossings. Indian ships operating between the Indian and South-east Asian ports were relatively large and well-equipped to sail across the Bay of Bengal. When the Chinese Buddhist scholar Fa-hsien returned from India, his ship carried a crew of more than two hundred persons abroad and did not sail along the coasts but right across the ocean. Such ships with crews of up to two hundred men were larger than the ships of Columbus that negotiated the Atlantic a thousand years later.

In ancient times the Indians excelled in the art of ship-building and even the English, who were attentive to everything which related to naval architecture, found Indian models during the period of their early activities in Asia worth copying. They borrowed from the Indians many improvements which they adapted with success to their shipping. The Indian vessels united elegance and utility, and were models of patience and fine workmanship. Sir John Malcolm wrote : "Indian vessels are so admirably adapted to the purpose for which they are required that, notwithstanding their superior science, Europeans were unable during an intercourse with India for two centuries, to suggest or to bring into successful practice one improvement."[16] It is also known that in the third century A.D. a transport of horses reached Malaya and Indo-China, which would have required large ships.

The Atlantic is comparatively small and its winds and currents head directly towards Central America. In contrast, the Pacific is immense and its winds and currents flow from Central America toward Asia. Hence one may ask why the Asian, and not the Mediterranean, migration to Central America be found more feasible. The answer lies in the art and technique of shipping of boats.

It was the Pacific people who first developed the most advanced watercraft. Their ocean-going canoes were equipped with masts, sails, paddles, bailers and stone-anchors. Some of their boats even had three masts. The Mediterranean Sea which, except for its narrow Western opening, looked from the lands that encircled it, did not present to the sailors the risk of being lost in a vast ocean of angry waves. For a long time the Mediterranean-Atlantic propulsion technique was rowing, which gave way to exclusive sail propulsion only at the end of the Middle Ages; Indo-Pacific people had made this shift much earlier. Their two pieces of sophisticated sailing equipment, the fore-and-aft-rigged sail made of plaited pandanus mats sewn together in a triangular form with wooden yards and booms to strengthen the long sides of the triangle, and the cantreboard, both of which employ the same aerodynamic principle of lift as does the airplane wing, must have encouraged them to do so. Consequently, they could paddle forward much more freely and efficiently than could people limited to rowing or to square sails. They even gave names to their steering paddles. At a time when the Vikings were sweeping across the northern seas in their long ships, the Polynesians in their long canoes, mounted with reinforced triangular sails, were negotiating thousands of miles of sea, often at seven knots an hour if favoured by powerful wind.

Why Asians went to South America

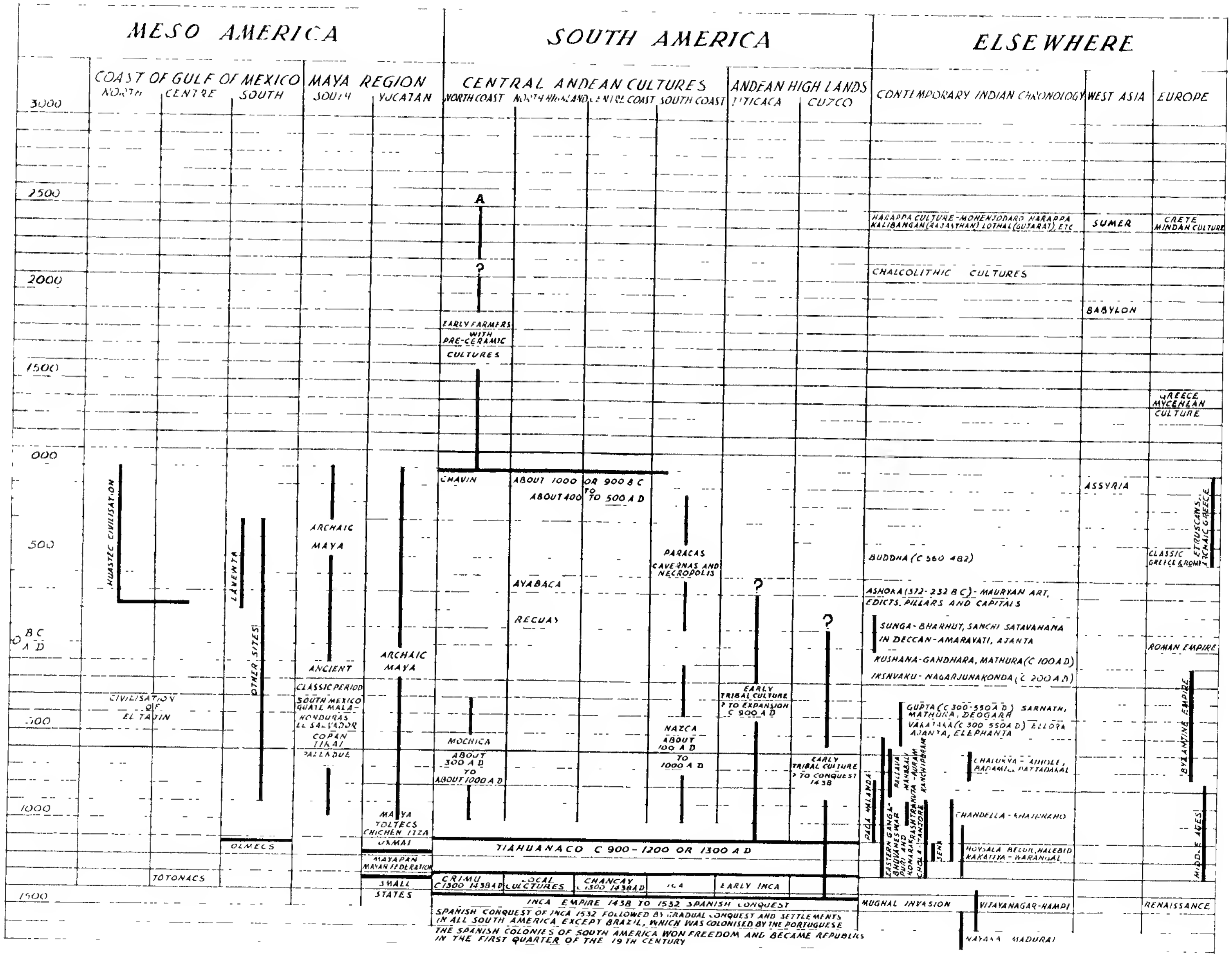
What was the motive that urged Asians to undertake long journeys to America? Probably it was gold. What initially attracted Indian adventurers and merchants to South-east Asia, also took them and other Asians farther east to South America. The remains of the Dong-Son culture are mainly found in gold-producing areas. It is also possible that the daring ancient mariners were looking merely for new areas for food and settlement. But, it seems more likely that they were prospecting for precious metals, stones, gold and pearls for which a great demand had grown up in the centres of ancient civilizations. This view is substantially reinforced by W.J. Perry who was the first scholar to point out the distribution of the pearling beds of the world, and that, wherever pearls are found, are also found similar complex religious myths, beliefs and practices. It is therefore very significant that the mythology of the pre-Columbian American civilizations "was deeply impregnated by the religious beliefs and practices and habits of life that obtained among the treasure-seekers of the Old World."[17] Equally significant is the fact that the Mayas preferred to settle in that part of Central America which was unhealthy but rich in precious stones and gold. Somewhat like the Indians, the Asiomericans accumulated precious stones and gold and made ornaments from them in symbolic shapes. Temples and idols in Mexico, as in India, were lavishly decorated with gold and precious stones, which inflamed the lust of the Western invaders.

Everlasting Cultural Influence of Asian Settlers

Whatever be the motive, the trans-Pacific traffic would seems to have gone on regularly for about two thousand years, from about the 8th century B.C. to the 12th century A.D. The number of Asian migrants was perhaps not very substantial and they were absorbed in the local populations of early Asian settlers, but their cultural influence was profound. The foreign civilizations implanted upon more primitive indigenous cultures by small groups of immigrants, were soon absorbed by the local population, and in consequence, new civilizations were born which, despite their original character, reveal the features of both the foreign and the indigenous sources from which they were derived.

Conclusions

In my view of so many parallels in fundamental concepts and in detail, in mythology, ritual, iconography, architecture, religious beliefs, crowns, thrones, plants, together with the evidence of migration, it appears incredible that isolationists should continue to insist on the independent evolution of the Asiomerican civilization. Each correspondence in itself, with the exception of a few very unusual ones, may not amount to much, but in aggregate the evidence of cultural diffusion is formidable. Heine-Geldern and Ekhom declare unequivocally: "The large number of highly specific correspondences in so many fields precludes any possibility of more accidental coincidence. Nor would it help us to take refuge in any kind of explanation based on some alleged psychological laws. There is no psychological law which could have caused the peoples on both sides of the Pacific to stylize the lotus plant in the same manner and to make it surge from the mouth of a jawless demon's head, to invent the parasol and use it as a sign of rank and to invent the same complicated game. There is no explanation other


MESO AMERICA
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NAZCA ABOUT 100 A D TO 1000 A D
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TIAHUANACO C 900 - 1200 OR 1300 A D
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EARLY INCA
INCA EMPIRE 1438 TO 1532 SPANISH CONQUEST
SPANISH CONQUEST OF INCA 1532 FOLLOWED BY GRADUAL CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENTS IN ALL SOUTH AMERICA EXCEPT BRAZIL, WHICH WAS COLONISED BY THE PORTUGUESE
THE SPANISH COLONIES OF SOUTH AMERICA WON FREEDOM AND BECAME REPUBLICS IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE 19TH CENTURY
HARAPPA CULTURE-MOHENJODARO HARAPPA KALIBANGAN (RAJASTHAN) LOTHAL (GUJARAT) ETC
CHALCOLITHIC CULTURES
BUDDHA (C 560 482)
ASHOKA (372-232 B C) - MAURYAN ART, EDICTS, PILLARS AND CAPITALS
SUNGA - BHARHUT, SANCHI SATAVAHANA IN DECCAN - AMARAVATI, AJANTA
KUSHANA - GANDHARA, MATHURA (C 100 A D)
IKSHVAKU - NAGARJUNAKONDA (C 200 A D)
GUPTA (C 300 - 550 A D) SARNATH, MATHURA, DEOGARH
VAKATAKA (C 300 550 A D) ELLORA AJANTA, ELEPHANTA
CHALUKYA - AIHOLE, BADAMI, PATTADAKAL
PALA NALANDA
EASTERN GANGA - BHUVANESWAR PURI AND KONARAK
PALLAVA MAHABALIPURAM
RASHTRAKUTA - AURAM
KANCHIPURAM
CHOLA - TANJORE
SENA
CHANDELLA - KHAJURAHO
HOYSALA BELUR, HALEBID KAKATIYA - WARANGAL
MUGHAL INVASION
VIJAYANAGAR - HAMPI
NAYAKA MADURAI
SUMER
BABYLON
ASSYRIA
CRETE MINOAN CULTURE
GREECE MYCENEAN CULTURE
ETRUSCANS ARCHAIC GREECE
CLASSIC GREECE & ROME
ROMAN EMPIRE
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
MIDDLE AGES
RENAISSANCE

than the assumption of cultural relationship. We must bow to the evidence of facts, even though this may mean a completely new start in our appraisal of the origin and development of the American Indian higher civilizations."[18]

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1. Ancient Americans are referred to, popularly, as Red Indians, and by archaeologists, as Amerindians. While these two designations have the advantage of common usage and currency they are often productive of confusion, particularly for students of comparative history and civilization. Ancient Americans are neither red nor Indians; they have lived in America, having originated from Asia, for a much longer period than Indo-Europeans have in Europe. Hence, it is more appropriate to call them Asiomericans rather than Amerindians. There seems little justification to perpetrate a mistake made by Columbus centuries ago.
2. Recently a Welsh writer Mr. Richard Deacon has claimed a Welshman, Madoc, son of Owin, King of Gwynedd, got to America three centuries before Columbus.
3. Bernal Diaz's is one of the two very personal accounts of what befell pre-Columbian civilization
4. According to Ralph Waldo Emerson, Humboldt was one of those wonders of the world, like Aristotle, who appear from time to time as if to show the possibilities of the human mind.
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6. *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, London, 1837, and *Polynesian Researches*, London, 1831.
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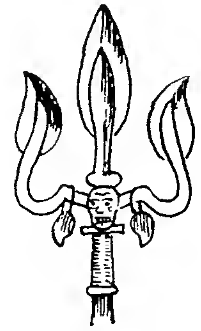
9. D.A. Mackenzie, *Myths of Pre-Columbian America*, p 58
10. E.B. Tylor, "On Diffusion of Mythical Beliefs as Evidence in the history of Culture", in *Report of the British Association*, 1894, p. 774.
11. M.W. De Visser, *The Dragon in China and Japan*, p. 5. Visser goes on to say that the Indian serpent-shaped Nāga was identified in China with the four-legged Chinese dragon, because both were divine inhabitants of seas and rivers, and givers of rain.
12. Some writers have described the Maya elephant as a badly drawn bird. This confusion appears to have been caused because the Mayan sculptor had apparently never seen an elephant and he must have used a manuscript piecture, which, in its turn, may have been drawn from memory, as his model.
13. Heine-Geldern and Ekholm, in Sol Tax, *op. cit.*, p 307
14. The chromosome complement in *Gossypium* is basically N = 13; all the wild species except one are diploid The tetraploidal form has twice (2N = 26) the number of the original basic number of chromosomes
15. C.R. Stonor and Edgar Anderson, "Maize Among the Hill Peoples of Assam" in *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden*, Vol 36, No. 3, p. 356.
16. *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 1
17. Donald A Mackenzie, *Myths of Pre-Columbian America*, p iv
18. R. Heine-Geldern and G Ekholm, in Sol Tax, *The Civilizations of Ancient America*, p 306



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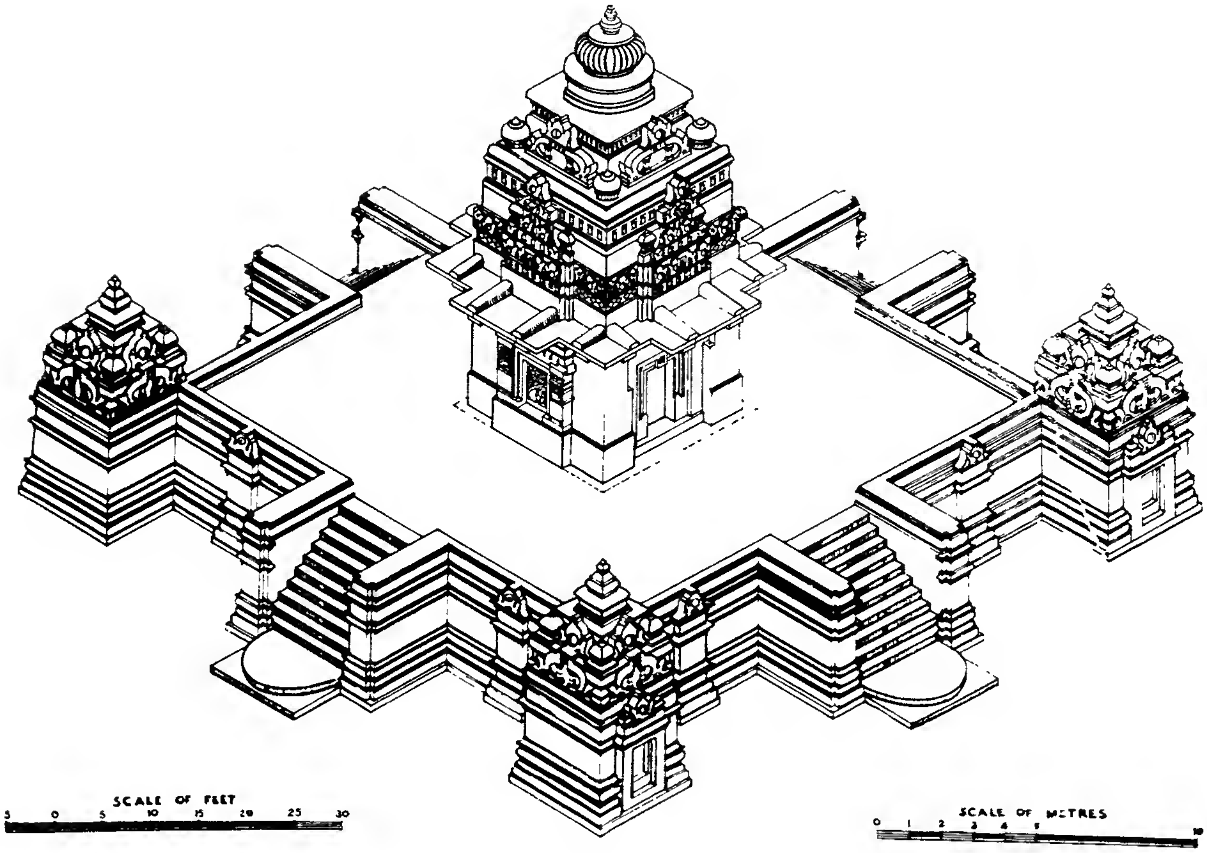
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Swami Vivekananda: life and mission

XI Swami Vivekananda

XII Daksinesvara Temple

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Swami Vivekananda : India's Emissary to the West

SWAMI RANGANATHANANDA

'Buddha had a message to the East; and I have a message to the West'

—*Swami Vivekananda*

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA IS the one person who stands as a golden link between India and the western world, and who promises to be such a link between India and the rest of the world as well. It is an extraordinary link, forged in the consciousness of the spiritual unity and solidarity of humanity. It is good that we try to understand the nature of this link and the way it was forged by a great personality in the context of modern world conditions.

For the first time in our history of the past thousand years, our country produced a great teacher in Swami Vivekananda who took India out of her isolation of centuries and brought her into the mainstream of international life. This is a great work, whose beneficent results are slowly and steadily becoming evident as decades roll on.

Our Failures in the Mediaeval and Modern Times

For centuries together, we had put up a wall of custom around ourselves, never allowing ourselves or our ideas to go out and never allowing outside ideas to come in. It was Swami Vivekananda who pointed out to us that this was responsible for most of the ills of our body politic, arising from the long stagnation of our national life. Said he : "India's fate was sealed the day she discovered the word *mleccha* and stopped communication with the world outside."

We did not allow new ideas to come in; we did not allow obsolete ideas to die out, with the result that we stagnated for centuries. The disastrous results of this policy began to be felt by the nation from about one thousand A.D. In the next century, we had a great visitor from Arabia, the critical and sympathetic scholar and historian, Alberuni, who had accompanied Mahmud of Ghazni on his Indian expeditions. Mahmud came to invade and to loot, but Alberuni came to study India. He knew Sanskrit and had great respect for India's culture. He has left us his impressions of India in his book, where he has the following to say about the contemporary Indian mind and outlook : "The Hindus believe that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no kings like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs. They are haughty, foolishly vain, self-conceited and stolid. They are by nature niggardly in communicating that which they know, and they take the greatest possible care to withhold it from men of another caste among their own people, still much more, of course, from any foreigner. According to their belief, there is no other country on earth but theirs, and no created beings besides them have any knowledge of science whatsoever. Their haughtiness is such, that if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khurasan and Persis, they will think you to be both an ignoramus and liar. If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind, for their ancestores were not as narrowminded as the present generation is".

Our Great Achievements in Ancient Period

How tragically true was that observation was to be proved by the events of succeeding centuries, with the national mind becoming rigid, narrow, and exclusive, and incapable of grasping and gripping the nation's problems. But throughout the ancient period, India presented a different picture. She had an expansive mind and had influenced, and been influenced by, the rest of the world.

Vivekananda on Historical Truths

Now compare these remarks of Alberuni with the remarks of Swami Vivekananda in a letter written from New York on 18 November 1894, to the Chairman of the public meeting held in the Calcutta Town Hall to felicitate him on his successful mission in America :[2] "I am thoroughly convinced that no individual or nation can live by holding itself apart from the community of others, and whenever such an attempt has been made under false ideas of greatness, policy, or holiness—the result has always been disastrous to the secluding one.

"To my mind, the one great cause of the downfall and degeneration of India was the building of a wall of custom—whose foundation was hatred of others—round the nation, and the real aim of which in ancient times was to prevent the Hindus from coming in contact with the surrounding Buddhistic nations.

"Whatever cloak ancient or modern sophistry may try to throw over it, the inevitable result—the vindication of the moral law, that none can hate others without degenerating himself—is that the race that was foremost amongst the ancient races is now a bye-word and a scorn among nations. We are object-lessons of the violation of that law which our ancestors were the first to discover and discriminate.

"Give and take is the law; and if India wants to raise herself once more, it is absolutely necessary that she brings out her treasures and throws them broadcast among the nations of the earth, and in return be ready to receive what others have to give her. Expansion is life, contraction is death. Love is life and hatred is death. We commenced to die the day we began to hate other races, and nothing can prevent our death unless we come back to expansion, which is life.

The Lessons from the West : Nationalism and Technology

"We must mix, therefore, with all the races of the earth. And every Hindu that goes out to travel in foreign parts renders more benefit to his country than hundreds of men who are bundles of superstitions and selfishness and whose one aim in life seems to be like that of the dog in the manger. The wonderful structures of national life, which the western nations have raised, are supported by the strong pillars of character; and until we can produce numbers of such, it is useless to fret and fume against this or that power."

When we study human history, we come across an arresting phenomenon in the fascination of the rest of the world for India. This is true whether it is the ancient Sumerians, the ancient Egyptians, the Greaco-Romans, the medieval Europeans, the modern Europeans, or the

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modern Americans and Russians. Whatever be the civilization or the epoch, we shall always find the contemporary world keenly interested in India, so much so, that to come in touch with the mind and face of India was a recurring policy with those civilizations.

India Contributes Spirituality and Philosophy to Mankind

Referring to the four large epochs of India's recurring cultural contacts with the contemporary civilizations, Swami Vivekananda says:[3] "India's contribution to the sum total of human knowledge has been spirituality, philosophy. These she contributed even before the rising of the Persian Empire; the second time was during the Persian Empire; for the third time, during the ascendency of the Greeks; and now for the fourth time, during the ascendency of the English, she is going to fulfil the same destiny once more."

India's Contribution to the Greaco-Roman World

Greece had intimate contacts with India through the Persian Empire of the sixth century B.C., which had Indian soldiers in its army. Greek historians refer to the presence of Indians in Athens. The communications net-work opened up by that powerful empire from the seventh century before Christ had made possible the mutual contact of the two gifted peoples of the ancient world, namely, the ancient Greek and the ancient Indian, resulting in much give and take.

Referring to Indian influences on the ascetic practices in the West, the great Egyptologist, Sir Flinders Petrie says:[4] "The presence of a large body of Indian troops in the Persian army in Greece in 480 B.C. shows how far West the Indian connections were carried, and the discovery of modelled heads of Indians at Memphis, of about the fifth century B.C., shows that Indians were living there for trade. Hence there is no difficulty in regarding India as the source of the entirely new ideal of asceticism in the West."

There is contemporary evidence of the presence in Athens of Indian thinkers as early as the fourth century B.C. Eusebius (315 A.D.) preserves a tradition which he attributes to Aristoxenus, who was a pupil of Aristotle and a well-known writer on harmonics and whose date is given as 330 B.C., that some learned Indians visited Athens and had discussions with Socrates (*Preparatic Evangelica* 11.3) : "Aristoxenus the musician tells the following story about the Indians. One of these men met Socrates at Athens and asked him what was the scope of his philosophy. 'An inquiry into human phenomenon', replied Socrates. At this the Indian burst out laughing. 'How can we inquire into human phenomena', he exclaimed. "When we are ignorant of the divine ones?"

There is also mention of the visit of Indians to Athens in the fragment of Aristotle preserved in Diogenes Laertius. According to Pliny, Eudoxus, the astronomer friend of Plato, was deeply interested in Indian thought.

Strabo, the Roman historian, says on the authority of Ncolaus of Damascus, that an Indian Embassy, including a thinker who burnt himself to death at Athens in 20 B.C., was sent to Caezar by the Indian King Poros. Plutarch also refers to the self-immolation and says that the 'Tomb of the Indian' is one of the sights shown to strangers in Athens.

Clement of Alexandria quotes the work of Polihistor who refers to an Indian Order, which included both men and women, who lived in celibacy, devoted themselves to truth, and worshipped pyramids (Buddhist *stūpa*) which housed the bones of their God. According to the account of Philostratus, Appllonius of Tyana, the famous gnostic, journeyed to India and spent about four months at 'the monastery of the wise men'.

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Foreigners Came to Seek Wealth and Wisdom

India was known to the rest of the world for two things, namely, wealth and wisdom. Wealth invited trade and wisdom invited participation in the mental life of India. Some people came to trade, some people came to learn of the wisdom of India, which later had become, by the time Alexander appeared, proverbial. India's trade with the ancient world is well known. Many ports in the western and eastern coasts of India were dedicated to trading with Rome and the kingdoms of the Middle East and the Near East, to the West, besides China and South-East Asia, to the East. Even today our archaeology digs up ancient Roman coins from various places in south India. That is an indication of the extensive trade that we had with the Roman Empire with which India traded with her items of luxury. The Roman ladies seem to have been fond of Indian luxuries, and so a lot of goods were transported in Indian ships as well as in Roman ships to the Roman ports. India also imported many goods from these countries, such as metals, horses, etc. According to Roman historians, this trade with India began to drain away so much of Rome's gold into India at one time that Rome put a ban on Indian trade. No nation trades with another nation in luxury goods unless it has a flourishing industrial base and a tolerable level of economic prosperity, according to contemporary standards. The people of India down the ages were intelligent and hard-working, austere and thrifty. Her artists, artisans, and craftsmen created works of beauty, and these were wanted by other nations. And this is a feature true of modern India as well.

The other picture of India reveals her as a land of wise men. Her Vedas and Upaniṣads and other literature reveal a land of philosophers and thinkers of the first magnitude, who wrestle with the problems of human life and destiny with a dedication, competence, and thoroughness rare in the history of philosophic thought.

The ancient West was lured by this wisdom of India. In the Middle Ages, it trickled to the West through the Arabs, whose empire then controlled the Middle East. The Arabs also conveyed to the West the previously acquired scientific knowledge of India. For centuries together, that empire became the clearing house for ideas between East and West. The Arabs took freely from Indian culture and Indian thought. Similarly, they took freely from Greek and Roman culture and thought, and they built up a very magnificent civilization from the eighth century A.D., encompassing India in the east and Europe in the west.

When that empire fell in the middle of the thirteenth century and the Turkish power rose in its place, the West was cut off from India, because the Turkish empire was not so enlightened as the earlier Arab empire. Though thus cut off, Europe never ceased in its efforts to come in touch with India. Throughout Western history, especially Western European history, one can discern this constant desire to come in touch with India. When this desire was blocked by the Turkish power in the Middle East, the West Europeans tried to discover a sea route to India; and every student of history knows how England, France, Holland, Spain, and Portugal persistently bent their energies to finding a sea route to India and how one of them, namely, Portugal, sailing east, succeeded in finding such a route rounding South Africa, through the pioneering efforts of its Vasco da Gama, who landed at Calicut in Kerala in 1498. This event helped to take India again into the stream of international life. Similarly Columbus, sailing westward on the same mission, stumbled upon America in 1493 mistaking it to be India. And though wrong, the natives of America continued to be called Indians.

A Search for Real India

I had occasion to tell many American University audiences last year that their continent

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was discovered as a by-product of the search for India and that they may as well continue the search and discover for themselves the vast continent of India, geographical as well as cultural. *And this search is on in a big way on the part of the people of America, since the end of the second world war.* India is luring modern America today. This lure was there even in the nineteenth century, which finds evidence in even the titles of books such as *Passage to India* by Walt Whitman. America is experiencing in this twentieth century what Western European peoples experienced earlier.

Thus throughout the millennia of history, India's wisdom has attracted the nations of the world. India's natural resources and industrial wealth, similarly, make her an attraction for trade as well. And in the modern age, this trade has led aslo to her political domination and economic exploitation by the West.

Buddhist Missions though Great indeed Confined to Asia

But one thing we must remember when we discuss Swami Vivekananda's Mission to the West in the modern age. India never sent her own accredited cultural or spiritual emissaries to the western world throughout these five thousand years of history. India's own activity in the field of active dissemination of ideas was confined to the eastern half of the world, including Western Asia. And this she has done even before the torrential experience of it in the wake of Buddha and his dynamic movement. Evidences are accumulating to show that Indian ideas travelled to various parts of the Asian continent even before Buddhism; but, historically speaking, the most important contact of India with those countries began in the wake of Buddha and his great movement, when India herself became active in the dissemination of her spiritual and cultural treasures in these parts of the world. Buddhist emissaries scaled high mountains, sailed the oceans, braved hardships, and went over to Ceylon, South-East Asia, Central Asia, Middle East and Near East, China and, to a lesser extent, to Korea and Japan, carrying the message of Buddha—the message of peace, the message of love, the message of spirituality. This message had created a tremendous spiritual bond between India and the rest of Asia.

Thus India's own experience of missionary enterprise, of active dissemination of ideas, was confined to the continent of Asia throughout the historic period, and this includes the few official missions sent out by Aśoka in the third century before Christ to the sovereigns of the Middle East, Antiochus Theos of Syria, Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt, Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia, Magas of Cyrene, and Alexander of Epirus, according to the announcement in his Rock Edict XIII. These and the extensive contacts during the earlier Persian and Greek empires can claim some share in the spiritual and cultural developments in the Middle East during the next few centuries.

Alexander's success in the eyes of a Wise man of India

Apart from these efforts, India did not actively participate in influencing the western mind. She did not send out to the West any outstanding spiritual teacher or philosopher. The western people came to India on their own and took whatever they could from India's wisdom. This does not rule out the influencing of the western peoples by thousands of individual Indians in the course of commercial and social contacts since the Persian Empire, and their being influenced by the Greeks and others in their turn. Alexander came to the western region of India in the fourth century B.C., conquering all the countries on his way, but he had a secret desire to come in touch with the philosophic and spiritual thought of India.

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Greek historians have preserved the episode of his meeting with an Indian sage in the Punjab. As narrated in the Classical accounts,[4] the Emperor went to meet him and, impressed by his talk with him, invited him to accompany him to Greece. The sage declined the invitation. The Emperor persuaded and pressed him. Still he did not accept. Then asserting his position as the Emperor, Alexander drew his sword and threatened to kill him if he did not obey his behest. At this, the sage burst into a laughter. When the Emperor asked the reason for his laughter and whether he was not afraid of his sword, the sage replied that this was the most foolish thing that he had ever said in his life; that he, the Emperor of the material world, could never kill him, since he was not the body but the spirit, eternal and ever free, which no fire could burn, no water could wet, and no weapons could pierce. And for once, in his all-conquering career, the Emperor came across a person who did not fear him. The whole world feared him; the whole world bent down before him; but he saw this one man in India before him who stood calm, and fearless of all the material power represented by this Emperor.

The Nature of Indian Influence on Western Mind

That this episode had an impact on the Greek mind is evidenced by the fact that more than one Greek historian of Alexander's campaigns have taken pains to record it. It provided them with one out of the many windows to Indian wisdom and its quality of strength and fearlessness.

But unlike as the case of Asia, as I mentioned earlier, India did not actively participate in influencing the western mind. It is the Western mind that came and took whatever it could get from the Indian tradition. We are not quite sure, however, how, and how much, India influenced the West in this indirect way. We have some studies by modern scholars, both western and Indian, on this subject. Dr. Jean Filliozat of the Collége de France, Paris, in his recent studies on the external cultural relations of ancient India, believes that the Upaniṣads had an influence on the thought of the Middle East in the first centuries of the Christian era. Professor E.J. Urwick of England, in his remarkable book, *The Message of Plato*, traces the major ideas of Plato to the Upaniṣads. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan devotes several lectures of his book, *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, to a masterly discussion of the spiritual and cultural relations between India and Greece, and India and Palestine.

These and other studies help to lift the veil that hides the great period of Indian cultural expansion when her ideas influenced the West. But the lack of adequate documented historical material does not disprove the fact of Indian influence on the West: for history records such influences only when accompanied by military aggressions and violent invasions. History mostly behaves like contemporary newspapers, which publish in streamer headlines the story of a family quarrel and breakup, but silently ignore the stories of millions of well-adjusted families and social groups. History has similarly no eye or ear for silent influences and peaceful spread of ideas. And India had never engaged in any foreign aggressive wars throughout her long history, even though she had several times thrown up mighty empires ruling over her immense territory.

India's Bloodless Cultural Conquests

Referring to this unique feature of India's impact on the rest of the world, Swami Vivekananda says :[5] "The debt which the world owes to our motherland is immense. Civilizations have arisen in other parts of the world. In ancient and modern times, wonderful ideas have been carried forward from one race to another . . . but mark you, my friends, it has been always

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with the blast of war trumpets and with the march of embattled cohorts. Each idea had to be soaked in a deluge of blood. Each word of power had to be followed by the groans of millions, by the wails of orphans, by the tears of widows. This, in the main, other nations have taught, but India for thousands of years peacefully existed. Here activity prevailed when even Greece did not exist . . . Even earlier, when history has no record, and tradition dares not peer into the gloom of that intense past, even from then until now, ideas after ideas have marched out from her, but *every word has been spoken with a blessing behind it and peace before it.* We, of all nations of the world, have never been a conquering race, and that blessing is on our head, and therefore we live . . .

"Political greatness or military power is never the mission of our race; it never was and, *mark my words, it never will be.* But there has been the other mission given to us, which is to conserve, to preserve, to accumulate as it were into a dynamo, all the spiritual energy of the race and that concentrated energy is to pour forth in a deluge on the world whenever circumstances are propitious. Let the Persian or the Greek, the Roman, the Arab, or the Englishman march his battalions, conquer the world, and link the different nations together, and the philosophy and spirituality of India is ever ready to flow along the new-made channels into the veins of the nations of the world. The Hindu's calm brain must pour out its own quota to give to the sum total of human progress. *India's gift to the world is the light spiritual".*

Pointing out that this silent influence is also going on in the modern age, Swami Vivekananda continues (*ibid,* pp. 7–8) : "Those who keep their eyes open, those who understand the working in the minds of different nations of the West, those who are thinkers and study the different nations, will find the immense change that has been produced in the tone, the procedure, in the methods, and in the literature of the world by this slow, never-ceasing permeation of Indian thought.

"But there is another peculiarity, as I have already hinted to you. We never preached our thoughts with fire and sword. If there is one word in the English language to represent the gift of India to the world, if there is one word in the English language to express the effect which the literature of India produces upon mankind, it is this one word 'fascination'. . . . Slow and silent, as the gentle dew that falls in the morning, unseen and unheard, yet producing a most tremendous result, has been the work of this calm, patient, all-suffering spiritual race upon the world of thought."

After a few centuries of cultural and social immobilization, India resumed this silent activity within a few years of the establishment of the British Empire in her territory in the last century. The initiative was taken by the Western Orientalists, to begin with. Their translations of Indian literature into the Western languages initiated a new era in the long history of Indian influence on the West, which promises to outshine all such past eras, *and promises also to be an immense two-way traffic productive of great blessings, as much to India, as to the rest of the world.* And Swami Vivekananda's appearance on the stage of Indo-Western dialogue at the end of the last century marks the attainment of spiritual and cultural maturity on the part of modern India, even though she was still a subject nation and politically muted.

Western Subjugation of India

The emergence of the modern western civilization has altered the international situation in a fundamental way. By absorbing the Greaco-Roman heritage and combining with it modern science and technology, the western nations became, in the course of four centuries, the dynamic centres of vast energies which soon spilled over the whole world in both creative

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and destructive ways. India, along with much of Asia and the whole of Africa, became the helpless victims of colonial exploitations and political subjugations of one western nation or another. In spite of this, there was something in that western culture which attracted the rest of the world and commanded its respect.

Indian Renaissance

Out of the spiritual and intellectual ferment arising from the contact of India with the dynamic culture of the modern West, arose a renaissance of the spirit of India in the last century. Pioneered and led by the great Raja Mohan Roy and other leaders in its early stages, it moved through the century with halting and uncertain steps, eventually to attain maturity and strength in the last quarter of the century in Sri Ramakrishna (1836–1886) and his great disciple, Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902). In them the modern Indian renaissance became an entirely positive force rooted in the spiritual core of the Indian tradition, and responding to the positive elements in the dynamic culture of the modern West, and capable of achieving a dynamic syntheses of East and West in modern India.

This renaissance made India expansive; its energy and dynamism could not be contained within the confines of India. It soon burst its national bounds and, for the first time in her long history, India herself took the initiative in, what may appropriately be called, a spiritual 'invasion' of the western world, the dynamic centre of the modern age, through her own anointed son, Swami Vivekananda. He had a fourfold training which equipped him for the successful invasion of the powerful citadels of modern western thought and culture. Firstly, his education in modern western science, literature, and history; secondly, his assimilation of the positive elements in the Indian culture and tradition; thirdly, his discipleship at the feet of Sri Ramakrishna, the very personification of the Indian spiritual tradition; and fourthly, his intimate grasp of the realities of contemporary India during his life as a wandering monk for six years. And this fourfold training made Vivekananda an embodiment of the East and the West.

Vivekananda in the eyes of Romain Rolland

"In the two words equilibrium and synthesis, Vivekananda's constructive genius may be summed up. He embraced all the paths of the spirit; the four Yogas in their entirety, renunciation and service, art and science, religion and action, from the most spiritual to the most practical. Each of the ways that he taught had its own limits, but he himself had been through them all, and embraced them all. As in a quadriga, he held the reins of all four ways of truth, and he travelled towards unity along them all simultaneously. He was the personification of the harmony of all human Energy."[6]

Nehru speaks of Vivekananda

Says Jawaharlal Nehru of Swami Vivekananda:

"Rooted in the past, and full of pride in India's heritage. Vivekananda was yet modern in his approach to life's problems, he was a kind of bridge between the past of India and her present."[7]

Tagore's Praise on Vivekananda

Speaking to Romain Rolland, Rabindranath Tagore said:

"If you want to understand India, study Vivekananda; in him everything is positive, nothing negative."

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Confessing his admiration for Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda among the leaders of the modern Indian renaissance, Romain Rolland says: "From this magnificent procession of spiritual heroes whom we shall survey later, I have chosen two men, who have won my regard, because, with incomparable charm and power, they have realized this splendid symphony of the Universal Soul. They are, if one may say so, its Mozart and its Beethoven—*Pater Seraphicus* and Jove the Thunderer—Ramakrishna and Vivekananda."[8]

Vivekananda Prepares for America

During his wanderings in western India, Vivekananda heard of a world parliament of religions being organized in Chicago, in 1893, as part of a Columbian Exposition in celebration of the fourth centenary of the discovery of America by Columbus in 1493. Earlier, a great scholar at Junagadh, impressed by his vast learning and restless energy, had told him to go to the West where "your thoughts would be better understood than in this country", and had exhorted him: "Go and take it by storm and then return." While at Bangalore about October 1892, he specifically declared to the Maharaja of Mysore his intention of going to the West "for finding means to ameliorate the material condition of India", and to take it in exchange the Gospel of the Vedānta. But he waited till he could complete his pilgrimage of India by visiting Rameswaram and Kanyakumari in the far south.

Towards the end of 1892, after visiting Rameswaram, he reached Kanyakumari, India's 'Land's End' at the far south, where the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea merge in the Indian Ocean. After worship at Mother *Kumārī's* temple on the mainland, he swam over to a rock jutting out of the ocean, about 200 yards from the shore and, sitting on it, plunged into a deep meditation for several hours. *And for the first time in the history of religion, the subject of meditation of a great monk was Man, the God sleeping in man, and not any far-away deity.* He had known of the glory of man as the Ātman, the eternal and ever-free Self of man, in India's spiritual tradition. He had seen in his own Master, Sri Ramarkishna, the very embodiment of that eternal glory of the human spirit. He had realized that glory in himself. But in his wanderings in India, he failed to see that glory manifested even faintly in the millions and millions of his fellow-countrymen. Crushed by poverty and social oppression, bereft of faith in oneself, and reduced to utter helplessness and despair, he saw man in India long alienated from the divine within, and the Indian society long divorced from the spiritual vision of her Vedantic sages. And he decided to dedicate his energies to the reinstatement of man to his pedestal of glory, for which he felt the need to combine the energies of modern western science with the energies of the Indian spiritual tradition. He felt the need to rouse the Indian masses to an awareness of their own inherent strength, with a view to freeing them from grinding poverty and social oppression first, before inviting them to scale the spiritual heights of their eternal religion. Dealing with Vivekananda's meditations at Kanyakumari, *The Life of Swami Vivekananda,* by His Eastern and Western Disciples, says (pp. 254–255):

Kanyākumārī, The Spring-board for his Future Plans

"Ay, here at Kanyakumari was the culmination of days and days of thought on the problems of the Indian masses. Here was the culmination of hours of longing that the wrongs of the masses might be righted. His eyes looked through a mist of tears across the great waters. His heart went out to the Master and to the Mother in a great prayer. From this moment, his life was consecrated to the service of India, but particularly to the outcast Nārāyaṇas, to the starving Nārāyaṇas, to the millions of oppressed Nārā-

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yaṇas of his land ... And he saw that the *dharma*, and even the Vedas, without the people, were as so much straw in the eyes of the Most High. Verily, at Kanyakumari, the Swami was the patriot and prophet in one!"

Out of the meditation at Kanyakumari arose the conviction in him of the nature and scope of that world mission which Sri Ramakrishna had entrusted to him before he passed away six years earlier. He would go to the West and preach to its highly individualistic and intellectually self-conscious peoples the message of Eternal India, the spiritual message of *Sanātana Dharma*, the rational and universal message of Vedānta, and win their support for the material redemption of his own people. He would preach to his own people the message of Practical Vedānta, the message of the application of the Vedāntic message of the Ātman, coupled with the message of western science and technology and social ethics, to the practical problems of the Indian society, with a view to the eradication of ignorance and apathy, poverty and social injustice, by awakening and energizing them with faith in themselves, with faith in the Ātman sleeping within themselves.

The Rock that Created History

The rock on which Swami Vivekananda meditated at Kanyakumari has since become known as the *Vivekananda Rock*, and a grateful nation, irrespective of caste, creed, and political affiliations of the right or the left, has now erected an impressive national memorial to him as a loving tribute to him as the awakener and *yugācārya* or epoch-maker of modern India, and as the intrepid and farseeing pioneer in the building of a bridge of understanding between East and West.

Vivekananda, the second Buddha

Like a second Buddha, arising from his meditations at Buddhagaya and proceeding to Varanasi, Swami Vivekananda rose from his meditations at Kanyakumari and reached Madras with the same resolve of *bahujana-hitāya, bahujana-sukhāya* 'for the welfare of the common masses, for the happiness of the common masses.' At Madras, he attracted the attention of a group of brilliant students of its university, who energetically took steps to organize the ways and means of his going to America to represent Hinduism at the proposed world Parliament of Religions at Chicago. With the help of these students, who represented the emerging spirit of young India, and aided by a few of the enlightened native princes, and armed with the blessings of Sarada Devi, the Holy Mother, Swami Vivekananda set sail for the United States of America from Bombay on 31 May 1893.

'Vivekananda was A Condensed India', Says Sister Nivedita

The expanding spirit of India could not have a more worthy or competent emissary to send abroad than Swami Vivekananda. In his awareness and sympathies, he had become, as he said of himself later, a *condensed India*. No nation in world history has ever sent abroad so unique and world-moving a representative as Swami Vivekananda. *The Life of Swami Vivekananda* by his Eastern and Western disciples contains the following passage (p. 285) from a well-known writer, presumably Sister Nivedita, describing how well the Swami had fitted himself for his glorious mission:

"During his travels, by turns he realized the essence of Buddhism and Jainism, the spirit of Rāmānanda and Dayānanda. He had become a profound student of Tulasīdās and Niścaladās. He had learnt all about the saints of Maharashtra and the Āḷvars and Nāyanārs of southern

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India. From the *Paramahaṃsa Parivrājakācārya* to the poor *Bhaṅgi Mehtar* disciple of Lālguru, he had learnt not only their hopes and ideals, but their memories as well. To his clear vision the Moghul supremacy was but an interregnum in the continuity of Indian national life. Akbar was Hindu in breadth of vision and boldness of synthesis. Was not the Tāj, to his mind, a Śakuntalā in marble? 'The songs of Guru Nānak alternated with those of Mīrābāī and Tānsen on his lips. The stories of Prithvi Rāj and Delhi jostled against those of Chitore and Pratap Singh, Śiva and Umā, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, Sītā-Rāma, and Buddha. Each mighty drama lived in a marvellous actuality, when he was the player. His whole heart and soul was the burning epic of the country, touched to an overflow of mystic passion by her very name.' He held in his hands all that was fundamental, organic, vital; he knew the secret springs of life. There was a fire in his breast, which entered into him with the comprehension of essential truths, the result of spiritual illumination. His great mind saw a connection where others saw only isolated facts; his mind pierced the soul of things and presented facts in their real order. His was a universal mind, with a perfect practical culture. What better equipment could one have who was to represent before the Parliament of Religions India in its entirety—Vedic and Vedāntic, Buddhistic and Jain, Śaivic and Vaiṣṇavic, and even Mohammedan? Who else could be better fitted for this task than this disciple of one who was in himself a Parliament of Religions in a true sense?'

Vivekananda was the First Great Emissary to the West

Vivekananda as the first great Emissary to the West of an expansive modern India discloses a significant characteristic of the Indian tradition, and of the Indian political state as well. One of the favourite utterances of Vivekananda was: *All expansion is life, all contraction is death.* He saw the past few centuries of Indian history as a period of steady contraction; it was a grim struggle for national survival against overwhelming external polictial and cultural forces; it was steadily putting out the nation's creative fires. When the national life had thus reached its lowest ebb in the eighteenth century, there came the political and cultural domination of the dynamic West through the British subjection. But this final act in the tragic drama of national contraction did not lead, as was expected by many western people, and even by some Indians themselves, at the time, to the final death of the hoary Indian tradition; on the contrary, the shock of the new conquest and subjection helped only to stir up and inflame the unsuspected energy reserves of the tradition and turn its course from contraction and death to expansion and life in the next century. And India's long historical conditioning produced leaders of the stature and quality of a Ramakrishna and a Vivekananda, both as products of this modern national life-expansion and as its harnessers and harvesters, as its leaders and guides.

'This Nation must Expand'

Welcoming this spirit of expansion of modern India, of which he was himself the spearhead, Swami Vivekananda said on his return from the West in 1897:

"The first manifest effect of life is expansion. You must expand if you want to live. The moment you have ceased to expand, death is upon you, danger is ahead. I went to America and Europe, to which you so kindly allude; I had to, because that is the first sign of revival of national life, expansion. This reviving national life, expanding inside, threw me off, and thousands will be thrown off in that way. Mark my words, it has got to come if this nation lives at all. This question, therefore, is the greatest of the signs of the revival of national life, and through this expansion our quota of offering to the general mass of human knowledge, our

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contribution to the general upheaval of the world, is going out to the external world."[9]

National expansion is a phrase with frightful associations in the modern age. When the national life of a country expands, its energies spill over its own boundaries and adversely affect other countries far and near, politically, militarily, or commercially. While it undoubtedly ignites the creative fires within its own boundaries, it often spells disaster and despair, shock and shame, to other countries. This is the nature of all national expansions of a *political* kind. The expansion of Britain, for example, from the sixteenth century onwards found expression not only in creative thought and achievements in science, politics, industry, and social thought within Britain, but also spilled over as colonialism and imperialism, conquest and war, affecting the lives of other peoples outside. This is true of all Greeco-Roman and modern western nations in general, as it is true also of Japan and China in Asia. National expansions in all these cases have affected, and still affect, other nations politically and militarily in varying degrees.

His Concept of expansion was Ideological

India is the only country in the world whose periodic expansions have not affected other nations militarily or politically. This is because her expansions have not been of the *political* type, but have been of a uniquely *cultural* or ideological type. In her long history of over five thousand years when, often, she had thrown up mighty empires with impressive military strength, she has never practised military aggression on countries outside her borders, has never tried to influence the course of the lives of other nations *politically*. The philosophic and spiritual conditioning of her culture and outlook has precluded the possibility of her throwing a military or political challenge to other nations, even if she has developed political and military strength within her own borders. And yet, she has often experienced national expansions which have influenced other nations in the *non-political* fields. These expansions are of the *cultural* type, entirely non-political and therefore non-violent, being guided by her philosophic and spiritual vision of unity and universality.

The long history of India has shown that peaceful cultural expansions can be more dynamic and enduring than aggressive political or military ones. The history of the world demonstrates through India's long history that the world in the end belongs to the unworldly, and that the meek shall inherit the earth.

India kept the Torch of Spiritual Superiority Burning even during the British Raj

It is no wonder, therefore, that in the light of this historical experience and conditioning, the expansion of modern India in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has entirely been of the *cultural* and not of the *political* type. The great leaders of her modern renaissance, including the ones who worked in the political fields, were cultural leaders, whose national vision ever strove to reach out to the international and human. They never strove to take India on the road of political aggression and expansionism. Ram Mohan and Ramakrishna, Vivekananda and Tagore were leaders of universal vision and sympathies. They spoke the authentic voice of India in the fields of philosophy and religion, or culture and international life; even the politics which some of them handled, namely, that of Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, were powerfully influenced by the traditional national vision, and bore the stamp of universality and humanism. *Through them India seeks to demonstrate to the world that to be strong need not mean to be fearful, to be peaceful need not mean to be weak, but that stength and peacefulness can co-exist as much in a nation as in a person.*

This explains the fact that, even when she was a victim of British subjection, even when

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she was politically immobilized by foreign overlordship, India could still develop her national energies of culture and spirituality in the nineteenth century, and burst upon the international scene with a dynamic force, unique in world history, through an outstanding personality such as Swami Vivekananda, initiating thereby a new era of dynamic expansion of the *cultural* type, entirely positive, peaceful, and friendly characteristic of her national genius.

India did not exert any Political Pressure

It is also significant that, even after the attainment of political freedom in 1947, and the establishment of a sovereign democratic republican state, deriving its strength from a population constituting a sixth of the human race, in 1950, India exerts no influence of a *political* kind on the rest of the world, not even on her neighbour and sister state, namely, Pakistan, does not strive to thrust her own political ideology to influence, by force or even silently, the political life in other countries. *On the other hand, in the political field, she is at the receiving end.* She has been constantly under pressure of political ideologies emanating, first from Britain and France, then U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., and now Communist China. And she is trying to handle these foreign influences in the light of her own vision and need. *If political influence had been India's field of action, she should have exerted her influence on the political fortunes of these and other nations. But she has not done any such thing.* The only political influence that modern India exerts on the contemporary world is the singularly non-political force emanating from Mahatma Gandhi's vision and technique of *satyagraha,* the method of non-violent resistance to evil. The late Bertrand Russell used this technique in England in 1950 to try to force her to go in for nuclear disarmament. An influential section of Negroes in U.S.A. adopted and still adopts this method for securing civil rights. The latest example of a successfully concluded *satyagraha* campaign in U.S.A. is the struggle of the grape-pickers in Southern California under its leader, Mr. Cesar Chavez, who has a photo of Mahatma Gandhi hanging from the wall of his office.

India's expansion, therefore, is ideological and not physical; it is philosophical and spiritual and not political and military. This has been imprinted upon India by her own philosophical and cultural development and, more especially, by the powerful example of Emperor Aśoka who had, in the third century before Christ, proclaimed through his edicts and glowing example the Indian national policy of 'silencing the war drums' of hate and aggression in international relations and sounding the 'drums of *dharma*', proclaiming the soothing message of co-existence, friendship, and peace.

Vivekananda goes to America

Swami Vivekananda was to warn his countrymen later on: "India is immortal if she persists in her search for God; but if she gives it up and takes to politics and social conflicts, she will die."

When we speak of Swami Vivekananda going forth as India's Emissary to the West, we have to keep in view the above significant factors, which had two important bearings on his Mission; first, he was not being sent abroad by a free political Indian State; for India was then lying under the heavy weight of British political subjection. Second, he was not being sent abroad by a central Indian religious authority or church; for, the Indian spiritual tradition, with its emphasis on freedom to experiment and experience, did not permit the development of an all-powerful church or an authoritarian central creed, finished and final. This latter phenomenon was to cause serious difficulties for Swami Vivekananda to gain admission as a

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delegate to the Chicago Parliament of Religions, and which he was to overcome by the compelling force of his personality. He was sent abroad by the *expanding spiritual consciousness of India* in its wholeness, through the instrumentality of a group of nationally sensitive Indian people. He had told his devoted disciple, Alasinga Perumal, who was the head of the group of youths in Madras constituting a committee to raise subscriptions for the Swami's voyage to the West : "If it is the Mother's will that I go, then let me receive the money from the people. Because it is for the people of India that I am going to the West—for the people and the poor".

Swami Vivekananda left Bombay by steamer on 31 May 1893 and, passing through Colombo, Penang, Singapore, Hongkong, Canton, Nagasaki, Kobe, Osaka, Kyoto, Tokyo, and Yokohama, he landed at Vancouver and thence reached Chicago by train by the middle of July 1893. From then on up to his first speech at the Parliament of Religions at Chicago on 11 September 1893, he had to face many hardships and sharp moments of despair. Referring to the initial difficulties which this Emissary of India had to face, *The Life of Swami Vivekananda,* by His Eastern Disciples, says (p. 292) :

"Burdened with unaccustomed possessions, not knowing where to go, conspicuous because of his strange attire, annoyed by the lads who ran after him in amusement, weary and confused by the exorbitant charges of the porters, bewildered by the crowds, chiefly visitors to and from the World's Fair, he sought a hotel. When the porters had brought his luggage and he was at last alone and free from interruptions, he sat down amidst his trunks and satchels and tried to calm his mind."

His Initial Difficulties

More difficulties and disappointments lay ahead. The rudest shock came when he learnt from the Parliament's Information Bureau that the sessions were to commence only in September, that none could be admitted as a delegate without proper credentials from some organization in India, and that even the time for such admission had gone by. Nothing illustrates the unorganizedness of Hinduism better than the manner of this going forth of Vivekananda. He wondered why he had been so foolish as to have listened to those sentimental school boys of Madras, who were ignorant of the necessary steps to be taken in order to become a delegate. In the words of Sister Nivedita :[10]

"To their unbounded faith it never occurred that they (the disciples) were demanding what was, humanly speaking, impossible. They thought that Vivekananda had only to appear and he would be given his chance. The Swami himself was as simple in the ways of the world as these his disciples; and when he was once sure that he was divinely called to make the attempt, he could see no difficulties in the way. Nothing could have been more typical of the unorganizedness of Hinduism itself than this going forth of its representative unannounced, and without formal credentials, to enter the strongly-guarded doors of the world's wealth and power."

Added to this desperate situation was the other worry of a lean purse. But in spite of all these trials and hardships, he was determined not to give up, but to make every attempt to succeed in America; if he failed there, he would try in England, and if he failed there too, he would go back to India and wait for further commands from on High.

Prof. Wright played greatest Tributes to the Learning of Vivekananda

In order to save money, he decided to move to the less costly city of Boston. In the train to Boston, he struck friendship with a fellow passenger, Miss Kate Sanborn who, deeply struck by his personality, invited him to be her guest. He consented and became her guest at her beautiful house called 'Breezy Meadows' in Metcalf, Massachusetts. By this arrangement the host had the advantage of showing her friends a curio from India and the guest had the advantage of saving his lean purse, though he had to experience hooting in the streets on account of his foreign dress and to answer queer and annoying questions from visitors. He was invited to address a large local women's club. The lecture was a success. Slowly some persons became interested in him and his work. Miss Sanborn introduced him to Dr. J.H. Wright, Professor of Greek at the Harvard University. Professor Wright was immediately struck by the genius of this young Hindu after a four-hour conversation and insisted that he should represent Hinduism at the Parliament of Religions, adding that that was the only way he could be introduced to the nation at large. When the Swami told him that he carried no credentials as was required to be a delegate, Prof. Wright made a remark which has become famous : "To ask you, Swami, for your credentials is like asking the sun to state its right to shine." Prof. Wright did not just utter flattering words, but immediately wrote a letter introducing the Swami to the Chairman of the Parliament Committee on the selection of delegates stating, "Here is a man who is more learned than all our learned professors put together." He also kindly presented the Swami with a rail ticket to Chicago and also letters of introduction to the Committee which had charge of housing and providing for Oriental delegates.

The Swami rejoiced at this literal manifestation of Divine Grace; he felt that the mission for which he left India was going to be fulfilled. Alighting at the Chicago railway station he found, to his dismay, that he had lost the address of the President of the Parliament of Religions. He tried to seek guidance from passers by, but could not make them understand, it being the German quarter of the city. At length, he lay down to sleep in a huge empty box in the railroad freightyard, and trusting to the guidance of the Divine, he soon freed himself of all anxieties and fell asleep. On the morrow he was to shake America with his brief address at the Parliament of Religions! But now, as the Lord had willed, he should lie like an unknown and despised outcast, or more truly speaking, like a wandering monk in his own land, sleeping where the evening found him.

Mrs. Hale, the Angel who protected the Swami

Morning came; he moved out and soon found himself on the Lake Shore Drive of the city where millionaires and merchant princes dwelt. Being extremely hungry, he commenced begging from house to house, asking for food and to be directed to the quarters of the Parliament Committee. Because of soiled dress and travel-worn appearance, he was rudely treated at some houses and insulted by servants in others. At length, exhausted, he sat down quietly on the roadside resigned to the will of God. Presently, the door of a fashionable residence opposite opened and a woman of regal bearing came out and approached him; she asked him tenderly in accents of high refinement, "Sir, you seem to be in some trouble; are you a delegate to the Parliament of Religions? Can I be of any help to you?" The Swami told her his difficulties. She immediately took him to her house and, after bath and breakfast, conducted him to the offices of the Parliament and had him admitted as a delegate on the strength of the letter of introduction.

The woman who became the ministering angel to Swami Vivekananda at that critical hour was Mrs. W. Hale; she and her husband and children, the Hale family, became his warmest friends, and their house became his permanent home in Chicago.

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To the Parliament of Religions

The holding of the Parliament of Religions, as part of the Columbian Exposition, was one of the greatest events in the history of the world, an important milestone in the history of inter-religious relationships. It also marked a new era in the millennial history of Hinduism. Its full significance will be unveiled only with the lapse of time. Delegates representing diverse forms of organized religious belief came from different parts of the world. It helped to unify the religious vision of humanity, to broaden the outlook of religions, and to initiate an era of dialogue among them, which had largely functioned till then in isolation or at cross purposes. And it did something more; it made the West conscious of the rich spiritual heritage of the East, particularly of India. In the words of the Hon. Mervin-Marie Snell, President of the Scientific Section of the Parliament :[11]

"One of its chief advantages has been in the great lesson which it has taught the Christian World, especially to the people of the United States, namely, that there are other religions more venerable than Christianity which surpass it in philosophical depth, in spiritual intensity, in independent vigour of thought, and in breadth and sincerity of human sympathy, while not yielding to it a single hair's breadth in ethical beauty and efficiency. Eight great non-Christian religious groups were represented in its deliberations—Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Judaism, Confucianism, Shintoism, Mohammedanism, and Mazdaism."

The Parliament was a great concourse of some of the most distinguished personages of the world; a great mass of humanity, varying from seven to ten thousand in number, attended its sessions; it included many of the great philosophers of the world. More than one thousand papers were read by the different delegates. There were several sections, including a scientific section.

A noted American writer, referring to the Parliament and Swami Vivekananda, says :[12] (Quoted in *The Life of Swami Vivekananda,* p. 301):

"Prior to the convention of the Parliament of Religions adjunct to the world's Columbian Exposition in 1893, which was convened in Chicago, little was known of Vivekananda in this country. On that auspicious occasion, however, he appeared in all his magnificent grandeur. It was on Monday, September 11th, at 10 a.m., when the opening address was delivered at the Art Institute, Chicago, by Dr. Barrows, from whence the following few words : "Since faith in a Divine Power, to whom men believe they owe service and worship, has been like the sun, a life-giving and fructifying potency in man's intellectual and moral development; since religion lies back of Hindu literature with its marvellous and mystic developments, . . . it did not appear that religion, any more than education, art, or electricity, should be excluded from the Columbian Exposition.

"On that memorable Monday morning, there sat upon the platform of the great Hall of Columbus representatives of the religious hopes and beliefs of twelve hundred millions of the human race. It was indeed impressive. In the centre sat Cardinal Gibbons, highest prelate of the Roman Catholic Church on the Western Continent. He was seated upon a Chair of State and opened the meeting with prayer. On the right and left of him were gathered the oriental delegates, whose brilliant attire vied with his own scarlet robes in brilliancy. Conspicuous among the followers of Brahma, Buddha, and Mohammad was an eloquent monk from India, Vivekananda by name. He was clad in gorgeous red apparel and wore a large yellow turban, his remarkably fine features and bronze complexion standing out prominently in the great throng. Beside him sat Nagarkar of the Brahmo Samaj, representative of the Hindu Theists; next was Dharmapala, Ceylon's Buddhist representative; next came Mazoomdar, leader of the Theists in India. Amongst the world's choicest divines, these and many more, whose names would be more or less familiar, must be left out for want of space. This will suffice to show the setting with which our subject was surrounded. 'In contact with the learned minds of India we have inspired a new reverence for the Orient.' In numerical order, Vivekananda's position was number thirty-one."

The First Golden Words in his Address

On the opening day, the Chairman had called Swami Vivekananda several times to speak but he had said, 'No, not now', until the Chairman was puzzled and wondered if he would speak at all. At length in the late afternoon, when the Chairman insisted, the Swami rose and surveyed in a sweep the large assembly before him. The whole audience grew intent; there was pin-drop silence. Bowing to Devī Sarasvatī, the Goddess of knowledge, he addressed his audience as 'Sisters and Brothers of America'. Before he could utter another word, the whole Parliament was caught up in a great wave of enthusiasm and hundreds rose to their feet with shouts of applause. There was cheering, cheering, cheering for full two minutes! The Swami was bewildered.

The Memorable Speech

When silence was restored, the Swami continued his speech, replying to the words of welcome, by thanking the youngest of nations, namely, America, in the name of the most ancient Order of monks in the world, namely, the Vedic Order of Sanyāsins. He introduced Hinduism as the 'Mother of Religions', which has taught the world both tolerance and universal acceptance. He illustrated this by referring to the welcome and protection accorded by the Hindus to the Jewish refugees in the first century A.D. and the Zoroastrian refugees in the eight century A.D. And he ended by quoting two illustrative passages from the Hindu-Scriptures : 'As the different streams, having their sources in different places, all mingle their water in the sea, so, O Lord, the different paths which men take, through different tendencies, various though they may appear, crooked or straight, all lead to Thee!' 'Whosoever comes to Me, through whatsoever form, I reach him; all men are struggling through paths which in the end lead to Me!'

It was a brief but intense speech. Its spirit of universality, earnestness, and breadth of outlook completely captivated the whole assembly. He cast off the formalism of the Parliament and spoke to the people in the language of the heart. The phrase of five words which he initially uttered : *Sisters and Brothers of America,* was a tongue of flame which set aflame the hearts of his listeners. Each orator had spoken of *his* God, of the God of *his sect.* He alone spoke *on behalf of all their Gods, and embraced them all in the Universal Being*. It was the spirit of Sri Ramakrishna breaking down the barriers between religions through the voice of his great disciple.

The Parliament gave him a tremendous ovation that afternoon, and the American nation, informed by the streamer headlines of the newspapers of his contribution at the Parliament, gave him its silent ovation the next morning.

Swamiji's later Discourses

During the ensuing sessions he spoke on *Why We Disagree* on 15 September, when he denounced the insularity of religions and narrated the illustrative parable of the 'Frog in the well', read his celebrated paper on *Hinduism* on 19 September, followed by a talk on *Religion*

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Not the Crying Need of India on 20 September, when he exhorted the Christian nations not to waste their resources on saving the *souls* of the heathens but to concentrate on saving their hungry *bodies*, on *Orthodox Hinduism and the Vedānta Philosophy* and *The Modern Religions of India* on 23 September, on *The Essence of the Hindu Religion* on 25 September, on *Buddhism: The Fulfilment of Hinduism* on 26 September, and gave his *Address at the Final Session* on 27 September. He also addressed the Scientific section and gave four other lectures.

Sister Nivedita catches the Spirit of Swamiji's Addresses

His paper on *Hinduism* is the outstanding definition of the complex Hindu religion in all its comprehensiveness. The central import of this address is described with great insight by Sister Nivedita in her 'Introduction' to volume one of *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*:

"Of the Swami's address before the Parliament of Religions, it may be said that when he began to speak, it was the religious ideas of the Hindus; but when he ended, Hinduism had been created ...

"For it was no experience of his own that rose to the lips of Swami Vivekananda there. He did not even take advantage of the occasion to tell the story of his Master. Instead of either of these, it was the religious consciousness of India that spoke through him, the message of his whole people, as determined by their whole past. And as he spoke, in the youth and noonday of the West, a nation, sleeping in the shadows of the darkened half of the earth, on the far side of the Pacific, waited in spirit for the words that would be borne on the dawn that was travelling towards them, to reveal to them the secret of their own greatness and strength.

'Man Does Not Travel From Error To Truth But Climbs Up From Lower Truth To Higher Truth'

"Others stood beside Swami Vivekananda, on the same platform as he, as apostles of particular creeds and churches. But it was his glory that he came to preach a religion to which each of these was, in his own words, 'only a travelling, a coming up, of different men and women, through various conditions and circumstances, to the same goal.' He stood there, as he declared, to tell of one (Śrī Kṛṣṇa) who had said of them all, not that one or another was true, in this or that respect or for this or that reason, but that 'All these are threaded upon Me as pearls upon a string. Wherever thou seest extraordinary holiness and extraordinary power raising and purifying humanity, know thou that I am there.' To the Hindu, says Vivekananda, 'Man is not travelling from error to truth, but climbing up from truth to truth, from truth that is lower to truth that is higher.' This, and the teaching of *mukti*—the doctrine that 'Man is to *become* divine by *realizing* the Divine.', that religion is perfected in us only when it has led us to 'Him who is the constant basis of an ever-changing world, that One who is the only soul, of which all souls are but delusive manifestations'—may be taken as the two great outstanding truths which, authenticated by the longest and most complex experience in human history, India proclaimed through him to the modern world of the West.

"For India herself, the short address forms, as has been said, a brief Charter of Enfranchisement. Hinduism in its wholeness, the speaker bases on the Vedas, but he spiritualizes our conception of the word, even while he utters it. To him, all that is true is Veda. 'By the Vedas', he says, 'no books are meant. They mean the accumulated treasury of spiritual laws discovered by different persons in different times.' Incidentally, he discloses his conception of the *Sanātana Dharma*. ... To his mind, there could be no sect, no school, no sincere religious experience of the Indian people—however like an aberration it might seem to the individual—that might rightly be excluded from the embrace of Hinduism. And of this Indian Mother-Church, according to him, the distinctive doctrine is that of the *Iṣṭa-Devatā,* the right of each soul to choose its own path and to seek God in its own way . . .

"Yet would not this inclusion of all, this freedom of each, be the glory of Hinduism that it is, were it not for her supreme call, of sweetest promise, 'Hear, ye children of immortal bliss! Even ye that dwell in higher spheres! For I have found that Ancient One who is beyond all darkness, all delusion. And knowing Him, ye also shall be saved from death!' Here is the word for the sake of which all the rest exists and has existed. Here is the crowning realization into which all others are resolvable."

In conclusion, he presented his idea of a universal religion without temporal, spatial, or sectarian bounds, and declared : "Offer such a religion and all the nations will follow you. Aśoka's council was a council of the Buddhist faith. Akbar's, though more to the purpose, was only a parlour-meeting. It was reserved for America to proclaim to all quarters of the globe that the Lord is in every religion.

"May He who is the Brahman of the Hindus, the Ahura Mazda of the Zoroastrians, the Buddha of the Buddhists, the Jehovah of the Jews, the Father in Heaven of the Christians, give strength to you to carry out your noble idea. The star arose in the East, it travelled steadily towards the West, sometimes dimmed and sometimes effulgent, till it made a circuit of the world; and now it is again rising on the very horizon of the East, the borders of the Sanpo, a thousandfold more effulgent than it ever was before.

"Hail Columbia, motherland of liberty. It has been given to thee, who never dipped her hand in her neighbour's blood, who never found out that the shortest way of becoming rich was by robbing one's neighbours, it has been given to thee to march in the vanguard of civilization with the flag of harmony."

And in his *Address at the Final Session,* the Swami rose to luminious heights and, highlighting the achievements of the Parliament, uttered these prophetic words of hope :

"If the Parliament of Religions has shown anything to the world it is this : It has proved to the world that holiness, purity, and charity are not the exclusive possessions of any church in the world and that every system has produced men and women of the most exalted character. In the face of this evidence, if anybody dreams of the exclusive survival of his own religion and the destruction of the others, I pity him from the bottom of my heart, and point out to him that upon the banner of every religion will soon by written, in spite of his resistance : "Help and not Fight", "Assimilation and not destruction", "Harmony and Peace and not Dissension"."

"His words are great music", says Romain Rolland about Vivekananda's utterances.[13] Vivekananda set to music the tune that was haunting the hearts of millions in the modern world—the tune of unity and harmony, of love and peace, the tune of the divine in the heart of man.

Swamiji stood for the Unity of East and West

With his appearance in the Parliament, the unknown monk blossomed into a world-figure, the obscure wandering monk of India became the prophet of harmony and peace and of East-West unity. His name resounded on all sides. His life-size pictures were seen posted up in the streets of Chicago with the words 'The Monk Vivekananda' beneath them, with passers-by doing reverence with bowed head. The press extolled him as a Prophet and Seer. *The New York Herald* spoke of him in these words :

"He is undoubtedly the greatest figure in the Parliament of Religions. After hearing him, we feel how foolish it is to send missionaries to this learned nation!"

The Boston Evening Transcript wrote of him : "He is a great favourite at the Parliament from the grandeur of his sentiments and his appearance as well. If he merely crossed the platform he is applauded; and this marked approval of thousands he accepts in a child-like spirit of gratification without a trace of conceit. ... At the Parliament of Religions, they used to keep Vivekananda until the end of the programme to make people stay till the end of the session. On a warm day, when a prosy speaker talked too long and people began going home by hundreds, the Chairman would get up and announce that Swami Vivekananda would give a short address just before the benediction. Then he would have the peacable hundreds perfectly in tether. The four thousand fanning people in the Hall of Columbus would sit smiling and expectant, waiting for an hour or two of other men's speeches, to listen to Vivekananda for fifteen minutes. The Chairman knew the old rule of keeping the best until the last."

The Review of Reviews described his address as 'noble and sublime'. Among personal appreciations, the one by the Hon. Merwin-Marie Snell is specially noteworthy :[14] "No religious body made so profound an impression upon the Parliament and the American people at large as did Hinduism ... And by far the most important and typical representative of Hinduism was Swami Vivekananda who, in fact, was beyond question the most popular and influential man in the Parliament. He frequently spoke, both on the floor of the Parliament itself and at the meeting of the Scientific Section, over which I had the honour to preside, and on all occasions he was received with greater enthusiasm than any other speaker, Christian or Pagan. The people thronged about him wherever he went and hung with eagerness on his every word. ... The most rigid of orthodox Christians say of him, "He is indeed a prince among men".'

Vivekananda had often to deal with religious bigotry or wilful misrepresentations of India. An incident that occured in the Parliament, as told in the second volume of the *Historians' History of the World* (pp. 547–48) by *The Times*, is illustrative of the boldness and self-confidence of this great Emissary of India :[15]

"A striking illustration of what in another case would be termed insularity of outlook was brought to view by a noted Hindu when addressing a vast audience at the World's Congress of Religions in America, in the city of Chicago, in 1893. Pausing in the midst of his discourse, the speaker asked that every member of the audience who had read the sacred books of the Hindus, and who, therefore, had first-hand knowledge of their religion, would raise his hand. Only three or four hands were raised, though the audience represented, presumably, the leading theologians of many lands. Glancing benignly over the assembly, the Hindu raised himself to his full height, and in a voice every accent of which must have smitten the audience as a rebuke, pronounced these simple words, "And yet you dare to judge us."

Throughout his life he kept Weeping for the Poverty of his People

Though he was acclaimed by press and people, and though the mansions of some of the wealthiest of Chicago society were open to him, his heart bled for the poor of his distant land. On the very day of his triumph, he was the guest of a wealthy Chicago citizen. In the princely room allotted to him, he could not sleep at night when he thought of the terrible contrast of the opulence of America and the poverty of his own people. His bed of down seemed to him a bed of thorns. His pillow was wet with his tears. He gazed in sorrow through the window into darkness outside. Overcome with emotion, he fell to the ground crying out, 'O Mother, what do I care for name and fame when my motherland remains sunk in utmost poverty! To what a sad pass have we poor Indians come when millions of us die for want of a handful of rice, and here they spend millions of rupees upon their personal comfort! Who will raise the masses in India? Who will give them bread? Show me, O Mother, how I can help them.'

Surely was he the Emissary of India, of the *people* of India, whose weal and woe was uppermost in his mind even when lionized by the most affluent on earth!

He Wanted the West to Help India in her Material Redemption

He intended his work in America to have a twofold effect, namely, educating the American nation in the rational and universal spiritual message of India's Vedānta and eliciting its sympathy and help and its scientific know-how for the material redemption of India.

The Price for this help was always Paid by him in terms of Food for Spiritual hunger

America at the time of Vivekananda's visit was celebrating, through the Columbian Exposition, her great achievements in science and technology, industry and social progress. Side by side, America had been experiencing a spiritual hunger which industry and wealth could not extinguish. Religion has been one of the prominent urges of America from the time of its founding fathers, along with the spirit of liberty and human dignity. The American constitution made the State secular, separating the Church from the State. American religion centred in the churches was riddled with bigotry and intolerance, sectarianism and denominational exclusiveness. This was in contrast to the liberty and tolerance of its political state. Apart from the denominational religions, the State had cultivated, from President Washington in 1776 onwards to President Nixon in our time, what American historians call 'a civil religion' of its own, but without any mystical elements. It was the religion that the American Presidents and other high state dignitaries invoked on state occasions with a general commitment to God, but not any denominational God not even the Christian God. The universality and tolerance of this civil religion, which embraced all Christian and non-Christian denominations within the vast United States of America, stood in sharp contrast to the exclusiveness and intolerance of its several denominational churches.

The progress of science and rationalism in the nineteenth century steadily undermined the foundations of all Christian denominations. Humanism, which rationalism offered as a substitute, could not, however, quench man's spiritual thirst. In the third decade of the nineteenth century, America threw up several religious movements which, while tending to uphold reason, sought to fulfil also man's hunger for spiritual *experience*. Christian Science, New Thought, and a few decades later, Theosophy, were such movements which drew to themselves the more vigorous 'dropouts' from the denominational churches. They were, however, largely pseudo-science and pseudo-Christianity. They had been influenced in varying degrees by Indian thought which had started percolating to the West through translations of the Hindu sacred books by the orientalist scholars. The American spirit was thus getting impregnated by the infiltration of Hindu thought. This process became intensified when the three American stalwarts emerged on the scene, namely, Emerson, Thoreau, and Walt Whitman. From 1830 onwards, references to Hindu religious texts began to appear in Emersons' *Journal*. Thoreau's work *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* is an enthusiastic eulogy of the *Gīta* and some of the great poems and philosophies of India. He took for his motto *Ex Oriente Lux*—'Light from the East'. Walt Whitman, who died only a year before Vivekananda's arrival in America, had expressed Vedāntic ideas and sentiments in his books, especially in his *Leaves of Grass*. His book, *Passage of India*, bears a highly symbolic title. His '*A Backward Glance*

O'er Travel'd Roads' contains his admission of Hindu influence on him.

These various spiritual influences, fermenting and working for half a century, added to the rational spirit engendered by the contemporary scientific revolution, predisposed the American spirit to Vedānta. When Vivekananda stood before the Parliament of Religions on its opening afternoon, the moment was ripe with this potentiality. There was discernible expectation of a *message* and not mere oratory. In the words of Sister Nivedita in her penetrating 'Introduction' to Vivekananda's *Complete Works,* Vol. I :

"The vast audience that faced him represented exclusively the occidental mind, but included some development of all that in this was most distinctive. Every nation in Europe had poured in its human contribution upon America, and notably upon Chicago, where the Parliament was held. Much of the best as well as some of the worst, of modern effort and struggle is at all times to be met with within the frontiers of that Western Civic Queen, whose feet are upon the shores of Lake Michigan, as she sits and broods, with the light of the north in her eyes. There is very little in the modern consciousness, very little inherited from the past of Europe, that does not hold some outpost in the city of Chicago. And while the teeming life and eager interests of that centre may seem to some of us for the present largely a chaos, yet they are undoubtedly making for the revealing of some noble and slow-wrought ideal of human unity, when the days of their ripening shall be fully accomplished.

"Such was the psychological area, such the sea of mind, young, tumultous, overflowing with its own energy and self-assurance, yet inquisitive and alert withal, which confronted Vivekananda when he rose to speak. Behind him lay a world that dated itself from the Vedas and remembered itself in the Upaniṣads, a world to which Buddhism was almost modern; a world that was filled with religious systems of faiths and creeds; a quiet land steeped in the sunlight of the tropics, the dust of whose roads had been trodden of the feet of the saints for ages upon ages. Behind him, in short, lay India, with her thousands of years of national development, in which she had sounded many things, proved many things, and realized almost all, save only her own perfect unanimity, from end to end of her great expanse of time and space, as to certain fundamental and essential truths, held by all her people in common.

"These, then, were the two mind-floods, two immense rivers of thought as it were, Eastern and Modern, of which the yellow-clad wanderer on the platform of the Parliament of Religions formed for a moment the point of confluence. The formulation of the *Common Bases of Hinduism* was the inevitable result of the shock of their contact, in a personality so impersonal".

For three long years Swamiji toured America and gave the True Picture of Hindu Humanism

After this tremendous stir in Chicago, Vivekananda spent three years in America, undertaking whirlwind tours through its cities and towns, lecturing and teaching, correcting false ideas about India sedulously spread by zealous Christian missionaries, and combating bigotry and intolerance of the churches. He also received warm support and encouragement from hundreds of liberal Christians and from several agnostic and rationalistic people of America.

At last the Great Organiser in him established the Vedānta-Society

He soon began to concentrate also on training an intimate band of disciples, who would have a deeper insight into the broad spirituality of Vedānta, and on publishing a few books on important aspects of Vedānta. His young American disciple hailing from Detroit, Miss Christina Greenstidel, was later to go to India to help his mission there as Sister Christine. Important books like *Karma Yoga, Bhakti Yoga,* and *Rāja Yoga* came out in quick succession.

He started the first Vedānta Society in America in New York in 1896, and spoke for the first and only time on his great teacher, Sri Ramakrishna, in New York in his famous lecture on 'My Master'.

His Successes in America echoed in India and the Nation's Pride was aroused

In the meantime, news of his tremendous success in America reached India and roused a wave of national pride and enthusiasm. His fellow disciples in Calcutta remembered Sri Ramakrishna's prophesy that Naren (Vivekananda) would shake the world. And he kept writing a barrage of epistles to his young friends, spiritual brothers, and distinguished personalities in India exhorting them to be up and doing to raise the condition of the common people and the women of India and bridge the gulf between Hindu philosophic vision and Hindu social practice. He guided his disciples and brothers in India to organize themselves for the service of the nation, to start journals, and publish books conveying the message of Practical Vedānta, the message of the new *yugadharma,* all of which were to become galvanized when he would be returning to India in early 1897, to burst upon it like a spiritual avalanche, giving a stirring message of man-making and nation-building to his people, in a series of lectures which now have since been published and comprise the well-known book *Lectures from Colombo to Almora.*

His Visits to England, Germany, Etc., brought him his Distinguished Disciples

He broke his stay in America by a first visit to England from August to December 1895. He again visited England from April to July 1896 and again from October to 16 December 1896, on his way back to India. He delivered several lectures in England, including the famous lectures on *Jñāna Yoga.* He also met distinguished orientalists like Max Müller in England and Paul Deussen in Germany. England gave him three of his greatest disciples, namely, J.J. Goodwin, his devoted stenographer in America, to whom the world owes the preservation of much of Vivekananda's speeches in the West and in India, Miss Margaret Noble, who later came to India to carry on his mission there as Sister Nivedita, and became his best interpreter to the world, especially in her famous book, *The Master As I Saw Him,* and Captain and Mrs. Sevier, who also later accompanied him to India and founded the Advaita Ashrama at Mayavati in the district of Almora in the Himalayas. He met several distinguished thinkers in England and the continent, as also in the United States, where, among others, the philosopher and psychologist William James and electrician Nicolas Tesla showed sympathetic interest in him and in his thought.

Swamiji Revisits America and Europe

Before returning to India at the end of 1896, the Swami had consolidated his American work by getting two of his brother-monks to continue the work in his absence, namely, Swamis Saradananda and Abhedananda. After completing the first stage of consolidation of his work in India from January 1897 to June 1899, the Swami left India in June 1899 on a second tour of America and Europe, when a second Vedānta Society was started in San Francisco and Swami Saradananda, who was recalled to India from America for the Indian work, was replaced by another brother-monk, Swami Turiyananda. In 1900, Swami Vivekananda addressed the Congress of Religions in Paris and travelled through several European countries, before he returned to India towards the end of 1900. And he passed away on 4 July 1902, at the young age of 39 years, 5 months, and 22 days.

Vivekananda's Admiration for the West was for its Science, Technology and Humanism

Swami Vivekananda was a great admirer of the western spirit and achievements. He admired its science, its technology, its industrial efficiency, and its humanism. And he also told his Indian followers that the western connection of India through Britain had helped to break India's ossified and stagnant society and civilization, throwing open the possibility of building up a more dynamic and creative society and civilization in its place in the modern age.[11] But he found the western philosophy of man shallow and harmful, and unfitted to lead man to total fulfilment. Modern western civilization is frankly materialistic and secular. It neither seeks nor derives any inspiration from western religion, which had functioned as its antagonist from the sixteenth century. Its concept of man is merely as a biological organism, seeking organic satisfactions and organic survival. Such a philosophy may be a dynamic progressive force in the short run; but it is fraught with evil in the long run, firstly, because it falls far short of the truth about man as ascertained by a scientific and penetrating study of man in depth such as was undertaken by the Vedānta in India; secondly, because it does not explain ethical or aesthetic phenomena or spiritual experience, which involve a view of man deeper than the ego centred in his organic individuality. Swami Vivekananda foresaw that these severe limitations in its philosophy of man were bound to turn its successes into ashes in its mouth at no distant time. He warned often while he was in the West that the West was sitting on a volcano, and pointed it out in the clearest tones on his return to India. Says he :[17]

He however knew that the Western Civilization will not Survive if it does not provide it The Foundation of Spiritualism

"The whole of western civilization will crumble to pieces in the next fifty years if there is no spiritual foundation. It is hopeless and perfectly useless to attempt to govern mankind with the sword. You will find that the very centres from which such ideas as government by force sprang up are the very centres to degrade and degenerate and crumble to pieces. Europe, the centre of the manifestation of material energy, will crumble into dust within fifty years if she is not mindful to change her position, to shift her ground, and make spirituality the basis of her life. And what will save Europe is the religion of the Upaniṣads."

The Upaniṣads speak of man as essentially divine; and Vivekananda defined religion as the manifestation of this divinity already within man. It was this vision of man that he presented with telling effect, first, during his addresses at the Parliament of Religions, when he had called humanity 'Children of Immortal Bliss', and, next, in his subsequent lectures and discourses, including those on the subject of *Rāja Yoga*, the exposition of which by him, with all its experimental approaches and attractions, is a masterly presentation of India's scientific approach to religion. In the flysheet to the edition of his *Rāja Yoga* is contained his testament, in a brief utterance, of a practical spirituality comprehensive of man's external and internal life, of his search for *abhyudaya* or socio-political welfare in the external field and of his search for *niḥśreyasa* or spiritual emancipation, through moral and spiritual growth, in the inner field, leading to total fulfilment :

"BE FREE", The Great Message of Swamiji

"Each soul is potentially divine. The goal (of life) is to manifest this divine within, by controlling nature external (through physical science, technology, and the socio-political processes), and internal (through the science of religion). Do this either by work, or worship, or psychic control, or philosophy, by one, or more, or all of these—and *Be Free*. This is the whole of religion. Doctrines, or dogmas, or rituals, or books, or temples, or forms, are but secondary details."

The Western World is Torn in Wars and has fallen in Human Values

Since Swami Vivekananda uttered that warning in 1897, the West has experienced two world wars, the second more shattering than the first, with recurring political and economic crises in between. The end of the Second World War found Europe disillusioned and at the end of its tether, but America at the height of its power and glory, with disillusionment two decades away. But the twenty-five years of post-war history of America have only confirmed Vivekananda's diagnosis of modern western man's ailments. Modern man's material affluence stands in sharp contrast to his inner poverty and insufficiency. His puny ego is a fugitive entity ever at the mercy of the pulls of his sensate nature and ever a prey to tensions, leading to increasing ailments, both psycho-somatic and psychic. Western thinkers are becoming more and more alive to this problem. *Modern Man in Search of a Soul* is how the late Zurich psychologist Jung characterized him in his book of that title. Modern man is 'alienated' from his own true self, declare other psychologists. In the meantime the crisis deepens with every passing year; and the younger generation is dazed and bewildered.

Western society wobbles from crisis to crisis with its sex explosions, crime explosions, drug explosions, and other similar distortions of the human psyche. And these ailments of the West tend to affect the whole world. After the First World War and the trade depression that followed in the wake of the Wall Street collapse in America, it used to be said that if America sneezed, Europe caught cold. Today, however, if America sneezes, the whole world is likely to catch cold, and not merely Europe. The spiritual health of a powerful nation like America is necessary for the spiritual well-being of the whole world as much as of America.

While some of the western thinkers are achieving a correct diagnosis of the modern ills on the lines seen by Swami Vivekananda, very few have the insight into the problem to be able to prescribe the correct remedy. In fact, it is generally the case that most of the remedies proposed, and even applied, are worse than the disease. That is because the diagnosis and the remedy are based on the same discredited philosophy of man as merely an organic entity seeking organic satisfactions. The deeper spiritual dimensions of man remain increasingly ill-nourished. As a result, mere pursuit of false values of material success and affluence have begun to repel thousands of the sensitive young minds, as also some thinkers, in Europe and America today. Vedānta and the spiritual core of all religions have always maintained that worldliness is a spiritual disease and that 'living in the world' is not the same as 'being worldly'. While living in the world, man has to strive to achieve awareness of his true spiritual nature. If this is not done, his life becomes a false life and his living in the world becomes his living in worldliness. The so-called 'normal' 'adjusted' life is truly the abnormal and false life. What Vivekananda conveyed as the Vedāntic conviction over seventy years ago is being echoed by some Western thinkers themselves today. Says the English Psychiatrist R.D. Laing in his *The Divided Self* (Preface to Pelican Edition, 1964):

"Thus I would wish to emphasize that our 'normal' 'adjusted' state is too often the abdication of ecstasy, the betrayal of our true potentialities, that many of us are only too successful in acquiring a false self to adjust to false realities."

The West needs the Rational Strength of Vedānta

For want of the guidance of an authentic spiritual tradition, post-war western youth are taking to easy and dangerous ways of achieving this ecstasy and transcendence through drugs and other harmful media. Many turn to India, not to grasp the Vedāntic vision of the divine in the heart of man and to take authentic steps towards its realization, but to search for means to achieve some psychic 'trips', remaining, however, tethered to his organic dimension. The minority of truth-seeking groups among them, however, become drawn to the spiritual beauty and rational strength of Vedānta. In a letter written in 1894 from America about the best gift that India has to give to the waiting world of such seekers, whose number has been steadily on the increase since his time, Swami Vivekananda says :[18]

Vedānta can come only from India

"The whole world requires Light. It is expectant! India alone has that Light, not in magic, nunneries, and charlatanism, but in the teaching of the glories of the spirit of real religion—of the highest spiritual truth. That is why the Lord has preserved the race through all its vicissitudes into the present day. Now the time has come!"

In his illuminating lecture on 'The Mission of the Vedānta' delivered in India in 1897, Vivekananda predicted, on the basis of his mastery of *adhyātmavidyā,* of the science of man in depth, the disillusionment in store for the West :[19]

"There are times in the history of a man's life, nay, in the history of the lives of nations, when a sort of world-weariness becomes painfully predominant. It seems that such a tide of world-weariness has come upon the western world. There, too, they have their thinkers, great men. And they are already finding out that this race after gold and power is vanity of vanities; many, nay, most of the cultured men and women there, are already weary of this competition, this struggle, this brutality of their commercial civilization, and they are looking forward towards something better. There is a class which still clings on to political and social changes as the only panacea for the evils in Europe, but among the great thinkers there, other ideals are growing. They have found out that no amount of political or social manipulation of human conditions can cure the evils of life. It is a change of the soul itself for the better that alone will cure the evils of life. No amount of force, or government, or legislative cruelty will change the conditions of a race, but it is spiritual culture and ethical culture alone that can change wrong racial tendencies for the better. Thus these races of the West are eager for some new thought, for some new philosophy; the religion they have had, Christianity, although good and glorious in many respects, has been imperfectly understood, and is, as understood hitherto, found to be insufficient. The thoughtful men of the West find in our ancient philosophy, especially in the Vedānta, the new impulse of thought they are seeking, the very spiritual food and drink for which they are hungering and thirsting. And it is no wonder that this is so."

The West is responding to the call of the East, especially of India, in a big way today. Vivekananda's message has continued to be spread in the West by the growing Vedānta movement conducted by his Ramakrishna Order, which conducts its work in the West depending entirely on the people of the West for its finances, and never on India. It is also being spread by several Western personalities and groups, students and writers. Max Müller wrote his *Ramakrishna : His Life and Sayings* during Vivekananda's own life time. Western books on Hinduism and Indian culture are a legion. And within twenty-six years of Vivekananda's passing away, there appeared the most remarkable Western response to his and his Master's message in Romain Rolland's *Life of Ramakrishna* and *Life of Vivekananda.*

In his *Life of Vivekananda,* Romain Rolland summons the West to grasp the hand of friendship extended by India through Vivekananda and others (p. 295) :

"And that is where we find the hand of our allies, the thinkers of India, stretched out to meet us : for they have known for centuries past how to entrench themselves in this *Feste Burg* (a stronghold sure) and how to defend it, while we, their brethern of the Great Invasions, have spent our strength in conquering the rest of the world. Let us stop and recover our breath! Let us return to our eagle's nest in the Himalayas ...

"Among the spiritual ruins strewn all over Europe, our "Mother India" will teach you to excavate the unshakable foundations of your Capitole. She possesses the calculations and the plans of the "Master Craftsman". Let us rebuild our house with our own materials."

And Rolland concludes his *Life of Vivekananda* with an invitation to the West (which is what he means when he addresses the Europeans, since he was writing in French) to respond to the message of the East through Vivekananda, the great Emissary of Modern India, the message of the spiritual awakening of modern humanity, for which Vivekananda had sounded his clarion call : "Arise! Awake! and stop not till the goal is reached" (p. 315) :

"The work begun by the two Indian Masters will be carried on resolutely by other workmen of the spirit in other parts of the world. In whatever tunnel a man be digging, he is never out of sound of the sap being dug on the other side of the mountain ...

"My European companions, I have made you listen through the wall, to the blows of the coming one, Asia ... Go to meet her! She is working for us. We are working for her. Europe and Asia are the two halves of the Soul ...

Vivekananda the Latest of Indian Emissaries to Western World

Out of the nine years of his public ministry, from the Parliament of Religions in 1893 up to his death in 1902, he gave over four most intense years to the West. The intensity of his nine years of work in the West and in India, the output of spiritual, intellectual, literary, and organizational work, besides the travelling involved during the period, is unprecedented. As a teacher of modern India and as her cultural and spiritual Emissary to the West, Vivekananda has illumined the horizon of national and international life, which has no parallel in world history. He was a man with a message and he delivered it fearlessly and intensely. He had said of himself : *Buddha had a message to the East*; *and I have a message to the West*. The West will one day learn to feel proud of this Emissary of modern India and learn from him the philosophy of a comprehensive spirituality and of total life-fulfilment and the way to its own redemption from a soul-killing materialism. When that response comes from the West, the tunnel connecting East and West would be complete, and a new culture, neither eastern nor western, but just human, would be evolved, making for the spiritual growth of man everywhere and tending to develop a 'mankind-awareness' in all nations, and marking the fulfilment of the purposes of the advent of Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda in the modern age.

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Swami Vivekananda on Education

T.S. AVINASHILINGAM

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA HAD a message for India and the world. His message to India was meant to introduce life into her people, to give vigour to our national life, to shake our people out of their age-long lethargy and to make them appreciate the great destiny of our land. He was not superficial in the diagnosis of the reasons for her ills, but went into the causes which were eating into her vitals and which led to her downfall.

Swamiji's advice to Students

"You will be nearer heaven through football than through Gītā"

He found that the main reason for her fall was the neglect of the masses. Owing to a thousand years of tyranny by kings, priests and the higher castes, the people had become very weak. First of all was the physical weakness, which the Swami considered was the cause of at least one third of our miseries. The first message, therefore, which Swami Vivekananda gave was to give up this terrible, soul-killing weakness. "Religion will come afterwards", he said, "Be strong my young friends; that is my advice to you. You will be nearer to Heaven through football than through Gītā. You will understand the Gītā better with your biceps, your muscles, a little stronger. You will understand the mighty genius and the mighty strength of Kṛṣṇa better with a little of strong blood in you. You will understand the Upaniṣads better and the glory of the Ātman when your body stands firm upon your feet, and you feel yourselves as men."[1]

Swamiji Stood for a Happy Blending of Science and Religion

He spoke of the urgent need for India to assimiliate the spirit of modern science, develop technical efficiency and practical skills and through these build up a healthy and progressive body-politic. Education according to him should be a blend of Vedānta and modern science. Spirituality, he said, must continue to remain the central theme of Indian life. He found no conflict between material well-being and spiritual welfare, both of which he united into a comprehensive spiritual life. He expounded the scope and contents of this spirituality, welding Vedānta to modern science, in the following well-known testament of faith : "Each soul is potentially divine, having within it all power and perfection".

Born out of this principle of divinity in every individual was his great message of work as worship. At a time, when men avoided society and work in their search for God, and sought the solitude of the caves and the forests, the Swami's message came with significant originality. He said, where are you going to seek God? Is not God present in the living beings around you? God has come in the shape of the poor and the miserable, the sick and the lowly the suffering and the downtrodden. Serve them sincerely and with humility. Work for them, and that will be the real worship of God. His message in the field of education was a unique one—based on the divinity of the human soul. He believed that all souls are potentially divine and education should be the manifestation of the divinity already in man.

The Aims of Education

In his many talks, lectures and letters he has discussed as to what should be the aims of education. While acquisition of knowledge is important, the moulding of our lives on sound lines is the more important purpose of Education. Man has created new horizons for himself through expanding the field of knowledge. Those who have contributed to the widening of this horizon have been men of character and strength, men who could face odds and difficulties and dare dangers and sufferings for the ideal for which they lived. The quintessence of all education should be to make such men. This is what the Swami Vivekananda defined or called, 'Man-making education'. "Education is not the amount of information that is put into your brain and runs riot there, undigested all your life," He said, "We must have life-building, man-making, character-making assimiliation of ideas. "We want that education by which character is formed, strength of mind is increased, the intellect expanded and by which one can stand on one's own feet. What we need is to study the different branches of knowledge; we need technical education and all else that will develop industries, so that men instead of seeking for service may earn enough to provide for themselves and save against a rainy day.

"The end of all education all training, should be man-making. The end and aim of all training is to make the men grow. The training by which the current and expression of will are brought under control and become fruitful, is called education. What our country now wants are muscles of iron and nerves of steel, gigantic will which nothing can resist, which can penetrate into the mysteries and secrets of the universe and will accomplish their purpose in any fashion, even if it meant going down to the bottom of the ocean meeting death face to face"[2].

Man does not consist of muscles alone. There have been and there are even today animals which are stronger and have more physical daring than man. He can never equal the massive physical strength of the elephant or the ferocious courage of the lion. But the reason for man's conquest over nature and the animal kingdom is his tremendous will. Those who have shaped the world have, not only been men with muscles of iron and nerves of steel, but of tremendous will which nothing can resist.

A Positive Approach to Education

In teaching children or in dealing with adults Swami Vivekananda wanted that we should have a positive approach, an approach which is based on the dignity of and faith in, the human personality. He said: "We should give positive ideas. Negative thoughts only weaken men. Do you not find that where parents are constantly taxing their children to read and write, telling them that they will never learn anything and calling them fools and so forth, the latter do actually turn out to be so in many cases? If you speak kind words to them and encourage them they are bound to improve in time. If you can give them positive ideas, people will grow up to be men and learn to stand on their own legs. We must point out not the mistake that people are making in their thoughts and actions but the way in which they will be able to do these things better. The teaching must be modified according to the needs of the taught. Past lives have moulded our tendencies, and so give to the pupil according to his tendencies. Take every one where he stands and push him forward. We have seen how Sri Ramakrishna would encourage even those whom he considered worthless and change the very course of their lives thereby. He never destroyed a single man's special inclinations. He gave words of hope and encouragement even to the most degraded of persons and lifted them up".[3]

Mass Cooperation Hailed

No great work has ever been done by mere individual effort. All achievement, physical or spiritual, has been the result of the cooperation of thousands of people. The great edifices which are standing as monuments of our past culture, such as the grand temple at Madura, are the result of the coordinated effort of thousands of people for many years. Even in modern times our great anicuts, dams, bridges and shipyards, achievements of atomic power, conquest of the air and the moon, and other scientific inventions have for their basis the cooperative endeavour of millions of people of all grades and kinds. In the modern age, ability to organise and work together is absolutely necessary for success. Therefore it is necessary to inclulcate cooperative habits and respect for the human personality in our children.

Teaching through love and encouragement

A positive approach has been found effective also in many social or religious movements. Even good reforms when they are forced upon people do not meet with success. History is full of such examples. Such an undoubtedly good reform as 'Prohibition' has not been effective, because it was forced by law on an unprepared people. On the other hand, speaking about the religious reformers in India, Swami Vivekananda said : "Have you read the history of India, of Rāmānuja, of Śaṅkara, of Dādu, who were all great preachers, one following the other, a galaxy of stars of the first magnitude?Did not Rāmānuja feel for the lower classes? Did he not try to admit even Mohammedans to his own fold? Did not Nanak confer with Hindus and Mohammedans, and try to bring about a new stage of things. Their work is still going on. The difference is this; they had no curses on their lips as modern reformers have; their lips pronounced only blessings. They never condemned. They looked back and they said, 'What you have done is good, but, my brothers, let us do better,' They did not say, 'You have been wicked, now let us be good'. They said, 'You have been good, but let us do better.' That makes a whole world of difference".[4]

In the cultivation of these positive qualities, the cooperation of three agencies play a vital role namely the family, school and the community. In the family, first come the mother and father. The child gets his first ideas and attitudes from them. If both of them stress the same qualities and kinds of behaviour, the child gets the strength to follow them without doubt or confusion.

Fundamental Requisites of A Teacher

The teacher is the pivot on which any educational system revolves. The quality of any educational system depends to a large measure on securing well-educated and well-equipped teachers, steeped in learning, strong in character, high in ideals, and devoted to the spread of knowledge. If ancient India was a great land of pilgrimage and men from far-off countries came here to learn facing tremendous difficulties, it was because there were teachers who regarded the pursuit of knowledge and truth as the greatest thing in their lives. They were eminent not only intellectually but were also spiritual lamps, who lighted the light in other souls.

Swami Vivekananda has described the qualities of a good teacher : "In regard to the teacher, we must see that he knows the spirit of the scriptures. The whole world reads Bibles, Vedas and Korans; but they are all only words, syntax, etymology, philology—the dry bones of religion. The teacher who deals too much in words and allows the mind to be carried away by the force of words loses the spirit. It is the knowledge of the spirit of the scriptures alone that constitutes the true teacher. The second condition necessary for the teacher is sinlessness. The question is often asked, 'Why should we look into the character and personality of a teacher?' This is not right. The *sine qua non* of acquiring truth for one's self, or for imparting it to others, is purity of heart and soul. He must be perfectly pure and then only comes the value of his words. He must be activated by sympathy and affection towards his pupils. The only medium through which spiritual force can be transmitted is love".[5]

Concentration is the only key to aquire Learning

Swami Vivekananda had tremendous faith in the potentialities of man. He believed, even as modern psychologist believes, that man even in his present stage of development has used only part of his powers and there is yet a great deal of power—Śakti-unutilised in his mind and brain; and that concentration is the means by which his greatest powers can be developed. He said : "Ninety per cent of thought force is wasted by the ordinary human being and therefore he is constantly committing blunders. The trained man or mind never makes a mistake. The main difference between men and the animals is the difference in their power of concentration. An animal has very little power of concentration. Those who have trained animals find difficulty in the fact that the animal is constantly forgetting what is told him. He cannot concentrate his mind upon anything for a long time. Herein is the difference between men and the animals—this difference in their power of concentration. This also constitutes the difference between man and man. Compare the lowest with the highest man. The difference is in the degree of concentration.

"All success in any line of work is the result of this. High achievements in arts, music, etc., are the result of concentration. When the mind is concentrated and turned back on itself, all within us will be our servants, not our masters. The Greeks applied their concentration to the external world and the result was perfection in art, literature etc. The Hindu concentrated on the internal world, upon the unseen realms in the self and developed the science of Yoga. The world is ready to give up its secrets if we only know how to knock, how to give the necessary blow. The strength and force of the blow comes through concentration.

"The power of concentration is the only key to the treasure-house of knowledge".[6] In the present state of our body we are much distracted, and the mind is frittering away its energies upon a hundred things. As soon as I try to call on my thoughts and concentrate my mind upon any one subject of knowledge, thousands of undesired impulses rush into the brain, thousands of thoughts rush into the mind and disturb it. How to check it and bring the mind under control is the whole subject of study of Rāja Yoga (Science of Meditation). The Practice of meditation leads to mental concentration.

Two Types of Concentration

There are two types of concentration exemplified in the life of great men all over the world. One is concentration of mind on a certain problem on a subject. Until that problem is solved, the mind is not allowed to wander or rest on any other matter. Such people think of nothing else during that period. For the time being, nothing else matters to them. Days and weeks pass, but they are not conscious of the passing of time, being immersed in the object of their study or investigation. The great scientists and philosphers of the world come under this category. Edison who discovered electric light would shut himself up in his laboratory for days together; would not go to sleep for many nights; and would forget to eat on many occasions. Not only did he not go out, but he did not allow his co-workers also to go out, until the work they had taken up had been completed. One day while Newton, who enunciated the law of gravity was at work, his food was brought and left on the table. A visitor who had come to see him after waiting for a long time became hungry and ate that food. Newton remembered about his food long after the evening and opened the doors. He found the plate empty. He chided himself, thinking that he had eaten and yet forgotten and went back to his work.

To other type of concentration, the greater one, is concentration for a life-time. The great Śaṅkarācārya finished the study of all the then known scriptures at sixteen years of age and set out into the wide world to establish Vedānta. At a time when there was no faster conveyance than one's own feet, and when there were numerous kingdoms and forests abounding in wild animals to cross, he reached the farthest boundaries of India and established his four maths, on the tops of Himalayas (Badrinath) in the North, Sringeri in the South, Dwaraka in the West and Puri in the east. All these he accomplished before he was thirty-two years of age. Buddha was deeply affected by the misery of the people of the world and in the attempt to find the way out, renounced his kingdom, loving wife, child and all that was happy and pleasant, and took upon himself untold austerities. At last when he sat under the bodhi tree in Gaya to concentrate his mind on the supreme, he said to himself: "Let death come immediately or when it likes, let all the miseries or sufferings of the world come upon me, but yet I shall not rise until I get light". It is dedication, fastidiousness and concentration that gave the great power and strength to his message of love and service that even today after two thousand and five hundred years, millions of people draw solace and strength from his words.

Even so was Sri Ramakrishna in the modern age. He came at a time when science had made tremendous discoveries and when people had lost their faith in the life of the spirit. Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Christ lived many thousands of years ago; their life history has been lost in the mist of time. But Sri Ramakrishna belongs to our own age and time. He practised the teachings of all the great prophets of the world and proved through his own life and experience the truth of their teachings and that all of them led to the same goal. In the brief span of fifty years he relieved the spiritual experience of the whole human race and inspired faith in an unbelieving world.

Brahmacarya, The Key for Higher Concentration

While the source of all strength and power is concentration, the path to concentration lies through purity of personal life and love for fellow beings. While purity safeguards dissipation of energy in the physical field, practice of love, affection and kindness safeguards man from emotional dissipation leading to loss of power. Personal purity and emotional balance which will help one to concentrate on his work have been considered the two essential requisite of students, in our ancient culture. Such a one is called a brahmacārī. He is expected to observe the vows of brahmacarya.

"Brahmacarya is chastity in thought, word and deed, always and in all conditions. The chaste brain has tremendous energy and gigantic will power. Without chastity there can be no spiritual strength. Continence gives wonderful control over mankind. The spiritual leaders of men have been very continent and this is what gave them power".[7]

This restraint expected of Brahmacarya is by no means limited to the body. It should be observed in mind, speech and body. As the Gītā has said—One who controls the body, but indulges or harbours sensual feelings mentally is a hypocrite. The body follows the mind and so it is the mind that should be controlled. Therefore Brahmacarya is not merely a restraint over sexual pleasures, but also avoidance of hearing words which incite passion, avoidance of exciting sights and stimulating food etc. A Brahmacārī curbs not only his sex, but also his other senses. Those who aspire to be celebates should renounce the laxities of life and find their enjoyment in its austere rigours. They should remain in the world but not of it. Their food, their work, their hours of business, their recreation, the books they read and their whole outlook in life must therefore be different from the generality of men.

Swamiji Promised the Pristine Glory to India

Preservation of health and vitality is impossible without pure air, clean water and wholesome food. Even more important than those are pure thoughts, mental hygiene as it is called. So vital is the relationship between health and moral living, that one can never be perfectly healthy without leading a clean and pure life. Medical experts tell us that the really healthy people are those who are restrained in their habits. Those who do not follow the healthy restraints are generally sick. Therefore Brahmacarya serves as the basis of a strong and healthy life. Self discipline arising out of Brahmacarya conserves the hidden strength that God has given and transforms it into energy and power, not only for the body but also for the mind and soul. Swami Vivekananda has emphasised that unless one practises absolute continence, he cannot comprehend the subtle truths of spirituality. One who practises continence attains great powers and joy. Such a man is calm and happy. What he touches becomes sacred and where he stands becomes holy ground. Whether in village or forest, in vale or hill, wherever he dwells, delightful indeed is that spot. Swami Vivekananda was positive that India will arise and get back to her pristine glory only if at least a few thousands of men and women take the vow of absolute purity and dedicate themselves to the service of the country.

Religion the Innermost Core of Education

Swami Vivekananda said: "Religion is the innermost core of education". He explains what he meant by religion. "I do not mean my own or any one else's opinion about religion, but the eternal principles. First of all we have to introduce the worship of the great saints. Those great souled ones who have realised the eternal truths are to be followed—Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Mahāvīra, Śrī Ramakrishna and others. Keep aside for the present the Vrindavan aspect of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and spread far and wide, the worship of Śrī Kṛṣṇa roaring out the Gītā with the voice of a lion, and bring into daily use the worship of Śakti—the Divine Mother, the source of all power. We now mostly need the ideal of the hero with the tremendous spirit of *rajas* thrilling through his veins, the hero who will die to know the truth, the hero whose armour is renunciation, whose sword is wisdom. We now want the spirit of the brave warrior in the battlefield".[8]

He wanted the character of Mahāvīra to be our ideal. "At the command of Śrī Rāmacandra he crossed the ocean! He had no care for life or death. He was a perfect master of the senses and wonderfully sagacious. Build your life on this great deal of personal service. Through that ideal, all the other ideals will gradually manifest themselves in life. Obedience to the Guru without questioning and strict observance of Brahmacarya—this is the secret of success. As on the one hand Hanūmān represents the ideal of service, on the other he represents leonine courage, striking the world with awe. He has not the least hesitation in sacrificing his life for the good of Rāma, with a supreme indifference to everything except the service of Rāma. Only the carrying out the Śrī Rāma's behests is the one vow of his life. Such whole hearted devotion is wanted."

Self-Consciousness to be inculcated first

The Swami gave a new definition to religion when he said : "He is the atheist who does not believe in himself. But it is not selfish faith. It is great faith which will make the world better. If faith in ourselves had been more extensively taught and practised, a very large portion of the evils and miseries that we have, would have vanished. Throughout the history of mankind if any motive power has been more potent than any other, in the lives of great men and women, it is the faith in themselves. Born with the consciousness of becoming great, they became great.

Strength, strength is what the Upaniṣads speak from every page. The Upaniṣads are the only literature in the world, where you find the word *Abhīḥ* 'Fearless', used again and again. In no other scripture in the world is this adjective applied either to God or man. In my mind rises from the past the vision of the great emperor of the West, Alexander the Great, and I see as in a picture the great monarch standing on the banks of the Indus, talking to one of our sannyasins in the forest : the old man he was talking, to, perhaps naked, stark naked, sitting upon a block of stone and the Emperor astonished at his wisdom tempting him with gold and honour, to come over to Greece. And this man smiles at his gold and smiles at his temptations, and refuses. And the Emperor standing on his authority as Emperor says 'I will kill you if you do not come' and the man laughs, and says, 'You never told such a falsehood in your life as you tell just now. Who can kill me? For I am spirit unborn and not decaying'.

The Essence of Religion is the Realisation of Higher Life

He pointed out in no uncertain terms that ceremonies and forms are not the essence of religion, but realisation of higher life. He said : "We may study all the books that are in the world, yet we may not understand a word of religion or of God. Temples and Churches, books and forms are simply the kindergarten of religion, to make the spiritual child strong enough to take the higher steps. Religion is not in doctrines or dogmas, nor in intellectual argumentation. It is realisation in our life and experience, if the supreme love, which transcends bodily limitations and becomes identified with all humanity".[9]

Swami Vivekananda in his wandering saw with his own eyes, the misery and poverty of our people and the low level to which they had sunk. His heart bled for them. During his historic meditation on the last rock in the southern tip of India, he felt deeply that the children of ṛṣis and saints should have been reduced to next door neighbours to brutes. He considered the poor and down-trodden as veritable representations of the Divine. He wrote : "My heart aches to think of the condition of the poor, the low in India. They sink lower and lower every day. They feel the blow showered upon them by a cruel society, but they do not know whence the blow comes. They have forgotten that they too are men. My heart is too full to express my feelings. So long as the millions live in hunger and ignorance, I hold every man a traitor having been educated at their expense, pays not the least heed to them. Our great national sin is the neglect of masses and that is the cause of our downfall. No amount of politics would be of any avail until the masses in India are well-educated, well-fed and well-cared for.

"A nation is advanced in proportion to the education and intelligence prevailing among the masses. The chief cause of India's fall has been the monopolising of education and intelligence of the land among a handful of men. If we are to rise again, it can only be through spreading education among the masses. The only service to be done for our lower classes is to give them education to develop their individuality. They are to be given ideas. Their eyes are to be opened to what is going on in the world around them, and they will then work out their own salvation. Every nation, every man and every women must work out their own salvation. Give them ideas—that is the only help they require and then the rest must follow as effect. Ours is to put the chemicals together, the crystallization comes in the law of nature".[10]

The poverty of the people, said the Swami is the root cause of all evils in India. "Suppose you open a free school in every village still it would be no good, for the poverty in India is such that the poor boys would rather go to help their fathers in the fields or otherwise try to make a living than come to the school. If the mountain does not come to Mohammed, Mohammed must go to the mountain. If the poor boy cannot come to school for education, education should go to him. There are thousands of single-minded, self-sacrificing sannyāsis in our country, going from village to village, teaching religion. If some of them can be organised as teachers of secular things also, they will go from place to place, from door to door, not only preaching but teaching also. Suppose two of these men go to a village in the evening with a camera, a globe, some maps etc., they can teach a great deal of astronomy and geography to the ignorant. By telling stories about different nations, they can give the poor a hundred times more information through the ear than they can get in a life-time through books. Kindle their knowledge with the help of modern science. Teach them history, geography, science, literature and along with these the profound truths of religion."

Feel for your People and Work for their Betterment

Swami Vivekananda appealed to the young men and women of India to take up this tremendous task of the uplift of the masses. He considered that three things are necessary for great achievements "First, feel from the heart". He said: "Do you feel? Do you feel that millions and millions of the decendants of Gods and of sages have become next-door neighbours to brutes? Does it make you restless? Does it make you sleepless? Has it gone into your blood, coursing through your veins, becoming consonant with your heart-beats? Are you seized with that one idea and have you forgotten all about your name, your fame, your wives, your children, your poverty, even your own bodies? Have you done that? That is the very first step.

"You may feel then; but instead of spending your energies in frothy talk, have you found any way out, any practical solution, to soothe their miseries, to bring them out of this living death? Yes, that is not all. Have you got the will to surmount mountain high obstructions? If the whole world stands against you sword in hand, would you still dare to do what you think is right? If your wives and children are against you, if all your name dies, your wealth vanishes would you still stick to it? Have you got that steadfastness? If you have these three things, each one of you will work miracles".[11]

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Worship of the God in Man

SWAMI GAMBHIRANANDA

Knowing the Master is Knowing the Disciple

IN THE MODERN age Swami Vivekananda preached the divinity of man, and as a corollary of this truth he insisted on service or better still, worship of the God in man. To understand this idea fully we have to turn back for a while to the life and teachings of his Guru Shri Ramakrishna.

Shri Ramakrishna Identified Himself with Every Living Creature

Shri Ramakrishna, speaking on December 27, 1884 at Dakshineswar to a group of devotees gathered under the huge banyan tree, said, "If God can be worshipped in the image, why should He not be in man? It is but He who is disporting in human form." And he used to say, "Holy men serve all beings knowing that God resides in all." This was no theory, but a realised truth, for Shri Ramakrishna was not a philosopher talking from the intellectual stand point, but a saint who had seen and experienced the Self both on the transcendental and phenomenal planes. Thus when one day two boatmen started quarrelling on the Ganga near his room, before his very eyes, and the quarrel developed into a fight when one slapped the other smartly on the back, Shri Ramakrishna shrieked with pain, as though he himself had been beaten. Soon after, Hridaya, his nephew and attendant came there and seeing red finger marks on his back asked him who had beaten him. Shri Ramakrishna's reply was that none had done so, but that when one of the boatmen beat the other, he felt that he himself had been struck that blow. So real was his self-identity with the suffering man!

The *Ṛgveda* says : *"Puruṣa evedaṃ sarvaṃ yad bhūtaṃ yac ca bhavyam"* "All that there is or will be is but the Supreme Being." The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* says, "Thou art woman, thou man; thou art a young boy and again a young girl; Thou art the old man tottering along with a stick; Thou taketh birth and assumeth all the forms." That idea of the same Spirit pervading the whole universe took concrete shape in Shri Ramakrishna's life. His self-identity did not remain confined to the human world; it spread to mute Nature as well. One day at Cossipore he saw from his sick-bed somebody walking on the lawn and at once asked his attendant to stop that indiscreet jay-walker, for he felt as though the man was treading on his very chest. That was not the reaction of some wealthy man embittered by the trampling of a well-trimmed lawn, but the agony of a saint who visualised God in everything and lived in Him.

Paramahaṁsa Saw Nārāyaṇa in his Disciples

Earlier still he used to be taunted by one Shri Hazra who lived at Dakshineswar and would declare that a paramahaṁsa, an all-renouncing Sanyāsin like him should remain immersed in divine communion and not be so much engrossed in thoughts of Naren, Rakhal and others, who were but young kayastha boys. Naren (Swami Vivekananda) also would remonstrate with him to give up thinking about him. Shri Ramakrishna, simple as he was like a child, would in such cases became very much perplexed and would either talk with others about his problem or would appeal to Mother Kālī for solving it. And the answer he got was that he loved these boys not because they were lovable youngsters, but because he saw Nārāyaṇa in them. Then he would turn to Naren and say, "Mother has assured me that I love you because I see Nārāyaṇa in you. The day I shall cease to do so, I shall not be able so much as to look at your face!" The answer to Hazra was also the same; but once at least it went still further and deeper. Shri Ramakrishna knew Hazra to be an intellectual man in spite of his oddities in spiritual life. So one day while walking northward with his back to the city of Calcutta, he was a little perturbed in mind at the thought that Hazra had criticised him by saying that it was unbecoming of a saint to mix so much with worldly people. Suddenly he turned back and looked at Calcutta when he saw a vision of people grovelling in darkness and misery like worms in some stinking pool, and he said to himself that to remove this suffering he was prepared even to be born again and again.

Human Suffering and Poverty Moved him Most

He was thorough-going in what he believed in and what he felt to be true. His realisation would spill over into action as well. Let us take for instance, the incident at Deoghar (Vaidyanath Dham). With Mathuranath Biswas and others he was on a pilgrimage. As they reached Deoghar, a place famous for its temple of Śiva, about 200 miles North-West of Calcutta, the party came across some very poor villagers in tattered clothes, and with unkempt hair and bodies reduced to skeletons. Shri Ramakrishna was very much touched by their misery and turned to Mathuranath to ask him to feed the people, give them each a piece of new cloth and some oil for their heads. Mathuranath looked at the assembled villagers and said in dismay that the number appeared rather too big for his purse, and if he should have to spend the requisite money on them, hardly anything would be left over for the pilgrimage. But Shri Ramakrishna's heart had been touched and he was not to be denied this favour by financial considerations. He sat among the people declaring that he would not continue his pilgrimage unless the peoples' needs were attended to. It seems rather strange for Shri Ramakrishna to refuse to go to the Śiva temple—Shri Ramakrishna, who in the modern age had ocularly demonstrated that the Hindus are not idolators and had thus saved Hinduism from the ridicule of other faiths! He had talked and played with Mother Kālī, had placed cotton under her nose and watched how it moved with her breath, and he had seen her walking up to the terrace at dead of night with dishevelled hair and stand on the balcony to enjoy the beauty of the Ganga. He had in fact proved that in the earthen image the Hindus veritably worship the Universal Consciousness. And that very Shri Ramakrishna now preferred to be with the poor rather than in God's temple! Nevertheless such a behaviour was not without scriptural sanction. For the Bhāgavata declares :

यो मां सर्वेषु भूनेषु सन्तमात्मानमीश्वरम् ।
हित्वाऽर्चा भजते मौढ्याद् भम्मन्येव जुहोति सः ।।

"He who ignoring me, who reside in all as God and Self, worships an image through foolishness is like the man who pours oblation on the ashes alone."

This verse does not decry temple worship or worship of images, but admonishes the fool who engages in rituals shutting his eyes and sealing his heart against the misery that surrounds him. Another verse of the Bhāgavata also runs like this : "The non-dual Self dwelling in various beings as the friend of all is not so much pleased by the abundant offerings even of Gods whose hearts are full of desires, as He is with compassion for all creatures which is not attainable by the evil ones."

Mathuranath had to bow down before such a strong will.

He had again to do so when he took Shri Ramakrishan to his estate in Ranaghat for a visit. The saint was moved by the supplication of the poor cultivators for exemption of rent because of failure of crop. He pleaded for them and Mathuranath had to oblige him.

Instruction followed conviction, experience and action. Talking one day to a group of devotees, amongst whom Vivekananda (then Narendra) was one, about the cardinal points of a certain Hindu sect, Sri Ramakrishna referred to their faith in the name of the Lord, emphasis on service to the Lord's devotees and insistence on compassion to all creatures. In the course of elaborating these three basic tenets, when he came to the last, and uttered the words, "Believing in one's heart of heart that the world belongs to Śri Kṛṣṇa alone, one should have compassion for all creatures", he suddenly stopped and changed his mood. He fell into samādhi. Coming back to the normal state he added, "Compassion to creatures! Compassion to creatures! Bosh! An insignificant worm that thou art, thou to be compassionate to creatures! Who art thou to be compassionate? No, no : not compassion to creatures, but service of creatures thinking of them as none other than Śiva." That set the time to Vivekananda's thought in all his subsequent life. He told a friend then and there that he had come across a new light. In Shri Ramakrishna's utterance he discovered that day a wonderful synthesis of the path of discrimination *(jñāna)*, action *(karma)*, devotion *(bhakti)* and contemplation *(yoga)*. But to this we shall return later. For the present, we have to relate another incident which brought not only an intellectual transformation, but also a spiritual reorientation in Vivekananda.

"Individual Emancipation is Much Lower an Aspiration than Working for the Deliverance of All Human Beings," said Ramakrishna

Vivekananda had ever been eager to get merged in Divine communion and had been pressing Shri Ramakrishna to help him in his quest. Shri Ramakrishna was then in his sick-bed at Cossipore near Calcutta. He had been all along avoiding any direct intercession. But the impatient Vivekananda (then Naren) approached him one day with all importunity, and Shri Ramakrishna had to ask him what exactly he wanted. "I want", said Naren "to get merged in samādhi continuously for five or six days like Śukadeva, coming down only a little from that high level for the sake of preserving this body and then getting lost again in the height of samādhi." In a tone of reproof Shri Ramakrishna replied, "Fie on you! You have such vast potentiality, and you too speak thus! I expected that you would grow like a huge banyan tree under whose shade thousands of people would find shelter; and here you are setting at nought all that and hankering for your personal salvation! This is a very low, unworthy aspiration. No my boy, dont't you aim so low. As for myself, my boy, I love all the (divine) aspects. . . . I realize God as bereft of all qualities in the state of samādhi, and yet I enjoy Him in the different phenomenal expressions through multifarious relationships. . . . Do you also do the same! Be a man of knowledge and devotion at the same time." On a similar other occasion Shri Ramakrishna had expressed the same idea by telling him that there are stages even after samādhi, when the spiritual aspirant sees God not only in meditation, but even in every-day life. He used to pose the commonsense question : "Does God exist only when I do this (shut the eyes in meditation), and does He cease to exist when I do this (open my eyes)?" But to this we shall return again. To follow that incident in Vivekananda's life, we are told that Shri Ramakrishna's reproof and refusal only made Vivekananda disconsolate—he wept bitterly. But he was not in fact denied the highest Nirvikalpa realisation at Cossipore itself. And when he met Ramakrishna just after that illumination, the latter said, "Well, Mother has revealed everything to you today. But the key shall be in my keeping. Now you shall have to work, and I shall unlock it after my work is accomplished." Shri Ramakrishna hinted at Vivekananda's future mission.

Before that mission started, Vivekananda had more spiritual experiences and a better acquaintance with India and her religious lore. We cannot go into details. We can only say that in the Indian tradition, adoration of God in the human personality was not unknown. They worship the Goddess in little girls, which they call *Kumārī-pūjā*. Husband and wife are taught to look upon each other as Śiva and Śakti. One's Guru is the highest God to one. The same idea takes various other forms in different regions and diverse situations. Swami Vivekananda again knew that Shri Ramakrishna himself had worshipped his young wife as a certain manifestation of the Mother of the Universe. It was also known that when an old widow complained to the Master that she could not concentrate her mind on God, and that whenever she tried to do so, the face of the little son of her brother interfered, Shri Ramakrishna advised her to think of that nephew as the Boy Gopāla. The lady followed the advice and advanced greatly in her spiritual life. Swami Vivekananda cogitated over all this and extended the field of application of the underlying idea from mere personal relations to vaster social and even political situations. Before he did so, he had, however, to surmount a great metaphysical stumbling block.

Rational Justification from Śāṅkara-Vedānta

For the spiritual and rational justification of all moral endeavour Swamiji took his stand on the non-dualistic Vedānta philosophy of Śaṅkara, though at times he explained it in his own way in accordance with the light he had received from Shri Ramakrishna. But critics asked, "How could such a world-denying philosophy supply the motive power for service of humanity?" Swamiji noted that this philosophy had been interpreted very negatively, so much so that for many of its adherents the world had evaporated under the belief that it is a mere dream, and renunciation of it and particularly of all activities are the surest way to liberation. According to Swamiji, Buddhism in its days of decadence and disintegration contributed not a little to this extreme negative attitude. He had the highest regard for Bhagavān Buddha; but he had little love for any distorted interpretation of his ideas. Buddha according to him was at core a Vedāntist, though he avoided positive statements about God and soul. He avoided empty philosophical speculation for emphasising actual pratice. That did not prove that he was a Nihilist. Later-day Buddhism, however, presented him as such and invented a whole system of logic in its support. Post-Śaṅkara Vedāntins had a hard time fighting their opponents on metaphysical and logical grounds, and to win an easy victory, bowed down unconsciously to their philosophy of negation. Thus decadent Buddhism not only transformed Indian religious practices, its negative philosophy gave a fillip to an already pessimistic outlook, encouraging tall talk and no action.

The Vedānta Philosophy of Śaṅkarācārya

Śaṅkara himself, however, was neither a nihilist nor an escapist. If any one has any doubt as to that, one should only look at his life; for his philosophy must not be detached from his deeds. He was a man of the highest non-dualistic realisation, and yet he moved throughout the length and breadth of India establishing monasteries and temples, starting orders of monks for preserving the Vedas and the eternal religion, reforming Hinduism, and demolishing degrading ideas and pseudo-metaphysics. He was thus a man of action for the good of others. He was a devotee as well composing beautiful hymns and songs in praise of various deities. All this did not prove any denial of the world in any crass sense. What Śaṅkara implied was that duality does not exist in the highest state of *nirvikalpa samādhi*; but in that state all talk, all discussion stops. On the relative plane alone can one have dualistic conceptions. On this lower plane again we can have intellectual cogitation about duality and non-duality. But such disputation must not masquerade as realised truth. The highest realisation may negate the phenomenal relative world. But so long as we are actually on the relative plane, the world has its own right to exist. As Shri Ramakrishna put it, "So long as the 'I' exists, the world exists, and God also exists." One can draw a parallel from the life of a scientist who reduces the world to mere atoms in his laboratory but at home deals with food, furniture and friends just like any other man. We are not concerned here with a philosophical justification of such behaviour; it is enough for us to note that it is a fact of life both for the man of realisation and the ordinary man. Any denial is self-deception.

Vivekananda Embodied the Intellect of Śaṅkara and Feeling of Buddha

Swamiji wanted a combination of head and heart, a bringing together of Śaṅkara's intellect and Buddha's feeling, so as not to leave philosophy dissociated from life, or practice unenlightened by reason. We do not imply that Śaṅkara had no heart or that Buddha had no intellect. This is just a symbolic way of saying that the non-dual Vedantic philosophy should be put to the service of all. Swamiji was convinced that India has all the best ideas that go to make a nation great; yet he regretted that these ideas had not been put to practice. That was mostly because of want of feeling at least in the field of service. He exhorted all to feel for the poor, the ignorant and the down-trodden. "Feel from the heart. . . . Through the heart comes the inspiration. Love opens the most impossible gates; love is the goal to all the secrets of the universe. . . . Do you feel that millions and millions of the descendants of gods and of sages have become next door neighbours to brutes? Do you feel that millions are starving today, and millions have been starving for ages? Do you feel that ignorance has come over the land like a dark cloud? Does it make you restless? Are you seized with that one idea of the misery of ruin and have you forgotten all about your name, fame, your wives, your children, your property, even your bodies?" Swamiji believed that non-dualism can supply the *raison d'être* all and thus became the basis of all practical moral endeavour. For if all is Brahman, my good lies in the good of all; and it is mere degrading selfishness to think even of my own freedom when others welter in ignorance. Service is not a hindrance to salvation. For service of all means worship of all-pervasive God and is thus a sure means to one's spiritual progress.

Swamiji Stood for Karmayoga which Alone Produces an Integrated Personality

Swamiji stood for integration of personality and decried lop-sided growth. It is wrong to assume that certain persons are exclusively fit for one or other of the four modes of spiritual endeavour—viz. *jñāna, bhakti, yoga,* and *karma*. If we look at any unsophisticated man in ordinary walk of life, we notice that he reasons, loves, thinks and acts. Why not so then in spiritual life as well? Swamiji found no reason why it should not be so. And in the service of others as worship of God he found a full efflorescence of the four moods. One worships God when serving somebody in distress just as one would in an image, or rather in a more real sense, for while the image has no consciousness, a man has it and is thus nearer to God. In service again he has to concentrate his mind on the object of adoration and he has also to reason about good and bad, true and false. Thus all the four paths of spiritual progress get combined in Swamiji's idea of service as worship. Thus also it will be seen that his path of liberation through service differs very much from the popular idea of performance of one's duty without motive, or selfless work or *Niṣkāma-Karma*. In the latter case, it is thought commonly (I am not referring to scriptural meaning) that one has to perform one's duty and then offer the result to God. There is a sort of division of time. But in Swamiji's prescription one has always to think of God—in the beginning, middle and end, and there is no question of offering the result, for the result is God's from the very start. Besides the field of application of this new outlook is not one's scriptural or personal duties alone, but also social and other duties that one's heart reason prompt one to undertake. Besides the essential point in spiritual life is self-dedication along with expansion of the idea of identity with all, or eradication of the small ego. And what path is more efficacious for this than service? So convinced was Swamiji of the efficacy and need of this new path that a poem of his rang out in clear terms :

Ye fools! who neglect the living God,
And His infinite reflections with which the world is full,
While ye run after imaginary shadows
That lead alone to fight and quarrels!
Him worship the only visible!
Break all other idols!

He wrote another poem in Bengali on the very same topic. In translation it runs thus :

From highest Brahman to yonder worm,
And to the very minutest atom,
Everywhere is the same God, the All-Love;
Friend, offer mind, soul, body, at their feet.
These are His manifold forms before thee,
Rejecting them, where seekest thou for God?
Who loves all beings, without distinction,
He indeed is worshipping best his God!

This idea of transforming service to the suffering and ignorant into worship, he extended to other fields as well. His mother country as a whole was God to him in conformity with the Vedic text :

सर्वत: पाणिपादं सर्वतोऽक्षिशिरोमुखम् ।
सर्वत: श्रुतिमल्लोके सर्वमावृत्य तिष्ठति ।।

"His hands and feet are everywhere, His eyes, heads and mouths are everywhere, His ears are everywhere. In the world He exists by pervading everything." It is to the worship of this God omnipresent in all, collectively and individually, that Swamiji called us to render worship.

Non-dualists had defined the Ultimate Reality in terms of negation—as "Not this, not this." But the Upaniṣads also speak of *Sarvaṃ khalu idaṃ Brahma* "All that there is, is nothing but Brahman". There must perforce be a positive approach in the domain of spirituality to this all-comprehensive entity. And here is Swamiji's pointer to such a positive path. Why not shift the emphasis from negation to positive assertion? Instead of denying everything, see God everywhere and act accordingly.

The Worship of Man is the Worship of God

This new outlook again opens out a fresh field of interhuman and inter-group relationships. All thoughtful persons are convinced that for a better human society or for that matter, for bringing a universally acceptable One World, we have to rely on the spiritual reorientation of man's ideas about man and not merely on political make-shifts. Political organisations tend to disintegrate through an interplay of group interests. Nations gather together to forge unity, but fail to achieve this just because they lack faith in actual human equality. To the more favourably posted nations looking at the surface alone, some are intrinsically intelligent, while others are mere masses of flesh and bone; so why not use the latter as common fodder without compunction? Or the latter may have muscular strength with a little bit of intelligence. Well, they are only good for being hewers of wood and drawers of water. Or even with a little higher intelligence they may have shades of colour other than white, which reveal their inferiority. So why not rule over them? And so humanity gets divided into conflicting groups. What is needed is a total reappraisal of the dignity of the human personality, from which point of view all will appear divine without any high or low. On such a pedestal alone can real unity be forged. And this conception, nay active faith, is presented to us by Swamiji through his appeal for worship of the living God. Nations and individuals have to serve or worship the God in the needy and the backward; and in this alone lies the safety, succour and salvation, so necessary today of a divided, disturbed and disintegrating human society.

Self-Renewal in Indian History and Swami Vivekananda

M.C. JOSHI

Indian Social order has Constantly been Dynamic

ONE OF THE essential traits of Indian society, through which it has kept itself alive by retaining most of its basic values and nature since yore, is its capacity of self-renewal, marked by socio-cultural regeneration, revival and reconciliation. This unique historical experience, as a religio-cultural phenomenon, attracted the attention of the ancients belonging to this land, for, the cyclical concept of the *yugas, manvantaras* and *kalpas*[1] preserved the idea of self-renewal and the revival of material and spiritual modes and motifs. This stand-point is aptly echoed in the following verse of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* 4.8 : परित्राणाय साधूनां . . .

Our Social Order has been Changing and Adapting itself to New Circumstances

The above refers clearly to the cyclical concept of rejuvenation of the socio-political order in a period of turmoil, through a rescuer or saviour for the re-establishment of Dharma (righteous order),[2] which, as a belief, was perhaps well-established by the time the *Gītā* was compiled. The *Avatāra*-theory in Hinduism and conception of the past, present and future Buddhas in Buddhism reflect the same idea, presupposing a deep-rooted tradition of the idealized concept of Dharma. "Long before the dawn of the historical period", rightly remarks K.M. Munshi, "a central ideal was already becoming clear from a mass of incoherent urges which went under the generic name of Dharma".[3]

The Process of Self-renewal seen in Historical Perspective

Early Historical Period

It is difficult to state categorically as to when the idea of self-renewal in Indian history came into vogue. The most remarkable of such movements was, however, the one which transformed the Indian people into a conscious, well-knit entity in about the fourth century B.C. During this dawn of the historical period, as a result of earlier Achaemenian domination as well as the invasion of Alexander about 326 B.C., the country was in a state of chaos and confusion. It was divided and misruled by the alien satraps or its own rulers. Most of them, perhaps, had no sense of probity or Dharma. There prevailed, in the public, mutual distrust and lack of self-confidence. The last Nanda, who was the king of Magadha about this time was no doubt a powerful monarch but greedy, unrighteous and despotic in his outlook. This state of affairs, however, did not last long, for, a rescuer emerged in Cāṇakya, a Jaina-Brāhmaṇa by birth and a teacher by profession, who led a movement for liberation, unification and establishment of moral order in the country. Cāṇakya, also known by his second name, Kauṭilya, succeeded in his struggle against contemporary kings and made Candragupta Maurya, his ideally nurtured pupil for kingship, as the sovereign of his newly-founded kingdom. He had thought in terms of an ideal state, and with Candragupta Maurya on the imperial throne he could give it a concrete shape. In the opinion of Mukerjee[4] this was the world's earliest secular, welfare state with the supremacy of Dharma. The governing code of this Mauryan state was the *Arthaśāstra* written by its founder-patron Cāṇakya or Viṣṇugupta, who seems to have been inspired by the career and deeds of his predecessors like Śukra and Bṛhaspati[5] and noble masters of earth like Ambarīṣa, Nābhāga and Paraṣurāma, whom he regarded to be the ideal kings of the past.[6] The supreme duty of the king, according to Cāṇakya (*Arthaśāstra* 1.19.5), was to keep himself engaged in the welfare of his people : प्रजासुखे सुख राज्ञः . . .

Cāṇakya's Arthaśāstra one of the early attempts at Self-Renewal

The Cāṇakyan nation was an *Ārya-Rāṣṭra* and each citizen, irrespective of his birth, tribal or local affiliation, was to be regarded an *Ārya*—an *Ārya* who could never be enslaved under any circumstances.[7] In other words, the term *Ārya* was now applicable to every Indian and the Mauryan *vijita* (state) in its entirety represented *Ārya-deśa* and one of the principal duties of the king was to maintain the *Ārya-maryādā*[8] or Aryan moral law. Thus, practically the entire country now came to be regarded as a holy land (*Puṇya-bhūmi*), an epithet traditionally denoting Āryāvarta (land between Himalayas and Vindhya mountain) or Madhya-deśa.

The ideal of Dharma as the basis of state polity guided the Maurya rulers at least till the time of Aśoka, whose conception of Dharma was basically akin to that of Cāṇakya.

The successors to the Mauryan throne in the post-Aśokan period were too weak to maintain the unity and integrity of the kingdom. Consequently, centrifugal forces resulted in the founding of independent and semi-independent states in the far-off areas under the Mauryas. Some of the later Maurya monarchs even failed to offer protection to those who recognized their authority and the last prince of the House could not perhaps keep up his coronation oath, hence he was killed by his Brāhmaṇa general (*senānī*) Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. During the period of the decline of the Mauryan power, foreign invaders including the Greeks (*Yavanas*) poured through the north-western gates of the country and established powerful kingdoms on Indian soil after much bloodshed and plunder.[9]

Patañjali a great reviver in the Post-Mauryan Period

Under such circumstances, self-renewal in its different aspects was championed by many, including the celebrated sage, Patañjali, the preceptor of the Śuṅga Chief Puṣyamitra. Of this movement, the major contribution could be noticed in regard to the following aspects of Indian culture :

(i) revival of Vedic rituals like the Aśvamedha and other similar sacrifices including the *Cakravartī* ideal;

(ii) popularizing proper names of Vedic association, e.g. Gārgīputra, Viśvadeva, Kautsīputra, Kauśikīputra, Agnimitra, Varuṇamitra, Vasumitra, Yajñapāla, Satyamitra, Indrabhūti, Yajñaśrī, Vedaśrī Rūdradāman;

(iii) regeneration of Bhakti and growth of Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas and Bhāgavatas;

(iv) Indianization of alien cultural elements and people of foreign origin by granting them a respectable place in the Indian society;

(v) emergence of national traditions in art and architecture; these are testified by the remains at Sarnath, Sanchi, Bharhut, Mathura, Udayagiri-Khandagiri, Amaravati, etc.;

(vi) revival of Sanskrit as a link language, resurgence of literary tradition and compilation of important texts.

Manu's call to regard the Aliens as Kṣatriyas is a Great Example of Dynamism of Hinduism

The forces of self-renewal continued to play a significant role in shaping and preserving the Indian society for a long time after the age of the Śuṅgas. It was on account of the resurgent ideas connected with the new awakening, the Greeks, the Śakas, the Kusāṇas, the Muruṇḍas, the Ābhīras, etc., could be Hinduized. The revised *Manusmṛti* (10.10.43, 44) roughly datable to the 2nd century B.C. regards all such alien people together with the non-Sankritized people of India as degraded kṣatriyas.

शनकैस्तु क्रियालोपादिना क्षत्रियजातयः ।
वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च ॥४३॥
पौण्ड्रकाश्चौड्रद्रविडाः काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः ।
पारदाः पह्लवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदा खशाः ॥४४॥

Rejuvenation reached its Culmination in the Classical Age

The period between *circa* fourth and sixth centuries A.D., in which three principal ruling dynasties, viz., the Vākāṭakas, the Guptas and the Pallavas flourished has been rightly styled as the Classical Age of India. In the words of Munshi "this period saw a springtime efflorescence in all spheres of life."[10] The process of rejuvenation now reached its culmination, which revitalized the society of the age. In itself, it was an age of synthesis, catholicity and toleration marked by notable thoughts and high ideals. Analysing the character of renaissance in this period Mukerjee observes "The cosmopolitanism of the Greek and Scythian, and later on to the Kuṣāṇa, periods of Indian history, in which foreigners were socially assimilated, with the aid of Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Mahāyāna Buddhism, promoted the absorption of Iranian and Hellenistic traditions into the indigenous art of India. The secularism of the age culminated in the development of the figures of Buddha, Śiva and Kṛṣṇa almost simultaneously at the beginning of the first century B.C., in Gandhara and Mathura. It was left for the Gupta empire covering a period of three centuries (300–600 A.D.), to carry secularization still further, and embody man's supreme mortal grandeur in the images of the Buddha, Viṣṇu and Śiva on the one hand and the rhythm and sensual charm of human body on the other."[11]

Viṣṇu Purāṇa on the Cultural Unity of India

The national spirit of the period symbolizing the geographical and cultural unity of India, superiority of her traditions, civilization and homogenous nature is well represented in the following verses of *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, a contemporary text:

उत्तरं यत्समुद्रस्य हिमाद्रेश्चैव दक्षिणम् ।
वर्ष नद्भारतं नाम भारती यत्र सन्ततिः ॥१॥

. . . .

नास्विमे कुरुपाञ्चाला मध्यदेशादयो जनाः ।
पूर्वदेशादिकाश्चैव कामरूपनिवासिनः ॥१५॥
पुण्ड्राः कलिङ्गा मगधा दक्षिणाद्याश्च सर्वशः ।
नथापरान्ताः सौराष्ट्राः शूराभीरास्तथार्बुदाः ॥१६॥
कारुपा मालवाश्चैव परित्रायनिवासिन. ।
मौवीरा मैन्धवा हूणाः साल्वाकोशलवासिनः ।
माद्रा रामास्तथाम्बष्ठा. पारमीकादयस्तथा ॥१७॥ *Viṣṇupurāṇa* 2.3.1

Religions of Indian Origin were Hindu Religions

With the background of composite and cosmopolitan culture, the religious toleration served as a unifying bond in the society composed of diverse elements. This is attested to by many inscribed records, artistic vestiges and literary traditions. A few examples of religious poetry expressing the basic unity of various faiths in this period would support our contention.

The author of *Yogavāsiṣṭha* felt that the God could be worshipped in diverse forms and says:

घटे पटे वटे कुड्ये शकटे वानरे स्थितः ।
शिवो हरो हरिर्ब्रह्मा शक्रो वैश्रवणो यमः ।।
बहिरन्तश्च सर्वात्मा सदा स्वात्मा सुबुद्धिभिः ।
विविधेन क्रमेणैव भगवान् परिपूज्यते ।।

Ādinātha and Buddha Proclaimed as Hindu Avatāras

The first Jina Ādinātha or Ṛṣabhanātha and Buddha were recognized now by the Hindus as the incarnations of Viṣṇu. Tārā, the Buddhist goddess and, later on, Padmāvatī, the Jain *devī*, were incorporated into the Hindu pantheon. Similarly the iconographical traits of Śiva did influence the Mahāyāna Buddhism. Besides, the *yajñopavīta* became very popular in the iconographical representations of many Buddhist deities. The occurrence of *Saptamātṛkās* with Gaṇeśa in one of the Jaina caves at Udayagiri in Orissa also suggests the same thing.

By this time *ahiṁsā* (non-injury) and *satya* (truth) came to be regarded as the two fundamentals of Dharma. The feeling of this synthesis of ideas in art could be marked in the representation of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā on the temple door-jambs, symbolizing the sacred Prayāga or *saṅgama,* the confluence.

The Political Power showed Equal Respect for all Religions

The glory of the divine kingdom of India was regarded as the goal of the state (ऋद्ध हि राज्यं पदमैन्द्रमाहुः ...),[12] although secularism as a characteristic feature of the State was maintained. For kingship, the highest ideal was found in the concept of *rājarṣi* (royal-sage) or *dharma-mahārāja,*[13] already known to the Upaniṣadic lore. Often compared to the divine beings, most rulers of this age attempted or claimed to follow the example of their illustrious forerunners like Pṛthu, Raghu, Bharata, Daśaratha, Yudhiṣṭhira,[14] etc. A knowledge of the scriptures (शास्त्रानुसारपरिवर्द्धितशुद्धबुद्धिः, in Gangadhar Inscription or शास्त्रतत्त्वार्थभर्तु. used for Samudragupta in the Allahabad Inscription) and art of warfare came to be recognized as the essential qualifications for kingship, so that he could be just in his actions and offer protection to his subjects.

The highest ideal of administration was a strong sense of justice conditioned by righteous code (cf. धर्मप्राचीरबन्ध in the Allahabad pillar Inscription of Samudragupta) and even the king was not above the law, for some charters do make a reference to the lawful earnings of rulers (cf.न्यायागतानेकगोहिरण्यकोटिप्रदस्य [15]). The model victory for the king now was the one achieved through the policy of *dharma-vijaya* with a view to glorifying the victor and never for the expansion of one's territorial limits.

In other words, the ideal monarch of this age was in himself a personification of valour and justice signifying *kṣātradharma* as referred to in *Raghuvaṁśa* (13.1) of *Kālidāsa.*[16]

As a follower of the tradition of an ideal hero (Vikramāditya), a suzerain was to have in himself the virtues associated with Kubera (i.e., generosity and richness), Varuṇa (protection of Dharma), Indra (regal glory) and Yama (punishment of the wicked).

The Art of the Country also imbibed the Spirit of the Age

A deep sense showing revivalistic trends seems to have marked the ethos of the age. The expression *cirotsannāśvamedhāharttā* (river of the Aśvamedha sacrifice after a long time) used as an epithet by Samudragupta, the comparison of kings in royal *praśastis* with Indra and Kṛṣṇa (पुरन्दरोपेन्द्रसमप्रभाव:[17]) or with Rāma and Bhāgīratha(औपम्यभूत इव रामभगीरथाभ्याम्)[18] and the popularity of the Varāhāvatāra of Viṣṇu as an almighty saviour of mankind and restorer of the glory and purity of earth indicate that the memories of a golden past did inspire the thinkers, kings and others during this period. The art of this age bears an imprint of metaphysical beauty with marks of divine *(lokottara)* model integrating various classical metaphors. Now the art became the embodiment of a unified culture and depicted : 'The entire spiritual heritage of India, from ancient myth and legend to cosmology and metaphysics . . ."[19]

Consequent to this national awakening, India's supremacy in intellectual, religious and commercial fields continued to prevail in the succeeding centuries.

Proto-medieval, early medieval and medieval times

During the post-Gupta and later periods India passed through several significant phases of its history which had both the brighter and darker aspects. A change took place in the outlook and behaviour of the Indian society, under the changing socio-political patterns, yet its basic frame and values did retain their characteristic traits.

Ādi Śāṅkarācārya, devoted to Self-Renewal

In this age social laws and conventions became rigid and formal, nevertheless the age-old concept of Dharma served as its base. By this time feudalism was firmly established as a political system, yet the local and family traditions checkmated it to a certain degree. The temple and associated organizations served as the hub of social, religious and cultural life, which helped in the growth of mysticism and provided better opportunities for artists to create and for scholars to think. Hence there emerged on the scene a number of mystics, reformers and thinkers; the foremost among them was Ādi Śaṅkarācārya whose contribution in the medieval self-renewal movements was immense. He preached the doctrine of extreme monism based on the earlier sūtras of Vedānta emphasizing the absolute necessity of acquiring true knowledge. He, however, wrote lyrical hymns in praise of the Hindu gods, perhaps for the common man. He, once again, tried to establish cultural unity in India by founding *maṭhas* in distant parts of the country. A missionary movement comprising well-qualified monks grew after him and strengthened the society morally. The Vaiṣṇava saint Rāmānujācarya was also an equally important teacher who led a powerful movement for the transformation of society in accordance with his own philosophy. Other such teachers and philosophers included: Nāyānars and Āḷvars (of south India), siddhas, yogīs and some Jaina saints. In this period, the Siddhas brought about a remarkable syncretism combining certain forms of the Hindu-Buddhist tantras, which also influenced Jainism and other cognate religions. In spite of sectarian rivalries amongst certain types of priests and monks, the common man of the age and the saint-scholar saw no difference amongst various prophetic or divine manifestations or objects of worship. The following verse of the *Tripurā-Mahimnastrotra*, 20 reveals the same spirit.

गायत्री सगिरा तुरीयमहिता सन्ध्यामयीत्यागमै-
राख्याता त्रिपुरे त्वमेव महतां शर्मप्रदा कर्मणाम् ।
तत्तद्दर्शनमुख्यशक्तिरपि च त्वं ब्रह्मकर्मेश्वरी
कर्तार्हत्पुरुषो हरिश्च सविता बुद्धः शिवस्त्वं गुरुः ।।

The reputed Jain saint Mānatuṅgācārya, while singing in the praise of the Jina *(tīrthaṅkara),* did not see any difference between Buddha, Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu and the Jina. He recited :

बुद्धस्त्वमेवं विबुधार्चितबुद्धिबोधात्
त्वं शंकरोऽसि भुवनत्रयशंकरत्वात् ।
धातासि धीरशिवमार्गविधेर्विधानाद्
व्यक्तं त्वमेव भगवान्पुरुषोत्तमोऽसि ॥२५॥

Bhaktāmara-strotra 25. 26

The numerous composite images of various gods and goddesses including that of the Buddha belonging to the medieval period appear to be artistic representation of such literal views, which were supported by the pure Tantric texts as well.

A Grand Attempt to create a Classless Society

The Sahaja (Buddhist) and Nātha doctrines aimed to form a classless society of their own conception by removing all the formalities and distinctions between a Brāhmaṇa and a Cāṇḍāla or the learned and the illiterate. Perhaps it was only this kind of radical thinking which. in course of time, produced dynamic teachers like Vasaveśvara, the founder of Vīra-Śaiva sect in Karṇāṭa country, beside several others, elsewhere in India.

According to some texts, the conception of the Tāntric world (of the period). with sacred-*pīṭhas,* included : Bālhīka (Balkh), Kirāta (Himalayan region), Bhoṭa (Tibet), Cīna (China), Mahācīna (greater China perhaps including Mongolia), Maida (Midia), Pārśvākika (Persia). Airāka (Iraq), Kamboja (Combodia), Hūṇa (Jungaria), Yavana (the Hellenic Orient). Gandhāra and Nepal[20] suggesting thereby the basic unity of the Indo-Asian world with common mystic traditions and beliefs.

Following the Arab conquest of Sindh in 712 A.D. the Indian princes and people. especially those of upper India, realized the dangerous trends of Islamic expansion and the possibility of annihilation of the Indian civilization. Consequently, conscious efforts successively made by the Pratīhāras,[21] Guhilas, Tomaras, Chāhmānas[22] and Gahaḍvalas besides the Śāhīs, did theck the onslaughts of Muslim invaders. Once again the Ādi-varāha ideal. symbolizing self-renewal and purification, was revived and was adopted by many kings.

The task of protecting the motherland was taken up by a group of noble people. known to the history as Rajputs, whose marked traits were "chivalrous and seigniorial virtues". The cardinal tenets of their ethics, according to Buddha Prakash, were "magnanimity towards the vanquished, protection of the weak, respect towards women. generosity towards bards and beggers, reckless gallantry, begetting an indifference to death, disregard of monetary profit and want of cool and calculating spirit . . ."[23] Almost regional state was transformed into a war-state especially in the north India, for preserving its existence and culture. One of the remarkable features, introduced in the smṛtis, after the Muslim conquest of the Sindh and the Punjab, was the provision of reconversion and purification of the Hindus forcibly convered to Islam particularly the persons captured and enslaved during or after a war and women kidnapped or ravished at any time by the fanatic Muslims. Most notable of such smṛtis is the one attributed to Devala, although *Mitākṣarā (ṭīkā* on *Yājñavalkya-smṛti)* and *Atrisaṃhitā* also describe such purificatory rites. An important aspect of the culture of the early medieval times was the improvement in the status of the śūdras, despite theoretical rigidity of the caste-system.[24] Further, there are numerous instances indicating changes in the traditionally allotted occupations to the brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras under new social readjustment.

Bhakti Movement kept the Torch Burning

It was, however, after the Muslim occupation of the mainland about the close of the twelfth century A.D. that the Indian society found itself confronted with many problems in regard to its survival. The new conquerors, in contrast to earlier foreign invaders, established their rule with two principal aims, viz. (i) to work for the spread of Islam by justified or unjustified means, and (ii) to destroy the religious, social, political, economic and cultural life of the defeated non-Muslim natives. Therefore, as a matter of policy the Hindu scriptures were burnt, shrines and educational institutions were destroyed, Buddhist monks, ascetics and Brāhmaṇas and other religious leaders were killed, women were disgraced and traders, workers and even boys of tender age were humiliated and enslaved, even long after the establishment of the Indo-Muslim rule. The whole cultural life including social scheme of Hindus was paralyzed.

But the cultural potentiality of India could withstand such a great national crises, for, the means of self-renewal were discovered very soon under the leadership of religious and social thinkers, mendicants and Hindu princes, and others. The former were the product of the religious awakening, especially connected with the Bhakti movement, originally revived in south India earlier, which acted as the main force in keeping the Indian society alive and fresh. Moreover, there was the Yoga-tradition with the ideal of detachment from material comforts and bondage, which imparted the society the courage to face the tyranny and insecurity during Indo-Muslim rule.

The people, thus, developed invulnerable faith in Dharma[25] and devotion to the tradition and culture of yore. The Hindu society, which looked externally simple, now became complex and strong internally, the chief aim being self-preservation under the changed circumstances. The champions of the medieval self-renewal movements were mainly found in a number of religious thinkers, ascetics or saints, who, with their catholic outlook based on humanism, always preached tolerance, devotion to God and love to fellow creatures. Many of them even imbibed certain very popular tenets of Islam, e.g., the conception of universal brotherhood, monotheism and ideal of simple living, which already had the recognition of the Upaniṣadic thought in India. Of these thinkers and saints, the foremost were Rāmānanda, Nāmadeva, Jñāneśvara, Kabīr, Guru Nānak (and his successors), Caitanya, Vallabhācārya, Tulsīdās, Dādū, Raidās, Samarth Rāmdās besides numerous others. All such teachers, by the use of local languages in their own respective areas, conveyed not only their philosophy and thoughts up to the lowest stratum of the society but also popularized the inspiring tales of the epics and Purāṇas to the common man. This also gave impetus to the composition of vernacular literature in India.

Guhila kings, the protectors of Motherland

Politically too the Hindus continued to attempt the revival of their lost glory, though not always with success under princes and other leaders of society like Rāṇā Hammīr, Kumbhā, Medanī Rāi, Mān Singh Tomar, Vijayanagara rulers, Sāṅgā, Rāṇā Pratāp, Guru Govindsingh, Durgādās, Shivājī, Chhatrasāl, Chuḍāman, Sūrajmal and the Peshwas. However, of the commoners the two outstanding champions of the Hindu cause were two reputed brothers, Harihara and Bukka in the fourteenth century, who founded the mighty kingdom of Vijayanagara. They were animated by the famous Brāhmaṇa sage and scholar of the day, Mādhava Vidyāraṇya and his brother Sāyaṇa, the famous commentator on the Vedas. Hemu, the Sūr general of early sixteenth century as the last reviver of Vikramāditya tradition also seems to have tried to establish Hindu supremacy. The Guhila princes (Rāvals and Rāṇās of Chittor), who took upon themselves, during the Pratihāra period, the task of protecting the country from Islamic invaders, came to be regarded as the crest-jewel of the Rajputs. Perhaps it was for this reason that Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Shah in Nepal and Śivājī in Mahārāshtra, who could found two powerful Hindu nations in Nepal and India, respectively also claimed the Guhila origin. The Hindu prince who wanted to revive the ancient glory by celebrating an *aśvamedha* in the eighteenth century, was Sawai Jaisingh of Jaipur. Thus under its saintly and royal leaders in the Indo-Muslim period, Hinduism not only survived but maintained its liveliness by drawing strength from its eternal myths and legends, age-old idealism as well as from the unfailing faith and devotion of the masses.

It may not be out of context to mention here that self-renewal movements during the later Mughal period even influenced some followers of Islam, a few of which even accepted the Vaiṣṇava faith. The cultural synthesis, achieved under Zainu'l Ābidīn of Kashmir, emperor Akbar, prince Dārā Shikoh and others, was primarily an outcome of Hindu awakening.

Self-Renewal in the Nineteenth Century

During the late Mughal times, political weaknesses of the rulers, internal disorders, cultural stagnation and breakdown of the economic life helped the process of British occupation. As a consequence of this domination the country came into the grip of all the evils of colonial subjection. Under such conditions, Indian society became helpless and developed an acute inferiority complex. The proselytizing activities of the Christian missionaries and their sharp attacks on most of the Hindu traditions, practices and beliefs, besides the sweeping current of western education created doubts, distrust and aversion in the minds of the educated youths about many aspects of Hinduism. A process of de-Indianization thus commenced as a sharp reaction. The Hindu society for a while became totally perplexed, as there was no one to lead and guide.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy a great Supporter of Hinduism

However, shortly afterwards, in the early nineteenth century, appeared in Rājā Ram Mohan Roy (1774–1833), a renovator of Hinduism, who not only attempted to reform it by condemning corruption within the contemporary Hindu society but also laid down the foundation of a new type of political thought and liberal movement. It is said that 'he came out in support of Hinduism and Brahmin scholarship.' The Rājā founded Ātmīya Sabhā in 1815, which subsequently developed into Brahmo Samāj, through which he propagated Vedantic monotheism and Upaniṣadic liberalism. The mission of the early Brahmo Samāj was to purify Hinduism by following true scriptures such as the *Vedas, Upaniṣads, Gītā* and even later Tantra texts like *Mahānirvāṇa-tantra*. Thus Sitanatha Tattvabhushana rightly called Rammohan Roy the first Hindu revivalist, in the truest sense of term.[26]

The Rājā was followed by other Brahmo leaders like Maharshi Debendranath Thakur (Tagore) and then by Keshab Chandra Sen, who revitalized the purity of conduct and reviving Bhakti traditions including *saṅkīrtana*.

The next significant socio-religious movement was led by an ascetic, Swāmī Dayānand Sarasvatī under the name of Ārya Samāj. Dayānand preached the purest gospel of the *Vedas* and rejected all foreign ideas as mere excretions. He endeavoured for the restoration of Hindu

Dharma to its pristine purity, and with his strong uncompromising attitude revived the militant spirit in Hinduism, besides a deep sense of nationalism. Although he established the Ārya Samāj in 1875 in Bombay, the movement attained popularity in upper India especially in the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan and infused a new life in the stagnated structure of the society in those regions.

Other parallel movements in this period were represented by the Swāmī-Nārāyaṇa sect, the Theosophical Society, the Prārthanā Samāj in addition to many minor sects and societies, and each one of them contributed to the mainstream of social life, national awakening and modern Indian renaissance.

Swami-Vivekananda

The brightest luminary of the nineteenth century, however, was Narendranath Datta, later known as Swami Vivekananda, the foremost of the disciples of that great divine of India, Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, who really succeeded in renewing the Hindu soul and reviving the noblest values of ancient Indian Culture based on *Nigama* and *Āgama* ideals and the concept of universal religion.

"The movement associated with the great names of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda" wrote Aurobindo Ghose, "has been a very wide synthesis of past religious motives and spiritual experience topped by a re-affirmation of the old asceticism and monasticism, but with new living strands in it and combined with a strong humanitarianism and zeal for missionary expansion."[27] Preaching the fundamental unity of all religious concepts, in accordance with the established conventions of the ancient sages, Vivekananda declared: "To the Hindu, man is not travelling from error to truth, but from truth to truth—from lower truth to higher truth. To him all religions from the lowest fetishism to the highest absolutism, mean so many attempts of the human soul to grasp and realize the Infinite . . ."[28]

All Hindus are Āryas

Like the famous Ācārya Cāṇakya, he also believed that all the Hindus are Āryas: "Let the Pandits fight among themselves; it is the Hindus who have all along called themselves Āryas. Whether of pure or mixed blood, the Hindus are Āryas; there it rests. If the Europeans do not like us because we are dark, let them take another name for themselves—what is that to us?"[29]

Exposing the imperialistic propaganda of the foreign (European) scholars on the so-called theories of Ārya and Draviḍa origins of the Indians and showing the basic unity of the north and south India, Swamiji said: "The people of northern India are especially grateful to you of the south, as the great source to which most of the impulses that are working in India can be traced . . . The South had been the repository of Vedic learning, . . . it is the Śruti still, that is the backbone of all the different divisions of the Hindu religion".[30] By his actions and teachings Vivekananda united the country culturally and restored the lost self-confidence of his countrymen. Pointing out Kṛṣna's declarations in the *Gītā* he remarked: "The Hindu believes that man is Spirit. Him the sword cannot pierce, Him fire cannot burn, Him water cannot melt, Him the air cannot dry. The Hindu believes that every soul is a circle whose circumference is nowhere, but whose centre is located in the body, and that death means the change of this centre from body to body."[31]

Motherland the Greatest God

According to Datta,[32] Swamiji visualized the motherland as the omnipresent *(Virāṭ)* God.

He wanted India and her people to be the object of care for the time being, a fit object of worship during slavery. Vivekananda forcefully proclaimed : "For the next fifty years this alone shall be our key-note—this, our great Mother India. Let all other vain Gods disappear for that time from our minds. This is the only God that is awake, our own race, everywhere his hands, everywhere His feet, everywhere His ears. He covers everything."[33] He further told : "The debt which the world owes to India is immense. There is not one race on this earth to which the world owes so much as it owes to the patient Hindu, the mild Hindu."

"The one characteristic of Indian thought is its silence, its calmness. The tremendous power that is behind it is never expressed by violence. "Shall India die? Then from the world all spirituality will be extinct, all moral perfection will be extinct; all sweet-souled sympathy for religion will be extinct; all ideality will be extinct . . ."[34]

The Great Karmayogī had the Ādi Śaṅkarācārya in Him

He spoke mostly on Karma-yoga to galvanize his countrymen into activity and asked the people to become virtuous and dutiful following their noble traditions by discarding all kinds of personal evils. He always reminded Indians of their glorious past so that they can also make a glorious future for themselves.

Swami Vivekananda resembled the illustrious Ādi Śaṅkarācārya in many respects and as such he has been rightly called 'the modern Śaṅkara' "for in him the Ācārya lived again to rouse his countrymen from slough of despondency to the pinnacle of Advaita-vedānta."[35]

The life and philosophy of Vivekananda stimulated the national consciousness both during his lifetime and thereafter. The thoughts of this great patriot-monk influenced the intelligentsia and almost all the sections of Indian people including the Brahmanical orthodoxy to take up the cause of country's freedom and to revive the rich artistic and literary heritage of India. As a firm believer in Vedantic humanism, he always stood for social justice and Universal Brotherhood, following the well-known ancient ideal of *vasudhaiva kuṭumbakam.* Indeed, he rightly called himself a "condensed India",[36] for he symbolised the ideal traditions of this ancient land of ours.

REFERENCES

1. Campbell explains this concept in these words :

   "The myth of eternal return, which is still basic to Oriental life, displays an order of fixed forms that appear and reappear through all time. The daily round of the sun, the waning and waxing moon, the cycle of the year, and the rhythm of organic birth, death and new birth, represent a miracle of continuous arising that is fundamental to the nature of the universe We all know the archaic myth of the four ages of gold, silver, bronze, and iron, where the world is shown declining, growing ever worse. It will disintegrate presently in chaos, only to burst forth again, fresh as a flower, to recommence spontaneously the inevitable course. There never was a time when time was not Nor will there be a time when this kaleidoscopic play of eternity in time will have ceased." Joseph Campbell. *The Masks of God : Oriental Mythology*, London. 1962. p. 1.
2. It is difficult to translate the term Dharma in English, as there is no such concept outside India The word has been derived from the Sanskrit root *dhṛ* meaning 'to uphold', and thus the nearest sense of this word is conveyed by the expression 'mode of existence based on righteous principles'.
3. R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar (editors), *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Bombay. 1951, p. x.
4. Radhakamal Mukerjee, *The Culture and Art of India,* London. 1959, pp. 91 ff
5. cf. ॐ नमः शुक्रबृहस्पतिभ्याम् । i.e., 'Adoration to Śukra and Bṛhaspati': this being the opening (first) sentence of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* clearly shows the veneration the author had for these two *purvācāryas.* Unlike *Arthaśāstra,* in most of other ancient Indian texts on art, science, literature, religion or any other subject, in the opening verses or sentences god, goddess, prophets, deities, divines, etc. have been invoked.

6. *Ibid.*, 1.6.2
7. न त्वेवार्यस्य दासभाव *Arthasāstra* 3.13 For further discussion see Radhakamal Mukerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
8. Compare the expression: व्यवस्थितार्यमर्याद *Arthaśāstra* 3.3.2.
9. "There will be Yavanas here," observe the *Purāṇas*, "by reason of religious feeling or ambition or plunder; they will not be kings solemnly anointed but will follow evil customs by reasons of the corruption of the age" R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalker, *op. cit.*, p. 112.
10. R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalker, *The Classical Age*, Bombay, 1954, p. viii.
11. Radhakamal Mukerjee, *op cit.*, p. 234
12. *cf.* तस्मिन् प्रशासति महीनृपतिप्रवीरे
   स्वर्गं यथासुरपतिरमित प्रभावे
   . . . ॥१३॥

   in the Gangadhar Inscription of Viśvavarmā. It appears that in this age every royal mother desired that her son should govern the earth in the same way, as Indra rules the heaven; cf *Raghuvaṁśa*, 3.4 :

   दिव मरुत्वानिव भोक्ष्यते भुव
   दिगन्तविश्रान्तरथो हि तत्सुत ।
   अतोऽभिलाषे प्रथम तथा विधे
   मनो बबन्धान्यरसान् विलंघ्य मा ॥

   and compare the expression राज्य शक्रोपमस्य in the Kahaum Inscription of Skandagupta.

13 Compare तस्यराजाधिराजर्षेरचिन्त्योज्वलकर्मण in the Udyagiri Inscription of Virasena-Śāba and occurrence of *dharmamahārāja* as a title in the Basim Copper Plate of Vindhyaśakti

14. Compare [सवा] रिता नृपतय पृथुराघवाद्या in the Eran Inscription of Samudragupta; नृक्षा विधि भरतवज्जगत करोति in the Gangadhar Inscription of Viśvavarmā; and दशरथादिनृपसदृशचरितो . . . and युधिष्ठिरवदसाधारणधर्म्मसेनु in Palitara Plates of Siṁhāditya
15. Compare *Kārmandakīya Nītisāra*, 1.18 :

   न्यायेनार्जनमर्थस्य रक्षणं वर्धन तथा ।
   सत्पात्रप्रतिपत्तिश्च राजवृत्तं चतुर्विधम् ॥

16. The representation of this conception (of royal personality) can be observed in the portrayal of the Gupta kings on the obverse of a number of coins, e.g. Kāca, Standard Battle-axe and Archer types of Samudragupta; *Chatra*, Archer and Standard types of Candragupta II; Archer and Swordsman types of Kumāragupta, and Archer types of Skandagupta and other Gupta rulers.
17. Ajanta Cave (No. XVI) Inscription of the time of Hariṣeṇa.

18 Gangadhara Inscription of Viśvavarmā

19. Radhakamal Mukerjee, *op. cit*, p. 237.
20. Buddha Prakash, *Aspects of Indian History and Civilization*, Agra, 1965, p. 342.

21 cf. देवो नागभट पुरातनमुनेर्मूर्तिर्ब्बभूवाद्भुतम् ।
   येनामौ सुकृतप्रमाथिव (ब) लवन्म्लेच्छाधिपाक्षौहिणी ॥४॥
   in Gwalior Inscription of Mihira Bhoja.

22. Compare the Kotla Firūz Shāh Inscription of Vīsaladeva (Vigraharāja)

   आर्यावर्त्तं यथार्थं पुनरपि कृतवान्म्लेच्छविच्छेनाभि-
   र्देव. शाकम्भरीन्द्रो जगति विजयते वीसल-क्षोणिपाल. ॥

23. Buddha Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 226; also compare the expression सत्यशौर्यसमाश्रय in Sevadi Stone Inscription of Kaṭukarāja.
24. Buddha Prakash, *ibid*, pp. 262–263.
25. Popular Medieval mottoes like जो पत राखे धरम की तोहि राखे करतार clearly show the attachment of the Hindus to the ideal of Dharma in the Muslim period.
26. A.K. Majumdar, Bhakti Renaissance, *Supplement to Bhāratīya Vidyā*, XXIV, (1964), p. 62.
27. Aurobindo Ghose, *Renaissance in India*, 1918, p. 54; quoted by U.N Ghosal, *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, Calcutta, 1957, p. 272.
28. Swami Nikhilananda, *Vivekananda—A Biography*, New York, 1953, p. 182.
29. Bhupendranath Datta, *Swami Vivekananda Patriot-Prophet A Study*, Calcutta, 1954, p. 348.
30. Datta, *ibid.*, p. 364.
31. Nikhilananda, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

32 Datta, *op. cit*, p. 372.

33. Datta, *op. cit.*, p 371.
34. Nikhilananda, *op. cit.*, p. 206.
35. A.K. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

36 Nikhilananda, *op. cit.*, p. vi.

Portrait of Śaṅkara

C. SIVARAMAMURTI

A FEW YEARS ago, a portrait of Śaṅkara was recognized by the author in a ninth century carving from Rajasthan. This stone carving, though fragmentary, is very valuable indeed. Unfortunately, the head and torso including two of the hands of this deity were lost. The right upper hand carries the *gadā* or the club and the lower one an *akṣamālā* or rosary. At the feet, on either side, are dwarfish personified representations of *śaṅkha* and *cakra*, *gadā* as a damsel in addition to the consorts Śrī and Sarasvatī. Higher up, to the right, seated on a lotus in *padmāsana* with hands clasped in adoration and with the *daṇḍa* against his chest and shoulder is Bhagavān Śaṅkara. This is as it should be. This peculiar form of Viṣṇu is a presentation of Viṣṇu as the *Gītācārya*, who expounded the *Gītā* on the battle field at Kurukṣetra, ostensibly for Arjuna, but really for the entire world of devoted seekers after truth. An important sculpture from Chandi Sumberdejati, supposed to represent a portrait of king Kritarājasa of Majapahit in Java, is a clear representation of Viṣṇu of this form, as teacher. He also carries the *akṣamālā*. Indian ideas indeed have flown to distant Java and this is one of them. Śiva as *Bhaṭāraguru* has *akṣamālā* and is often made a *ṛṣi*. Here Viṣṇu is presented not as Nārāyaṇa performing penance at Badari in that *avatār* of his, as explained in the *Bhāgavata* but as *Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva*, who taught the *Gītā* on the battle field at Kurukṣetra. It may be recalled that the *akṣamālā* is carried by Brahmā, the repository of the Vedas, by Śiva as the teacher in the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* form and by Viṣṇu in similar attitude as *Nara-Nārāyaṇa*, a famous example of which is from the Gupta temple at Deogarh. Indeed it is significant that in the context of the *Gītācārya*, and adoring him, is shown the great author of the *Gītābhāṣya*, whose fame in Rajasthan in the century after his time of existence is no wonder, as about the same time or even slightly earlier the great scholar Vācaspatimiśra had written his learned commentary on Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣyas*. In his own life time, Śaṅkara's writings were commented on, by his great and learned disciples like Padmapāda, Sureśvara and others. This important discovery of a portrait of the 9th century, of Śaṅkara, while proving the extraordinary popularity and tremendous respect that *Bhagavatpāda* commended all over the country, making it almost a simple thing for a portrait of his being found in so distant a spot from his native home, as Rajasthan—this sculpture is from Nīlkaṇṭheśvara—gave me hope of the possibility of finding a portrait of the great master, of his own day.

Recently I had an opportunity to examine a photograph giving the youthful portrait of Bhagavatpāda, of his own date the 8th century A.D. from a Pallava shrine in Kāñcīpuram, the Airāvateśvara. Śaṅkara here is a boy in his teens which is evident from the curls on his head grown from a shaven stage to the length of small curls, where there is no corresponding

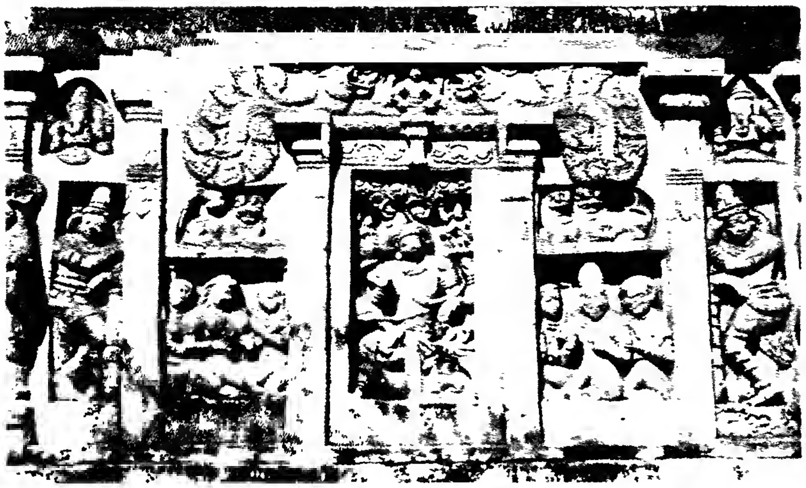

FIG: *Śankara appearing in a panel carved on a temple wall, Kanchipuram*

beard or moustache. *Sanyāsis* shave their heads only on *pūrṇimā* and naturally the curls are shown clustering on the head while the beard has not yet made its appearance on the chin. A necklace of *rudrākṣa* beads adorns his neck. His hands are clasped and the *daṇḍa* is held against his chest and shoulder. He has a beautiful face and a charming personality and though a monk, is fascinating enough to allure, as did Buddha himself, by his fascinating beauty of form and personality. Śaṅkara is seated beside Vyāsa, the great *ṛṣi* who resuscitated the text of the *Vedas*, and was thus styled *Vedavyāsa*, and who wrote the *Brahmasūtras* for which Śaṅkara gave the world his learned *Bhāṣya*. Vedavyāsa himself is seated in a niche to the right of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* who is presented in the larger central niche. In the niche on the left is the great sage Jaimini who wrote the *Mīmāṁsā sūtras*. *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* is the lord of wisdom, young and youthful, calm and silent but dispelling all the doubts of the oldest seers who form his troop of disciples. In a verse describing the glory of Tripurāntaka :

devaṁ vande jaladhisārdhaṁ daivatasārvabhaumaṁ ।
Vyāsaprastha-bhuvanavidita yasya vāhādhivāhaḥ ॥

the greatest stress is laid on Vedavyāsa as the head of the horde of sages who carry on their tongue, the carrying coursers of Śiva's chariot, i.e., the *Vedas*. The Lord identifies himself with Vyāsa as the foremost of the sages *munīnāṁ apyahaṁ Vyāsaḥ, Bhagavadgītā* x, 36. The *Veda* itself being marked by the *karmakāṇḍa* and the *jñānakāṇḍa*, and Jaimini being the propounder of the *Karmakāṇḍa* while Bādarāyaṇa or Vyāsa is that of *jñānakāṇḍa*, it is these two great *ṛṣis* that expounded the *Pūrva* and the *Uttara Mimāṁsās*, that are shown on either side of the greatest repository of knowledge, and the ideal teacher *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*. Tradition has it that Śaṅkara was commanded by Vedavyāsa for writing the *Bhāṣya* on the *Vedāntasūtras*. Tradition has it also that while one is an incarnation of Viṣṇu—*dvibāhur-aparo Hariḥ*—Śaṅkara is the incarnation of Śiva himself *Śaṅkaras-Śaṅkaras-sākṣāt*. There is also the tradition that it is Śiva as *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* proceeding from the shade under the banyan tree that took birth on earth as the greatest Bhagavatpāda :

ajñānāntar-gahanapatitān ātmavidyopadeśais-
trātuṁ lokān bhavadavasikhātāpāpāpacyamānān ।
muktvā maunaṁ vaṭaviṭapino mūlato nissaranti
Śambhor-mūrtiś-carati bhuvane Śaṅkarācāryarūpā ॥

Portrait of Śaṅkara

अज्ञानान्तर्गहनपतितान् आत्मविद्योपदेशै-
स्त्रातुं लोकान् भवदवशिखाताप पापच्यमानान् ।
मुक्त्वा मौनं वटविटपिनो मूलतो निस्सरन्ती
शम्भोर्मूर्तिश्चरति भुवने शंकराचार्यरूपा ।।